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BATTLE OF LAKE ERIE

From the Painting by J. O. Davidson

THE
STANDARD HISTORY
OF THE WORLD

A NARRATIVE OF POLITICAL EVENTS AND A RECORD OF CIVILIZATION FROM THE EARLIEST HISTORICAL PERIOD TO THE PRESENT, EMBRACING A GENERAL SURVEY OF HUMAN PROGRESS AND ACHIEVEMENT, CIVIL GOVERNMENT, RELIGION, LITERATURE, SCIENCE AND ART.

BY

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VOLUME IX—MODERN HISTORY—CONTINUED

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INTRODUCTION

By ISAAC JOSLIN COX, PH. D.
Professor History, Northwestern University

WHEN the average citizen of the United States mentions the phrase "an American policy" he is inclined to agree with John Quincy Adams that "we are all of it." Notwithstanding the assurance of that noted diplomat, such an attitude today is utterly provincial. The editors of the present work, therefore, have wisely determined to treat the development of Latin America as an essential part of progress in the Western World. For obvious reasons Canada, which is given its proper position in the British Empire, also belongs to this group of Western Nations. Taken in conjunction with the United States and Latin America, it forms the three, or if we consider Brazil and Spanish America separately, the four grand divisions into which this hemisphere is divided.

The outstanding factor in the history of the New World during the nineteenth century was the territorial and industrial expansion of the United States. Of this marvelous increase our neighbors were interested, perhaps envious spectators, and occasionally resentful victims. The Louisiana Purchase in the opening years of the century started the expansion. It was preceded by twenty-five years of diplomatic sparring over boundaries and frontier privileges and followed by a half century of similar controversies. At the same time our diplomats were striving to obtain for our mariners their proper share in world commerce and definite protection while pursuing it; to secure recognition for our neighbors to the southward and to adjust their territorial disputes and our own, inherited from a previous regime; and those commercial and social problems made inevitable by the growth of Canada, Mexico, and the United States.

While this common development presented problems for forcible settlement or mutual concession, the internal policies of the United States centered around the protection of manufactures, an adequate system of national banks and of sound money, transportation, the disposal of public lands, the extension of slavery, the rights of the states in the Union, and the issues growing out of secession and reconstruction. Within this volume will be found a discussion of these and a host of minor issues that together with the foreign problems mentioned above, make up the history of the United States during its first century.

While the United States was laying her foundations for economic and political leadership, our neighbors were not idle. To the north, Canada, partly following our example and in part basing her government on that of the homeland, paved the way for self-rule in Britain's overseas dominions. By the end of the first

century both nations were ready to take up the task of organizing what remained of their public domain and of making its resources available. Each must develop its industry and commerce, apparently at times in opposition to the other, but more frequently mingling a spirit of mutual helpfulness with commendable rivalry. If in relative development the United States has outstripped the northern Dominion, this has been largely due to its initial advantages in wealth, population and physical resources.

Meanwhile to the southward the areas that we commonly call the Latin-American republics were passing through their own peculiar development. Their movement for independence lacked the spontaneity of our own nor were they ready for self-government. They often turned to the northern republic for guidance during this formative period in their history and thus were laid the foundations of what we call Pan-Americanism.

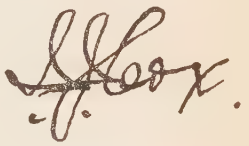
Our substantial contributions to this new force in Inter-American relations were the recognition of these new republics and the Monroe Doctrine. Neither act, unfortunately, was wholly free from the charge of self interest. The Mexican War and filibustering expeditions against Cuba and Central America intensified Latin-American suspicions. Substantial assistance in developing the resources of these republics failed to remove this distrust, nor did it yield to our diplomatic help at the time of the short-lived empire of Maximilian in Mexico, nor to our well-meant efforts to intervene in the War of Chile with Peru and Bolivia.

During this mid-century period of misunderstandings our scientists penetrated the interior of the southern continent, our diplomats assisted in opening its great river systems to general commerce, our educators exerted a marked influence on systems of public instruction, and our commercial pioneers laid the foundation for later economic progress. Much of their work was neutralized by controversies over money claims, by failure to observe neutrality in intestine conflicts, and by such unfortunate clashes as the Baltimore incident with Chile. Not even the arbitration of long-standing disputes between Argentina and her neighbors, nor intervention on behalf of Venezuela in her territorial quarrels and monetary difficulties served to remove the suspicion or indifference with which the greater part of Latin-America regarded the United States.

During the years between independence and the end of the century, the leading Latin-American republics established stable governments and most of the others succeeded in ridding themselves of irresponsible military despots. Everywhere class distinctions were modified, religious toleration legally established, and measures taken to mitigate general illiteracy. All of these countries registered substantial progress over conditions that prevailed on the eve of emancipation.

The end of the century also marked what is sometimes called the beginning of imperialism in the United States. The outcome of our war with Spain and the events connected with the construction of the Panama Canal created a bad

impression in certain quarters and the positive benefits of those transactions could not efface it. Later intervention in the West Indies and Central America, although undertaken for the purpose of bringing political and financial stability to those areas, and our course with Mexico have added to the fears of our neighbors. Fortunately the series of Pan-American conferences initiated in Washington in 1889 has served to bring all these western nations closer together and to strengthen the commercial and social ties that naturally exist between them. From these gatherings and from the work of their offspring, the Pan-American Union, we may confidently expect that solidarity toward which the history of all America tends. The world war showed that this expectation was not unfounded and developments since have been in the direction of better understanding and mutual helpfulness. To these desirable ends the present volume makes its contribution.



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WASHINGTON DELIVERING HIS FIRST INAUGURAL

From the Painting by T. H. Matteson

1 John Rutledge
2 George Clymer
3 Thos. McKean
4 William Hooper
5 General Knox
7 John Adams
8 Charles Thomson
9 Alexander Hamilton
10 Oliver Ellsworth
11 Roger Sherman
12 John Jay
13 Elbridge Gerry
14 Rev. Benj. Moore
15 Madison
16 Washington
17 Fisher Ames
18 Elias Boudinot
19 Robert Livingston
20 Colonel Humphreys
21 Sergeant-at-Arms
22 Page
23 Rev. Samuel Provoost
24 William Paca
25 Anthony Wayne
26 Thomas Nelson, Jr.
27 Francis Lewis
28 Oliver Wolcott
29 Dr. Witherspoon
30 Samuel Chase
31 Colonel Simcoe,

CHAPTER XLIII.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

SECTION I.—DOMESTIC TROUBLES AND FOREIGN RELATIONS (A. D. 1789–1812).

Washington Elected President

After the National Constitution, by receiving the approval of the people of the requisite number of States, had become the Supreme Law of the land, George Washington was chosen, by the unanimous vote of the Electors, the first President of the United States, and John Adams, of Massachusetts, was elected Vice President.

Remarks of Edmund Randolph and Lafayette.

Edmund Randolph, who was no strong adherent of Washington, afterward wrote to him thus: "The Constitution would never have been adopted but from a knowledge that you had once sanctioned it and an expectation that you would execute it." Lafayette at once wrote from Paris: "The Constitution satisfies many of our desires; but I am much mistaken if there are not some points that would be perilous had not the United States the happiness of possessing their guardian angel, who will lead them to whatever still remains to be done before reaching perfection."

Washington's Adieu to Mount Vernon.

Washington consented to what he called "this last great sacrifice." He wrote in his diary: "I bade adieu to Mount Vernon and to domestic felicity; and, with a mind oppressed with more anxious and painful sensations than I have words to express, set out with the best disposition to render service to my country in obedience to its call, but with less hope of answering its expectations."

New National Government.

After a month's delay the two Houses of Congress had been organized in New York city, and John Adams took his place as Vice President a few days before Washington's arrival. Washington's journey from Mount Vernon to New York was a continued ovation. At Trenton he passed under a beautiful arch bearing the inscription: "The defender of the mothers will be the protector of the daughters."

President Washington, A. D. 1789–1797.

The inauguration of Washington took place on the 30th of April, 1789, in New York city, in the presence of an immense body of spectators, the oath of office being administered by Chancellor Robert R.

Livingston. Washington was well aware that it was far more difficult to set the new National Constitution in operation than had been the work of its formation. He felt that it was still an untried instrument and that time only could tell its efficiency. In his inaugural address he said: "It would be peculiarly improper to omit in this first official act my fervent supplications to that Almighty Being Who rules over the universe, Who presides in the councils of nations and Whose providential aids can supply every human defect, that His benediction may consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States a government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes, and may enable every instrument employed in its administration to execute with success the functions alloted to his charge."

Remarks in His Inaugural Address.

In a similar spirit the President invoked the support of his fellow-citizens and fellow-Christians. Among the many addresses which poured in upon him from various bodies, political and industrial, literary and scientific, none pleased him more than those he received from religious organizations. In his replies he dwelt upon the necessity of their sympathies and prayers and made earnest pleas for charity and tolerance among the various branches of the Christian Church. In an address to his own Church, the Protestant Episcopal, he expressed his satisfaction "to see Christians of different denominations dwell together in more charity and conduct themselves in respect to each other with a more Christian-like spirit than ever they had done in any former age or in any other nation." To the Roman Catholic Church, that had been so much persecuted during the colonial period, he wrote thus: "I hope ever to see America among the foremost nations in examples of justice and liberality. And I presume that your fellow-citizens will not forget the patriotic part which you took in the accomplishment of their Revolution and the establishment of their government."

President Washington's Appeal to His Fellow-Christians.

The first session of the First Congess under the new National Constitution was devoted to the complete organization of the new National government. Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg, of Pennsylvania, was the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the First Congress, as he was also of that of the Third Congress. Congress provided for the establishment of three Executive Departments—State, Treasury and War—the heads of which were to be styled Secretaries instead of Ministers as in Europe, and who, with an Attorney-General, were to constitute the President's Cabinet, and could be appointed by him, with the advice and consent of the Senate, and could be dismissed by him at his pleasure. The Postmaster-General was not a Cabinet officer until a later period. Congress also established a National Judiciary, consisting of a Supreme Court, having a Chief Justice and several Associate Justices, and Circuit and District Courts, which had jurisdiction over

Congress and the Organization of the Government.

certain specified cases. Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, was appointed Secretary of State; Alexander Hamilton, of New York, Secretary of the Treasury; Henry Knox, of New York, Secretary of War; and Edmund Randolph, of Virginia, Attorney-General. John Jay, of New York, was appointed Chief Justice. Samuel Osgood, of Massachusetts, was appointed Postmaster-General, September, 1796.

Proposed Amendments of the Constitution.

Congress had already engaged in Constitutional discussions. Over fifty amendments of the new National Constitution were proposed by the different States of the Union. Neither the States nor their Senators or Representatives suggested any fundamental changes in the Constitution. The old federal party of the Constitutional Convention period had now become the anti-federalist party, and from this party most of the proposed amendments emanated, none of which asked for any overthrow of the National system. This party was satisfied with a few articles declaring the States and the people in possession of all the powers and all the rights not otherwise surrendered to the National government. Ten such articles were adopted by Congress and ratified by the States as amendments of the Constitution.

Revenue and Tariff.

A question of far more vital concern was the public revenue, and Congress devoted itself to the consideration of this subject during the first weeks of its first session. After long and intricate debates, Congress enacted a tariff, designed to serve both for revenue and for protection to domestic interests. A tonnage duty, with great advantages to American shipping, was likewise adopted by Congress. Near the close of the first session, Congress also passed an excise on domestic distilled spirits. These measures were modified at intervals; but the fact remained that the duties upon imports were intended to provide revenue for the running expenses of the government and to give protection to the Nation's industries.

Public Credit.

The First Congress also provided for the public credit, at its second session, early in 1790. The debts of the Confederation amounted to fifty-four million dollars, or to eighty millions if the debts of the States, incurred for general objects, were added. Alexander Hamilton, as Secretary of the Treasury, proposed that these debts, as a whole, should be assumed by the National government. Various opinions were thereupon expressed. While the members of Congress were agreed as to the general government's assumption of the foreign debt of the Nation, they differed as to the assumption of the domestic debt due from the Confederation itself, and also as to the assumption of the debts due from the several States of the Confederation.

Debts of the Confederation.

As to the debts due from the Confederation itself many members of Congress argued that the certificates of the public debt were no longer in the possession of the first holders, and that to refund them at their

par value would simply put money into the pockets of speculators to whom the original holders had transferred their certificates at great sacrifices.

State Debts.

As to assuming the debts of the States there was still more earnest opposition from members of Congress, especially from the Representatives of those States whose exertions during the War of the Revolution had been comparatively limited. Moreover, it was a matter to be supported or opposed in accordance with the various views of the State governments and the National government. Those members of Congress who, like the Secretary of the Treasury, desired to see the National government have great strength favored that government as the center of the public credit; while those who advocated the rights of the States opposed the assumption of the State debts by the National government.

Permanent National Capital.

The question of the permanent location of the National capital had been a bone of contention in Congress, various locations being suggested, the three most prominent being Philadelphia; Wright's Ferry, now Columbia, on the Susquehanna, in Pennsylvania; and a site on the Potomac, suggested by Maryland and Virginia Congressmen. The First Congress, during its second session, early in 1790, passed an act for the removal of the seat of the National government from New York city to Philadelphia, where it should remain until the expiration of ten years from that date (1790–1800), when it should be removed to a suitable place on the Potomac, as suggested by Congressmen from Maryland and Virginia. The question was not decided absolutely on its merits, but was largely the result of intrigue, the question of the general government's assumption of the State debts having something to do with the selection of the site for the permanent National capital. When the House of Representatives decided against the Nation's assuming the State debts the advocates of assumption secured the necessary votes for their schemes by voting for the Potomac site for the Nation's permanent seat of government.

Assumption of State Debts.

The question of the National capital's permanent location being thus settled, the champions of the Nation's assumption of the State debts were then enabled to carry their scheme through, and the State debts were then assumed by the National government in certain proportions. As the main object of contention was thus disposed of, the National funding of the domestic and foreign debt was speedily completed, August 4, 1790.

Virginia's Opposition Thereto.

This transaction was not fully satisfactory to the whole Nation. Even Virginia, whose Representatives had voted for the scheme, considering their State to be amply compensated by the future location of the National capital on the Potomac, decided against the entire system, except that part relating to the foreign debt. That State pro-

nounced the funding of the general domestic debt to be "dangerous to the rights, and subversive of the interests, of the people," at the same time declaring the assumption of the State debts to be "repugnant to the Constitution." This did not end opposition.

Public Creditors Delighted.

On the other hand, the public creditors were highly delighted. All the financial interests of the Nation were quickened, as the public bonds were so much additional capital thrown into the channels of industry and of commerce. Agreeably to Secretary of the Treasury Hamilton's recommendation, the First Congress, during its third session, early in 1791, authorized the establishment of a United States Bank and a United States Mint for coinage, both of which were located at Philadelphia. The whole number of shares offered were taken up in two hours after the opening of the subscription books, thus giving a signal proof of the confidence now placed in the National credit. David Rittenhouse, of Philadelphia, the great astronomer, mechanician, mathematician and statesman, was the first Director of the United States Mint.

United States Bank and Mint at Philadelphia.

Position of the President's Cabinet Thereon.

But the number and earnestness of the opponents of these measures were greatly increased by the successes which attended them. The subject engaged the attention of the President's Cabinet, Secretary of State Jefferson and Attorney-General Randolph questioning whether the new United States Bank's charter was not unauthorized by the National Constitution. President Washington himself had hesitated before approving the act of Congress for the creation of the United States Bank.

The Union and Its Population in 1790.

Already North Carolina and Rhode Island had become members of the Union by ratifying the National Constitution; North Carolina on November 13, 1789, and Rhode Island on May 29, 1790. The census of 1790 gave the Nation a population of nearly four millions, of which almost seven hundred thousand were negro slaves.

Three Vast Territories.

The vast wilderness west of the original Thirteen States, organized into three immense Territories, was already becoming peopled. The North-west Territory, organized in 1787, was formed out of the domain ceded to the United States by Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York and Virginia, and embraced the region comprised by the present States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin and the north-eastern part of Minnesota. The Territory South of the Ohio, organized in 1790, and named Tennessee Territory in 1794, was erected out of the vast region ceded to the United States by North Carolina, and constituted the domain comprehended in the present State of Tennessee. The Territory of Kentucky, organized in 1790, included the region ceded to the United States by Virginia, corresponding to the present State of the same name.

Vermont, Kentucky, Tennessee.

During Washington's administration the number of States was increased to sixteen by the admission of Vermont, March 4, 1791; Kentucky, June 1, 1792; and Tennessee, June 1, 1796. Vermont, which originally had been claimed by both New Hampshire and New York, was admitted with the consent of New York. Kentucky comprehended the Territory of the same name, and Tennessee embraced the Territory of that designation.

Pennsylvania Enlarged.

In 1792 Pennsylvania's territory was enlarged by the cession of the south-western corner of New York, bordering on Lake Erie.

Work of the States.

In the meantime the States of the Union were learning their new relations to the National government and to one another. Within their own respective limits there remained much to be done to reëstablish the law that had been shaken and to restore the order that had been disturbed by the agitation and the succeeding struggle which resulted in the political separation from the Mother Country. Many of the States remodeled their constitutions, and some of them adopted entirely new ones.

Dependence on Washington.

The main interest of the time centered on the general government, as it was felt that by this government, and not by any State or local governments, were the problems and difficulties of the Nation to be encountered and settled. The general government itself was concentrated in the illustrious executive who presided over the Nation's destinies. His power of character, his excellence and judgment, his inspiration of thought and energy of action, were fully attested by the homage paid him near the close of his first term by the Senators and Representatives of the Nation in Philadelphia, then the National capital, including men of both parties and both sections of the Union—Federalists and Republicans, Northerners and Southerners.

President Washington's Tours.

In spite of party strife and sectional dissensions, the unity of the Nation had been strikingly illustrated in President Washington's tours. In October and November, 1789, he visited New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Connecticut. In August, 1790, he visited Rhode Island, which only had joined the Union by ratifying the National Constitution since his visit to New England the previous year. In April, May and June, 1791, he made a tour of the Middle and Southern States. Everywhere he was received with greater homage than ever had been accorded to any crowned head. Although this homage was offered to him as an individual, it had a beneficial effect upon the Union at large.

Federalists and Republicans, or Democrats.

During Washington's first term the two parties which divided the Nation crystallized into two powerful political organizations, the founders and recognized leaders of which were the two leading members of the President's Cabinet. The one party, called the Republican, or Democratic party, headed by Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State,

GREAT ENGLISH AUTHORS

advocated the distribution of power among the States and the people. The other party, called the Federalist party, headed by Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, advocated the concentration of great power in the National government. The Republicans, being the State Rights party, were generally more favorable to the old Confederation; while, the Federalists, being the strong Union and National party, were the special champions of the new National Constitution. The feeling between these two parties was most bitter. The Republicans reproached the Federalists as monarchists, while the Federalists denounced the Republicans as anarchists. An ultra faction of the Republicans were called Democrats, and the Federalists often applied that name to the entire Republican party, though Jefferson and his followers only called themselves Republicans. The wealthy, the moneyed and capitalistic classes, the aristocrats generally, the cultured and professional classes largely, especially the clergy—the classes generally called "the better elements"—including the Tories of the Revolution, were in the Federalist party; while "the common people" and lower classes were Republicans. The Federalists were strongest in the North, especially in New England, which was overwhelmingly Federalist; while the Republicans were the dominant party in the South. The Republicans sympathized with Revolutionary and Republican France in her war with Great Britain and the crowned heads of Continental Europe; while the Federalists, shocked by the excesses of the French Reign of Terror, were disposed to side with Great Britain.

Hamilton's and Jefferson's Views.

Alexander Hamilton had no confidence in popular government. Had it not been for Jefferson and his followers the government of the United States would have been very different from what it is now. The political contests of that day were really contests between the principles of kingly and popular government. Jefferson stated that at dinner parties of that day he was generally the only one who had full confidence in republican institutions.

Hamilton's and Adams's Views of the British Constitution.

Hamilton was not only a monarchist, but avowed himself in favor of a monarchy with corruption. On one occasion, in April, 1791, Mr. Adams remarked concerning the British Constitution: "Purge it of its corruption and give to its popular branch equality of representation, and it would be the most perfect constitution ever devised by the wit of man." Thereupon Hamilton remarked: "Purge it of its corruption and give to its popular branch equality of representation, and it would become an impracticable government. As it stands at present, with all its supposed defects, it is the most perfect government which ever existed."

Mr. Adams himself during his mission to England had imbibed monarchical notions, and was for that reason taken up by the Federalists as

Anti-Republican Views of Federalist Leaders.

a candidate in his absence. Gouverneur Morris was also a strong monarchist and intensely hostile to the French Revolution. General Schuyler also asserted that hereditary descent was as likely to produce good magistrates as election. Alexander Hamilton on one occasion remarked that the Constitution of the United States was "a shilly shally thing, of mere milk and water, which can not last, and is only good as a step to something better." He openly declared that "there is no stability, no security, in any kind of government but a monarchy." General Knox, President Washington's Secretary of War, at the time of the President's inauguration swore that our government must be entirely new modeled or it would be knocked to pieces in less than ten years; that he would not give a copper for it as it is at present, and that the President's character, not the written Constitution, kept it together. President Washington himself was afraid that this government was fast sinking into anarchy. Said a United States Senator of that time: "Ah! things will never go right till you have a President for life and an hereditary Senate."

Party Views as to the Constitution.

One of the points on which the two parties were now contending was the interpretation of the National Constitution. The Federalists very naturally maintained that the Constitution should be construed liberally —that is, in such a manner as to give the National government the full measure of its powers. The Republicans, or anti-federalists—the old federalists of the Constitutional Convention days—favored limiting the provisions of the Constitution, if not as far as possible, at least as far as they considered requisite to the independence of the States and of the people. Every subject introduced into Congress excited questions of Congressional powers. The organization of the government, the creation of a tariff, of a National debt and of a National bank were all argued for or against, in accordance with the various views of the work to be performed by Congress. Party spirit, by no means confined to constitutional arguments, appeared on every occasion, charging the Federalists, the party then in power, with monarchical schemes as their ends and with corrupt practices as their means, while the Republicans were accused of tendencies to intrigue, to sedition and to anarchy. The temper on both sides was so violent that there arose the cry of dissolution of the Union—when the Union had just been formed.

Sectional Views.

The most threatening of all the passions so prematurely exploding were those sectional ones of the North and the South. The same division that had been observed to be greater than any other before the Constitution was framed and adopted continued to be still the greater. The subjects of dissension between the Northern and the Southern States were even greater or more absorbing than the controversies be-

tween the Federalists and the Republicans. In fact, the divisions of the two sections of the Union were rather strengthened by these two parties; the Federalists, as a rule, having their majorities in the North, while the Republicans were the majority party in the South. This was unavoidable; as the interests of Northern industry, such as shipping, commerce and manufactures, demanded from the National government a policy wholly different from the policy demanded by the interests of Southern agriculture.

Slavery Question.

Slavery was at the bottom of the great line of division between the two sections of the Union. The points of this troublesome subject were as threatening as ever, notwithstanding the compromises of the Constitution. In the very year of the organization of the National government petitions were presented to Congress by the Quakers of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware, asking for the abolition of the slave trade. Congress was powerless to interfere with this traffic for twenty years, on account of the provision relating thereto in the Constitution. Nevertheless the introduction of the subject caused a storm, as characterized by a member of Congress from Georgia, which lasted for some weeks, until the adoption of a committee's report that Congress had no authority over the slave trade, except with foreign countries, until 1808, the date prescribed by the National Constitution. The abolition of slavery in the North during the period of the Revolution, and its retention in the South in spite of the doctrine of the rights of man as enunciated in the Declaration of Independence, sowed the seeds of future dissension and National strife, Mason and Dixon's Line being the boundary between the Free States and the Slave States. The founders of the Republic from the South were themselves slaveholders, including the Revolutionary commander-in-chief and the author of the Declaration of Independence, though they freed their slaves before their deaths.

Congress on the Slavery Question

At the same time Congress expressly declared that it had no jurisdiction in the treatment or the emancipation of the slaves. In spite of this declaration of Congress an earnest Delaware Quaker sent in a petition several years later asking for the abolition of slavery. This petition was returned to its author, November, 1792. A memorial in January, 1794, from a convention of societies for the abolition of slavery, held at Philadelphia, asking Congress to take such action as the Constitution permitted against the slave trade, led to the passage of an act prohibiting the slave traffic with foreign lands. There appears to have been no opposition on the part of the Southern States to the suppression of the slave trade, and these States were all moving more or less actively in this direction, so that by 1798 this traffic was prohibited in all the States, though South Carolina revived it in 1804.

What the South opposed only was the interference of Congress with the institution of slavery as it then existed within the limits of the United States.

Slavery or Freedom in the Territories.

As to slavery in the Territories of the United States the opposing theories of subsequent times were not yet distinctly formed, though there was a premonition of future dissensions on this point. It was generally agreed that Congress had no authority over the institution in the States; but it was generally maintained on one side, and by no means generally opposed on the other side, that Congress had full power over the existence of slavery or any other system in the Territories of the United States. This view was based on the clause which says: "The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States." The same view was based also on that clause of the Constitution which declares: "New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union." On these two clauses the opponents of slavery relied as authorizing Congress to exclude that institution from any new Territories to be organized or from any new States to be admitted into the Union.

North-west Territory as a Precedent.

The great precedent of the North-west Territory, where slavery was expressly prohibited by the Continental Congress under the Articles of Confederation, was ratified by the first Congress under the National Constitution. The Northern men looked upon the prohibition as not only ratified, but as a precedent to be strictly followed. The Southern men were very apprehensive that it might be followed, especially as it had been proposed by a Southern man, Thomas Jefferson, to exclude slavery from all the unsettled Territories of the United States. In 1789 North Carolina had ceded her western lands, embracing what soon became the State of Tennessee, to the United States on the express condition "that no regulation made or to be made by Congress shall tend to the emancipation of the slaves."

Starting Point of Future Strife.

This was the starting point of all future sectional strife on the slavery question. Congress might reject the proposed condition on the ground that its jurisdiction over the Territories was not to be thus hampered, or it might take the directly-opposite ground that it had no authority to impose any conditions on the Territories. If Congress took either position permanently the question of slavery in the Territories might recur at any time, but the constitutional principle on which it could be decided every time would have been established. There appears to have then been little, if any, perception of all this, not even President Washington, who was set against all sectional divisions, exerting himself to end this prolific source of sectional strife and political dissension. Congress accepted North Carolina's cessio

of her western territory and in 1790 organized the ceded region into the Territory South of the Ohio.

Jefferson's View of Washington.

Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of Foreign Affairs and leader of the Republican party, wrote to President Washington thus: "The confidence of the whole Union is centered in you. Your being at the helm will be more than an answer to every argument which can be used to alarm and lead the people in any quarter into violence or secession. North and South will hang together if they have you to hang on."

Hamilton's View of Washington.

Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury and leader of the Federalist party, wrote to the honored and revered President in these words: "It is clear that a general and strenuous effort is making in every State to place the administration of the National government in the hands of its enemies, as if they were its safest guardians; that the period of the next House of Representatives is likely to prove the crisis of its permanent character; that if you continue in office nothing materially mischievous is to be apprehended—if you quit much is to be dreaded."

Randolph's View of Washington.

Edmund Randolph, Attorney-General, a sort of leader of a middle party neither wholly Federalist nor wholly Republican, wrote as follows: "The fuel which has been already gathered for combustion wants no addition. But how awfully might it be increased were the violence which is now suspended by a universal submission to your pretensions let loose by your resignation!"

Washington's Reelection.

Thus urged by his three Cabinet officers, all of them leaders of different parties, Washington felt obliged to accept another term of the Presidency, and in the fall and winter of 1792–'93 the "Father of His Country" was again the unanimous choice of his countrymen and by the unanimous vote of the Electors was again chosen as the Nation's Chief Magistrate; while John Adams was again elected Vice-President.

Party Spirit.

The animosity of party feeling was the one thing over which President Washington had no influence, though this animosity thus far spared him. He vainly endeavored to keep the peace even in his own Cabinet. Jefferson and Hamilton were continually at sword's points until Jefferson's retirement in 1794. In Congress all was uproar, as the slightest question was sufficient to array the Northerner against the Southerner, the Federalist against the Republican.

Democrats.

Outside of Congress the tumult was ever on the increase, as influences were at work swelling the dissensions of the Nation with, as characterized by President Washington, "very different views, some bad, and, if I might be allowed to use so harsh an expression, diabolical." The views to which the President here alluded were those of a radical faction mainly from the Republican ranks called *Democrats*,

who gathered in societies modeled after the French revolutionists, and which Washington wrote "might shake the government to its foundation."

Opposition to Excise Laws.

The violent passion of the times finally manifested itself in a formidable popular insurrection. The excise upon domestic distilled spirits enacted by Congress in 1791 greatly agitated some parts of the Union where distillation had been common. So violent was the opposition to these excise laws in the interior counties of North Carolina and Pennsylvania in 1792 that the President considered it necessary to issue a proclamation, calling upon his fellow-citizens to uphold the laws. The excitement in North Carolina gradually subsided. Not so in Pennsylvania, however, where an outbreak occurred known in history as the *Whiskey Insurrection.*

Whiskey Insurrection in Pennsylvania, with Threatened Secession.

In the interior and western counties of Pennsylvania the people rose in arms in 1794, resisted the government officers sent to collect the tax, robbed the mails and committed many other outrages. In the vicinity of Pittsburg especially many acts of violence were committed. An armed mob of several thousand men was followed by a convention of more than two hundred delegates in August, 1794. Albert Gallatin, the most prominent figure in this convention, espoused the cause of law and order. Some of the delegates were merely intent on suspending the collection of the excise, while others openly menaced secession from the Union.

Its Suppression.

President Washington met the crisis by a proclamation, "warning the insurgents to desist from their opposition to the laws." At the same time he appointed commissioners to proceed to the disturbed districts and to persuade the malcontents to return peaceably to their homes. When it was found that only force, or a show of force, would quell the insurrection the President issued another proclamation announcing the march of fifteen thousand militia from Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland and Virginia under his own command into the troubled region; but, as the insurgents had disappeared before the approach of the troops, he left General Henry Lee, of Virginia, the gallant Revolutionary cavalry officer and father of the renowned Confederate military chieftain in the Great Civil War seventy years later, to complete the restoration of order. Many prisoners were taken in November, 1794, but no executions followed. Washington alluded to this affair as "the contest whether a small proportion of the United States shall dictate to the whole Union."

Indian War in the West.

In the same year—1794—the United States government suppressed another serious outbreak which menaced the Nation. This was a formidable Indian uprising in the North-west Territory, in that part of that vast region embraced in the present States of Ohio and Indiana

In the summer of 1790 the Indians north of the Ohio, encouraged by British emissaries, made an effort to recover the vast Western wilderness as far as the Ohio river. A military force of a thousand men—partly United States troops and partly Pennsylvania and Kentucky militia, were sent into the hostile Indian country in 1790.

Defeats of Generals Harmer and St. Clair.

Two detachments under Colonel Hardin, of Kentucky, were ambushed and defeated near the site of the present city of Fort Wayne, Indiana, in October, 1790; while the main body under General Harmer marched, countermarched and then retreated before the savages. In 1791 several bodies of volunteers invaded the Indian country; and late in the autumn of the same year General Arthur St. Clair led an army of two thousand troops into the same region and constructed forts for defense, but was surprised and defeated by the Indians, November 4, 1791. The years 1792 and 1793 were spent in vain efforts at peace negotiation.

General Wayne's Victory over the Indians.

Finally, in 1794, an army of about four thousand men, under the command of General Anthony Wayne, the hero of Stony Point, was sent to subdue the hostile tribes. After passing the winter and spring in camp, Wayne marched against the Indians in the summer. After securing his rear by forts along his route, he finally overtook and completely vanquished the savages, August 20, 1794, near the site of the present Maumee City, Ohio, driving them from their posts and laying waste their fields, thus forcing them to beg for peace.

Treaty of Greenville with the Indians.

A year after his great victory over the Indians, General Wayne negotiated a treaty of peace with them at Greenville, in the present State of Ohio, August, 1795, by which the Indians ceded to the United States a vast extent of territory, August, 1795. A year later the restless Indian tribes on the south-western border who also had been at war with the whites made peace with the United States, 1796. The payment of indemnities to the Indians by the United States was an acknowledgment that the whites were more the aggressors than were the savages. Thenceforth until near the commencement of the War of 1812 with Great Britain the North-western Indians lived at peace with the United States.

Indian Interests.

The relations of the National government with the Indians were not all warlike, and no action of Washington's administration was more creditable or more original than the policy which the President continually urged towards the Indians in supplying their needs and improving their condition. A National system of trade was adopted to protect the Indians against the frauds of white traders, and a number of laws were passed by Congress to protect them against the aggressions of frontier white settlers and to secure them in the rights granted to them by their treaties with the National government. Said Presi-

Washington's Views Thereon.

dent Washington in a message to Congress in December, 1795: "I add with pleasure that the probability of their civilization is not diminished by the experiments which have been thus far made under the auspices of the government. The accomplishment of this work, if practicable, will reflect undying luster on our National character and administer the most grateful consolation that virtuous minds can know."

John Heckewelder, the Moravian Missionary.

Among the agents employed by the administration in its humane efforts to elevate the Indians was a very remarkable Moravian missionary who had spent many years in efforts to Christianize the Indians. This man was John Heckewelder, who was born in England, of German parentage, and who came to Pennsylvania in his youth, and there as early as 1771 became a Moravian missionary among the Delaware and Mohegan Indians, being a worthy successor to those other two Moravian missionaries noted for their labors in converting the Indians of Pennsylvania during the middle part of the eighteenth century—Nicholas Louis Count Zinzendorf and David Zeisberger. Heckewelder devoted his life to the conversion of the Indians, preaching the Gospel to them and writing of them to win for them the favor of the white race. In his old age he wrote: "I still indulge the hope that this work will be accomplished by a wise and benevolent government." Speaking of the Indians, in allusion to their sufferings and wrongs at the hands of the whites, Heckewelder once said: "Often I have listened to these descriptions of their hard sufferings, until I felt ashamed of being a white man."

The Piratical Barbary States of North Africa.

The barbarous foes that the United States had to deal with during Washington's administration were not only the savage Indian tribes within its borders. There was a foe on the other side of the Atlantic not less barbarous—the Barbary states of Northern Africa. For several centuries these Barbary states had been in the habit of sweeping the Mediterranean sea with their piratical craft, robbing the vessels of Christian nations of their cargoes and making captives of their crews. Strange to say, the great Christian powers of Europe, instead of putting a stop to this nefarious business of the buccaneering Barbary states, paid an annual tribute to the corsairs as a bribe for the security of their commerce. In 1785 the freebooters of Algiers had captured two American vessels and carried their crews into captivity and slavery, seizing the merchandise and holding the seamen as slaves for ransom. To stop such outrages, Congress, in 1794, made appropriations for a navy. In 1795 the Dey of Algiers agreed to release his American captives and to respect American commerce in the Mediterranean upon the payment of tribute by the United States government similar to the tribute he received from the European powers. The

Tribute to Algiers.

United States agreed to this, paying a million dollars in immediate cash and promising an annual tribute of fifty thousand dollars in addition. The United States made similar treaties with the rulers of the piratical Barbary states of Tunis and Tripoli.

Foreign Relations of the United States.

The relations of the United States with the civilized nations of the Old World were also very unsatisfactory. The monarchies of Europe showed very little love or respect for the infant republic of the New World, of which they knew comparatively nothing. What was of great importance to a new nation just rising out of depression and obscurity was very insignificant in the eyes of the old nations of Europe, who for centuries had been accustomed to dealing with great interests and with great resources. The relations of these European nations with the new American nation were matters of little consequence to them; but the relations of the United States to these old and great European powers absorbed the chief attention of the American people for a full quarter of a century.

Commercial Treaty with Prussia.

Said John Quincy Adams, the son of Vice President John Adams and himself a Minister of the United States abroad during Washington's administration: "Our fathers extended the hand of friendship to every nation on the globe." The United States concluded a commercial treaty with Prussia under King Frederick the Great in 1785. Alluding to this treaty, Vice President John Adams remarked: "This consecrated three fundamental principles of foreign intercourse: First, equal reciprocity and the mutual stipulation of the commercial exchanges of peace; secondly, the abolition of private war on the ocean; and thirdly, restrictions favorable to neutral commerce upon belligerent parties with regard to contraband of war and blockades. These principles were assumed as cardinal points of the policy of the Union." But this was a policy antagonistic to the usages and prerogatives of the European powers, and therefore it did not meet with a hearty welcome from those powers, as we shall see in the course of our narrative.

Treaty with Spain.

One of the first of the nations of Europe to enter into settled relations with the infant republic of North America was Spain. Through its colonial authorities in Florida, that power had been supposed to be instigating the Southern Indian tribes of the United States against the American government and people; while, on the other hand, it was well known that several expeditions from the Southern and Western frontiers of the United States had been planned against the Spanish provinces of Florida and Louisiana. All this time the boundary line between Florida and the United States had been unsettled, as was the question of the navigation of the Mississippi river. Finally, Thomas Pinckney, of South Carolina, was sent to Spain as a special envoy of

the United States to adjust the questions at issue between the two nations. After almost a year's negotiation, a treaty was concluded in 1795, defining the Florida boundary and opening the Mississippi river to the commerce of the United States; but the Spaniards were not punctual in fulfilling the stipulations of a treaty in which they manifested very little interest.

Relations with Great Britain and France.

Though the relations of the United States with Spain were unsatisfactory, those with Great Britain and France were in a much worse condition. It is necessary to allude to those two great nations together, as it was their common, and not their separate, interests that operated to the extent about to be described. The American people still entertained feelings of friendship for France, their recent ally, while still cherishing feelings of animosity to Great Britain, their late foe. The seeds thus planted in the war still fresh in the memories of Americans were not eradicated so easily even in a time of peace. Great Britain still manifested a spirit of veiled hostility toward the United States, maintaining troops upon the American frontiers on the north until her demands were satisfied, while at the same time she imposed restraint after restraint upon American commerce. The year 1789, which was characterized as the beginning of Washington's administration, was also signalized by the commencement of the French Revolution, the most gigantic civil and political commotion that the world has thus far seen. The early movements of the French Revolution excited the sympathy of the American people, who out of gratitude to their late ally and love for civil liberty and political equality hailed the action of the French people.

Mutual Recriminations.

There were mutual recriminations between the United States and Great Britain. The United States accused Great Britain of violating the treaty of 1783, by retaining possession of military posts in the North-west Territory and by withholding indemnification for negroes carried away at the close of the Revolution; and complaint was also made that British emissaries had excited the Indians of the North-west to hostilities against the American people; that to retaliate on France American vessels had been seized by British cruisers, and that American seamen had been impressed into the British naval service. Great Britain complained that the United States did not comply with treaty stipulations respecting the property of Tories and also in relation to the recovery of debts contracted in England before the Revolution.

Political Parties and Foreign Relations.

Upon the question of the foreign relations of the United States the American people were divided upon party lines. In the war between Great Britain and Revolutionary France, the Federalist party, shocked by the excesses of the French Jacobins, sided with Great Britain; while the Republican party sympathized openly with the new French Re-

public. The sentiment for Great Britain, on the one hand, was strengthened by the memories of the old days before the American Revolution when the Anglo-American colonies fought side by side with their Mother Country against her old hereditary enemy, France; while the sentiment for France was strengthened by the feeling of gratitude toward her for aiding the Americans in their struggle for independence against Great Britain.

Effect of Excesses of the French Revolution.

The new impulse given to those Americans who were still disposed to love their old mother land, notwithstanding the political separation wrought by the War of American Independence, was highly stimulated by the early excesses of the French Revolution. The Americans, with their ideas of law and order, could not with unanimity side with the French Revolutionary party, who were rioters from the first and who soon became destroyers and assassins, and not freemen struggling for liberty regulated by law. As a result, many Americans hesitated, then turned with distrust and disgust from the scenes of blood and massacre of which unhappy France was the victim, and entertained kindlier feelings towards the sedater and wiser British nation. On the other hand, the Republican party in the United States, especially the faction of that party called Democrats, openly applauded not only the liberty, but also the license and bloodshed, of the French Revolution, becoming more enthusiastic and demonstrative in their sympathies as the scenes in France became wilder and bloodier. Thus the Federalists became the anti-French party, while the Republicans became the pro-French party.

President Washington's Proclamation of Neutrality.

Though most Americans were disposed to be simply spectators of the events transpiring in Europe, there were some, from the radical Democratic faction of the Republican party, so excited and impulsive as to be ready to go to any extremes when their idol, the French Republic, declared war against Great Britain, the late unfilial mother of the American people. The divisions of the American people and the animosities of party spirit among them arose to a dangerous point when President Washington, in his wisdom and greatness and in his solicitude to keep the United States free from the complications of European politics, issued a proclamation of neutrality, declaring it to be the duty and interest of the people of the United States to observe a perfectly-neutral attitude toward the European struggle, April 22, 1793. Said the President in this proclamation: "The duty and interest of the United States require that they should with sincerity and good faith adopt and pursue a conduct friendly and impartial towards the belligerent powers."

Its Wisdom.

This proclamation was a memorable act in American history, and its purpose has not always been properly estimated. The new American

nation was tasked to its utmost by a number of serious trials. It was obliged to subdue a formidable league of Indian tribes, to suppress lawless elements within its own borders, to pay tribute to Algiers and to keep the Spaniards to their treaty obligations, and was not, therefore, in a position to enter safely as a combatant into the gigantic struggle which was shaking Europe to its very foundations. Were such a thing attempted, it might jeopardize the very national independence that so recently had been achieved after a mighty expenditure of blood and treasure. There were two risks in taking such a momentous step. One of these risks was that the United States would be a subordinate ally in such a foreign war. The other risk was a still greater one—the danger of a civil war within its own borders, aroused by the passions engendered by such a foreign war. Washington's object in issuing his neutrality proclamation was, as he said, " to keep the United States free."

Genet's Mission and His Conduct.

Matters soon came to a severe test. The French Republic, after arousing a general coalition of European crowned heads against itself by decapitating its dethroned king, Louis XVI., sent M. Genet as its Minister to the United States. As an enthusiastic representative of the new republic on the other side of the Atlantic to the new republic on this side of the same ocean, M. Genet aroused fresh enthusiasm in the pro-French party in the United States. He was feasted at Charleston, South Carolina, where he landed in April, 1793, and at all the other principal towns in the Southern States along his route northward to Philadelphia, the National capital. Such welcome receptions led him to conclude that the whole American people were ready to sustain him in any course that he might pursue. At Charleston he fitted out privateers to prey upon the commerce of Great Britain, Spain and Holland, against which nations Republican France had declared war, and he also ordered that the prizes taken by these privateers should be tried and condemned by the French consuls in the United States.

His Bold Decision and Action.

Genet's conduct was a plain violation of the treaty of commerce between France and the United States. Though this treaty provided that the privateers and prizes of the French should be admitted to the American ports, it did not provide for the commissioning of privateers or the condemnation of prizes by French consuls within the jurisdiction of the United States. And he soon found that he had no unanimous people to sustain him, while he must deal with a united government, which was determined to put a check to his unwarranted assumptions. Therefore, when he arrived at Philadelphia he was at once made aware of the stand of the United States government in relation to his conduct. Instead of quietly subsiding, Genet showed fight in his attitude toward the government to which he was accredited. He made

a resolute stand for his privateers and his consular courts, appealing from the President to Congress and the American people and trying to arouse the people against their governmnt, thus setting his supporters and his opponents bitterly at variance.

Warlike Attitude of the Pro-French Party.

The Republican, or pro-French party in the United States now openly advocated war against Great Britain. Said Vice President John Adams: "Marat, Robespierre, Brissot and the Mountain were the constant themes of panegyric and the daily toasts at table. * * * Washington's house was surrounded by an innumerable multitude from day to day, huzzaing, demanding war against England, cursing Washington and crying, 'Success to the French patriots and virtuous republicans.' Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, toasted publicly, 'The Mountain, may it be a pyramid that shall reach the skies.'"

Genet's Recall.

One day Washington exclaimed in great excitement: "I had rather be in my grave than in my present situation." However, the President was more than equal to his duty; and in August, 1793, with the support of his Cabinet, he requested the French Republic to recall its imprudent Minister. As the Girondist party in France, which had sent Genet on his mission, had fallen before the sanguinary Jacobins, the latter very readily heeded the President's request and sent M. Fauchet as its Minister to the United States in place of M. Genet.

French Violation of American Neutrality.

But the difficulties were too deep-seated and complicated to be adjusted by a mere change of Ministers. The French Republic had pronounced against American neutrality indirectly by ordering that neutral vessels carrying goods belonging to her enemies should be captured, May 1, 1793; after which an embargo was laid upon the shipping at Bordeaux; both of which measures were a direct violation of the treaty between France and the United States.

British Violation of American Neutrality.

But the utmost that France did in the violation of American neutrality was very little in comparison with Great Britain's conduct in the same direction. France had ordered the goods of any of her enemies liable to capture on the high seas. In retaliation, Great Britain now ordered the goods of a neutral power, if consisting of provisions for her enemy, to be captured on the high seas or purchased, unless shipped to a friendly port, June, 1793. Afterward Great Britain ordered that all vessels laden with the produce of a French colony or with supplies for the same, if taken, were lawful prizes, November, 1793; but this arbitrary decree was modified by Great Britain in January, 1794.

British Search and Impressment of American Seamen.

But the worst of all British aggressions upon the high seas, from which Americans were especially the sufferers on account of the similarity of language and appearance of Britons and Americans, was the right claimed by Great Britain to search neutral vessels for sus-

pected deserters from the British navy and to impress into her naval service all seamen of British birth, wherever found; Great Britain, like the other European nations, then denying the right of any of her subjects to renounce their allegiance to their native country and to became the citizens or subjects of another nation. In accordance with her search and impressment doctrine, British cruisers would stop the ships of the United States, search them and seize their crews; and, as a result, very frequently Americans sailors, as well as British naval deserters, were the victims of British search and impressment. These proceedings aroused a thrill of indignation and defiance throughout the United States and finally threatened an open rupture between the two nations.

Views of British Rulers.

Great Britain's course in this particular admits of ready explanation. Her rulers considered the Americans merely a commercial people who were contributing to her enemy's resources. President Washington was informed from London that the British government was certain that in the United States "there was a party so decidedly in the British sentiment that bearing and forbearing would be carried to any length."

Threatened War with Great Britain.

But British statesmen were mistaken, as even the Federalist, or anti-French party in the United States were earnest in sustaining the necessity of preparations for defensive war with Great Britain. Congress voted a temporary embargo upon American ports in March, 1794, for the purpose of suspending commercial intercourse. The House of Representatives passed an act prohibiting all trade with Great Britain and her colonies until she redressed the wrongs which she had committed, but the act was defeated in the Senate by the Vice President's casting vote, April, 1794. The pro-French party was ready for further action, but the anti-French Federalists were prepared to resist it. Had President Washington expressed himself in favor of war with Great Britain war certainly would have resulted, such was the temper of the American people at the time.

Jay's Mission.

Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, had recently resigned his position in Washington's Cabinet, thus leaving his great personal and political opponent, Alexander Hamilton, as the head of the Cabinet. As the leading member of his administration, President Washington would have assigned Hamilton the special mission which it was proposed to send to Great Britain. But, as an extreme Federalist, Hamilton was not so acceptable to the great majority of Congress and of the Nation as to be entrusted with a mission which was itself distrusted and unacceptable. Therefore, the President selected Chief Justice John Jay for this special service—a far more appropriate choice than the selection of Hamilton would have been. The great Federalist leader would have been the representative of a party rather than of the

Nation, as he was always a party man whether in or out of office. But the Chief Justice, though a Federalist, was not a partisan. Of all the great men of the time, Jay was perhaps the only one that, with Washington, held himself aloof from the tarnishes and collisions of the two great opposing parties. He was the man most fit to unite with Washington to rescue the Nation from its threatening perils.

Jay's Treaty.

Accordingly, Jay went on his mission to England; and, after some months of anxious diplomacy, he was successful in negotiating a treaty which provided for the adjustment of the matters in dispute between the two nations, November, 1794. By this treaty the United States agreed to indemnify their British creditors; while Great Britain consented to surrender the military posts which she had held so long in the Northwest, the surrender to take effect June 1, 1795. Great Britain also promised to indemnify the victims of her system of search and impressment; but the system, though partially modified, was by no means renounced. Great Britain also made a few concessions to the claims of American commerce, but she still maintained her rigid policy, especially in relation to her colonial trade. At any rate, the treaty did not recognize the rights of Americans as neutrals or their privileges as traders, both of which were matters of the highest importance to their commercial interests. However, the earlier subjects of dispute were adjusted, and the later ones were somewhat smoothed over. Though both Jay and Washington did not look upon the treaty as fully satisfactory, they both regarded it as better than war; and the United States Senate, convened in special session in June, 1795, advised the ratification of the treaty.

Violent Popular Opposition.

But the Nation at large took a different view and violently opposed ratification. Public meetings were held in every part of the United States, at which violent harangues were delivered, denunciatory resolutions were adopted, copies of the treaty were destroyed and Chief Justice Jay was burned in effigy. The French tricolor and the Stars and Stripes were enthusiastically displayed together on these occasions, while the British Union Jack was dragged through the dirt and burned before the residence of the British Minister in Philadelphia.

Ratification of the Treaty.

Instead of intimidating the National government, all this violent opposition had the opposite effect. President Washington wrote: "I have never, since I have been in the administration of the government, seen a crisis which is pregnant with more interesting events, nor one from which more is to be apprehended." He afterwards asked: "Did the treaty with Great Britain surrender any right of which the United States had been in possession? Did it make any change or alteration in the law of nations, under which Great Britain had acted in defiance of all the powers of Europe? If none of these, why all this

farrago?" The Republican, or pro-French party were of course the active leaders in all this violent agitation. The Federalists, as friends of the treaty, stayed in the background at first, but soon rallied to the President's support, assuring him and his administration of the Nation's unabated confidence in him. At the same time, Edmund Randolph, Jefferson's successor as Secretary of Foreign Affairs, being suspected of intrigue with the French Minister at Philadelphia, resigned, thus producing a reaction against the pro-French influence and partisanship. With the advice of the President's Cabinet, the Senate ratified the treaty, August, 1795.

Virginia's Opposition to the Treaty.

The ratification of the treaty did not end popular opposition. The Legislature of the President's own State approved of the stand of the United States Senators from that State against the treaty and defeated a resolution expressing undiminished confidence in him and his administration. Virginia—being strongly Republican and consequently strongly pro-French and anti-British, thus following her two other distinguished sons, the great orator of the Revolution and the author of the Declaration of Independence, rather than the distinguished chief commander of the Revolutionary armies—was so extreme in her opposition to the treaty that her Legislature went so far in its wrath as to propose an amendment of the National Constitution requiring the assent of the National House of Representatives as essential to the ratification of a treaty with a foreign power, November, 1795.

Opposition in Congress.

Virginia's example, in thus turning her back upon her distinguished son to whom she had thus far clung with a mother's pride, was reflected in the National House of Representatives, where the phrase of "undiminished confidence" was stricken from an address of the House to the President, December, 1795. During the course of the session a bitter struggle ensued concerning the bills for carrying the treaty into effect. The foes of the treaty endeavored to obtain the papers relating to the treaty, on the plea that the House had the power to consent to or refuse to execute the stipulations of the treaty. After a three weeks' discussion, the House called upon the President for the specified documents. As the President and his Cabinet were of the opinion that the House had exceeded its powers, the request of the House was refused. The Republican leaders in the House then exerted themselves to defeat the bills on which the execution of the treaty depended. After a fortnight's debate, in which Fisher Ames, of Massachusetts, was the most prominent defender of the treaty, the House, by a bare majority, passed the bills providing for the execution of the treaty, March and April, 1796.

Neutrality Principle Established.

Thus ended the great event of Washington's administration. The course of his administration followed exactly the principles upon which

he entered office. In the face of the two great political parties that divided the American people, in the face of their feelings and their relations to Great Britain and France, the President perceived but one alternative—peace or war. This dread alternative was not peace or war with foreigners alone, but also at home between two sections of the American people themselves. The dangers and interests involved in the decision have been fully portrayed. The President's proclamation of neutrality was the first step. The treaty with Great Britain was the second step and the last so far. The point thus gained may be considered the starting point of the foreign policy of the United States—that of neutrality in the concerns of other nations not affecting American interests. President Washington himself alluded to this subject as follows:

Washington's Statement Thereon.

"My ardent desire is, and my aim has been, to keep the United States free from political connections with every other country, to see them independent of all and under the influence of none. In a word, I want an American character, that the powers of Europe may be convinced we act for ourselves and not for others. This, in my judgment, is the only way to be respected abroad and happy at home; and not, by becoming the partisans of Great Britain or France, create dissensions, disturb the public tranquillity, and destroy, perhaps forever, the cement which binds the Union."

Continued Foreign Aggressions.

Foreign aggressions on the part of Great Britain and Revolutionary France toward the United States continued even after the ratification of Jay's Treaty. Concerning this state of affairs, Washington wrote: "This government, in relation to France and England, may be compared to a ship between Scylla and Charybdis." As the pro-French party in the United States and the American Minister to France, James Monroe, of Virginia, were offended at the treaty with Great Britain, it was naturally to be expected that the French Republic itself would be incensed thereat. In February, 1796, the French government informed Minister Monroe that it considered France's alliance with the United States terminated, assigning as its chief reason the treaty of the United States with Great Britain; but its subsequent list of grievances enumerated all the measures by which American neutrality had been sustained.

France Incensed.

French Aggressions.

To show their earnestness, the French authorities, in July, 1796, in addition to their previous orders of capture and embargo, decreed that neutral vessels be treated precisely as they were treated by Great Britain—that is, that such vessels be stopped, searched and seized upon the high seas. This action was afterward made known to the United States government by a communication from the French envoy, M. Adet, in October, 1796; and the envoy went so far as to appeal to the

American people to take sides with France and against Great Britain in the war, November, 1796. To improve the relations of the United States with France, President Washington had sent Charles Cotesworth Pickney, of South Carolina, to France as the American Minister there in place of Monroe, September, 1796. But Minister Pickney was refused an audience by the French Directory, December, 1796, and was even ordered to leave France, February, 1797.

Bitter Party Spirit.

The two parties in the United States—Federalist and Republican, pro-French and anti-French—that distracted the Nation were never before so bitter toward each other. President Washington wrote: "Until within the last year or two I had no idea that parties would, or even could, go to the length I have been witness to." Congress was a constant battle-ground between the parties. The Federal party was falling into a minority in the House of Representatives and was in danger of losing its majority in the Senate also. Newspapers, especially those of Philadelphia, carried the hostile notes from Congress to the people and echoed them back to Congress. It is difficult to convey an idea of the virulence of political writing at that time. Statesmanship gave way to partisanship, love of country to hatred of countrymen. All this rendered the course of the administration doubtful and dangerous, while demonstrating its wisdom and its concern for the general public welfare.

Washington Assailed.

President Washington and his adminstration were objects of the fiercest assault. The President wrote with natural indignation of the abuse which he had been subjected to, calling himself "no party man" and saying of this abuse "and that, too, in such exaggerated and indecent terms as could scarcely be applied to a Nero, a notorious defaulter or even to a common pickpocket."

His Farewell Address.

In the midst of these hostile attacks upon him by the Republican party, Washington issued his immortal *Farewell Address* to the people of the United States, September 17, 1796, in which he made a strong and earnest plea for the Union of the States and an equally-earnest admonition against the violence of party spirit, a thing which he said ought not to be encouraged.

The Two-Term Precedent.

In consequence of the prevailing bitter party spirit, the Presidential campaign of 1796 was an exciting one. Washington would not accept a third term, thus setting an example which ever since has been accepted as the precedent of two terms as the limit for any individual to hold that high office; and the precedent has been strictly adhered to ever since, becoming an "unwritten law" of the Republic. The

Election of John Adams.

Federalist candidate for President in 1796 was John Adams, and the Republican nominee was Thomas Jefferson. Adams was elected President, and Jefferson was chosen Vice President.

Abuse of Washington in Congress.

Congress assembled soon afterward and showed that many of its members were politically unfriendly to the retiring President, during whose wise administration the machinery of the National government had been put in motion. When an address of grateful acknowledgment was proposed in the House of Representatives, a man from the President's State, William Branch Giles, took exception to the more expressive passages, saying: "If I stand alone in my opinion, I will declare that I am not convinced that the administration of the government for these six years has been wise and firm. I do not regret the President's retiring from office." A number of others assumed the same attitude as Giles; and among them was Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, December, 1796.

Washington's Complaint.

The President wrote of himself in January, 1797: "Although he is soon to become a private citizen, his opinions are to be knocked down and his character reduced as low as they are capable of sinking it." Two months afterward, in the last hours of his administration, he said: "To the weary traveler, who sees a resting place and is bending his body to lean thereon, I now compare myself; but to be suffered to do this in peace is too much to be endured by some."

His Retirement.

Thus Washington finally retired to private life, having done greater things at the head of the government than he had done at the head of the army; and, although he left the Nation distracted with party passion, as he had found it, he also left it with a Constitution in operation, with principles and laws for its action, and on the road to progress and development, a condition in which he had not found it. The day before his retirement from office he thus expressed himself: "I can never believe that Providence, which has guided us so long and through such a labyrinth, will withdraw its protection at this crisis."

His Plea for Lafayette.

In May, 1796, Washington, not as President, but simply as an American, had written a "private letter" to the Emperor Francis II. of Germany, "to recommend Lafayette to the mediation of humanity" and "to entreat that he may be permitted to come to this country." The effect of this appeal is unknown, but Lafayette was liberated soon afterward.

President John Adams, A. D. 1797–1801.

Mr. Adams was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1797, as second President of the United States. On account of the unfriendly character of the relations between the United States and France, the President summoned Congress to meet in extra session on the 15th of May following. In July, 1797, he appointed Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, of South Carolina; John Marshall, of Virginia, and Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, as envoys to France for the adjustment of all difficulties. The French government refused to receive them until they should pay a large sum of money into the French treasury. This insolent

Mission to France and Its Failure.

demand was refused with indignation; and two of the envoys, Messrs. Pinckney and Marshall, who were Federalists, left France in April, 1798; while Mr. Gerry, who was a Republican, remained at his post a few months longer, after which he also returned home.

Its Effect in the United States.

Even before the return of Messrs. Pinckney and Marshall the intelligence of their treatment and the demand upon them for money had caused intense excitement throughout the United States, and the whole land rang with the cry: "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute." The Republicans taunted the Federalists with the failure which they had predicted for the missions to France. The Federalists inveighed bitterly against the venality of the French government, some even favoring a declaration of war. President Adams was disposed to side with his party, and he advised Congress to put the Nation in a state of defense, March, 1798.

Preparations for War with France.

The President's recommendation was instantly opposed by the Republican leaders, Vice President Jefferson among them. The Vice President even accused the President of aiming at a dissolution of the Union or at the establishment of a monarchy in the United States. The President was sustained in his course by his Federalist followers, who carried a series of measures through Congress providing for the organization of a provisional army and a naval department for the more efficient management of the existing navy, May, 1798. President Adams, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, issued orders directing American ships to seize all French armed vessels engaged in hostile acts against American shipping and authorizing American merchantmen to arm themselves and capture French vessels which assailed them on the high seas. But, for the purpose of avoiding hostilities as much as possible, the President issued an order prohibiting commercial intercourse with France and her colonies, June, 1798. In July, 1798, ex-President Washington was appointed commander in-chief of the provisional army of the United States, and the Nation was fairly in arms.

Short Naval War with France.

Hostilities ensued on the ocean between American and French vessels, though war was not formally declared. The United States Congress declared its treaties with France void and also authorized President Adams to send out United States warships and to commission privateers for the purpose of capturing French armed ships whether engaged in hostilities or not, July, 1798. American vessels at once overran the seas and captured French privateers or drove them away from the coasts of the United States. Early in 1799 the American schooner *Retaliation* was captured by the French frigate *L'Insurgente;* but the *L'Insurgente* was afterward captured by the American frigate *Constellation*, commanded by Commodore Truxtun, February, 1799.

Hostilities were continued mainly by privateers, and the chief results of this short naval war were the profits of the owners of these privateers. But the war pleased the Federalist party, which favored it. In after years President John Adams exclaimed concerning it: "A glorious and triumphant war it was! The proud pavilion of France was humiliated!"

Alien and Sedition Laws.

To provide ways and means for the prosecution of the brief war with France, Congress imposed stamp duties and taxes on houses and slaves, in addition to the loans that were obtained. To keep down party opposition two very unpopular acts were passed by Congress and approved by President Adams, and these were a severe strain upon the Nation and greatly weakened the Federalist party. These acts were the *Alien* and *Sedition Laws*, passed in June and July, 1798. The Alien Law authorized the President to banish all aliens who were suspected of conspiracy or whose presence he might deem dangerous to the Republic. The Sedition Law imposed fine and imprisonment as penalties for all conspiracies against governmental authority and authorized the suppression of publications which tended to weaken the authority of the National government—conspiracies and publications "with intent to excite any unlawful combination for opposing or resisting any law of the United States or any lawful act of the President."

Their Purpose and Enforcement.

The Alien Law was evidently a party maneuver, as many of the most ardent spirits in the Republican party, especially in the Democratic faction of that party, were aliens. Both acts were only temporary, the Alien Law to remain in force for two years and the Sedition Law till the end of Adams's administration, March 4, 1801. The Alien Law was never enforced, but the Sedition Law was repeatedly put in operation and nearly always on party grounds.

Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions of 1798.

These two acts encountered the most violent opposition from the Republican party, the party opposed to the administration and the war with France. The Republican party was strongest in the South and West; and its leaders there threw down the gauntlet of defiance to the Federalists, and even to the National government, as exemplified in the *Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions of 1798*. In November, 1798, the Kentucky Legislature, in resolutions drawn up for that body by Vice President Jefferson, declared the Alien and Sedition Laws "not law, but altogether void and of no force." A month later —December, 1798—the Virginia Legislature, in resolutions drafted by James Madison, pronounced these two obnoxious laws "palpable and alarming infractions of the Constitution."

Jefferson's and Madison's Views.

But both sets of resolutions were still stronger when they came from the hands of their distinguished authors. Jefferson had written

thus: "Where powers are assumed which have not been delegated, a nullification of the act is the right remedy, and every State has a natural right, in cases not within the compact [the Constitution], to nullify of their own authority all assumptions of power by others within their limits." Madison—who, unlike his fellow Virginians, Jefferson and Patrick Henry, had been a strong friend and advocate of the adoption of the National Constitution—stated that "in case of a deliberate, palpable and dangerous exercise of other powers not granted by the compact, the States, who are the parties thereto, have the right, and are in duty bound, to interpose for correcting the progress of the evil, and for maintaining, within their respective limits, the authorities, rights and liberties appertaining to them." He had made his resolutions declare the two unpopular acts "null, void and of no force or effect."

Action of Other States.

Still neither Kentucky nor Virginia went to the full lengths prescribed for them in the way of nullification; but they went to lengths sufficient to arouse very general opposition from other States in the Union, especially from the Middle and Northern States, where one Legislature after another put forth strong resolutions and declarations denying the right of any State to set itself up in judgment against the National government and to assume the right to nullify any act of the National Congress, thus taking open ground against the extreme State Rights attitude on the question of nullification.

Another Mission to France.

In the midst of this agitation over the powers of Nation and State, President Adams appointed another mission to France, consisting of William Vans Murray, of Maryland; Oliver Ellsworth, of Connecticut, Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court from 1796 to 1800; and William Richardson Davie, of North Carolina, February, 1799. The President assigned as a reason for this fresh effort at negotiation the assurance that he had received, through the United States Minister to the Batavian Republic, of the French government's readiness to treat with a new mission.

The President's Suspected Motives.

The noise over these new envoys was tremendous, especially among the more active Federalists, and even among the leading members of the President's Cabinet, as Timothy Pickering, of Massachusetts, Secretary of State, and Oliver Wolcott, of Massachusetts, Secretary of the Treasury. The President was suspected of urging the mission, in some measure, to revenge himself upon his own party, considering himself badly treated by his fellow Federalists, at least by the more extreme among them. He afterwards wrote thus: "The British faction was determined to have a war with France, and Alexander Hamilton at the head of the army, and then President of the United States. Peace with France was therefore treason."

Peace Treaty with France.

The newly-appointed American envoys arrived in France early in the year 1800. But when they arrived there they found the weak Directory was no more, having been overthown by Napoleon Bonaparte, who was now at the head of the French Republic as First Consul. After some trouble the envoys succeeded in concluding a treaty with France's new master providing partly for mutual redress, but leaving questions at issue between the two nations open for future adjustment, October, 1799. The United States Senate modified the provision for additional negotiations, to which France agreed on condition that the American claims for indemnities should be abandoned. But soon large claims for French spoliations were presented to the United States government. The treaty, however, restored peace.

Trouble with Spain.

Spain, as well as France, had been offended by Jay's Treaty with Great Britain. The old troubles about Florida, especially the one relating to the boundary between that province and the United States, continued. Spain accused Americans of designs against her province of Louisiana, while the United States accused Spaniards of designs against the American portion of the Mississippi Valley. Thus there were mutual recriminations and suspicions.

Mississippi Territory and Slavery.

That part of the old West Florida domain held by the United States and also claimed by Georgia was organized as the Mississippi Territory in 1798, constituting the southern halves of the present States of Alabama and Mississippi. This organization aroused a discussion in Congress concerning slavery, which the organizing act did not prohibit in the Territory. In this case there was no plea like the one which had existed in the case of the Territory South of the Ohio. No cession from a State, no conditions laid any restraint upon Congress. Nevertheless, only twelve votes were cast in favor of an amendment offered by George Thacher, of Massachusetts, prohibiting slavery in the Territory. Congress would not agree to any more than to forbid the importation of slaves from abroad; which was a concession, as the National Constitution permitted the slave trade until 1808. Thus, for the second time—and this time without a requirement by terms with any State—the National government gave its decision in favor of slavery.

Indiana Territory and Slavery.

In 1800 Congress divided the North-west Territory by organizing the new Indiana Territory; the North-west Territory thus being cut down to the limits of the present State of Ohio; and Indiana Territory constituting the immense region comprised by the present States of Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin and the north-eastern part of Minnesota. Slavery was already prohibited in the domain comprised by the vast new Territory, in accordance with the Ordinance of 1787, as passed by the Continental Congress in the closing period of

the old Confederation. As this ordinance was against the fancied interests of the inhabitants of the Indiana Territory, they petitioned Congress twice to tolerate slavery in the new Territory, once in 1803 and again in 1807. Once a committee of Congress reported against the petition, but twice reports in favor of the petition were made. Nevertheless, reports and petitions were fruitless, as Congress absolutely refused to authorize slavery where it already had been expressly prohibited.

Fries's Rebellion in Pennsylvania.

Early in John Adams's administration the National government imposed the so-called "house tax," requiring the assessors to measure and register the panes of glass in windows. This tax was regarded as tyrannical by the German people of Pennsylvania in the counties north and north-west of Philadelphia, and these people forcibly resisted the assessors. Their leader was John Fries, a soldier of the Revolution, from which circumstances the insurrection was called *Fries's Rebellion*. From the fact that the women in certain localities poured hot water on the assessors, the outbreak was also named the *Hot Water Rebellion*. For several months John Fries, with a plumed hat on his head, armed with a sword and a pistol, accompanied by his little dog "Whisky" and about sixty armed men, proceeded from one place to another, arousing the Pennsylvania German population by his violent harangues on the injustice of the "house tax." At length twelve of his followers were arrested by a United States marshal and confined in the Sun Inn at Bethlehem. In March, 1799, Fries appeared before the inn and forced the marshal to release his prisoners. By order of President Adams, Governor Thomas Mifflin then called out the Pennsylvania militia; and Fries, betrayed by his little dog "Whisky," was captured in a swamp south of Allentown. He was tried in Philadelphia for high treason, convicted and sentenced to death, but pardoned by President Adams.

Death of Washington.

At the close of 1799 the Nation was called upon to mourn the loss of the illustrious Washington, who died at his home at Mt. Vernon on the 14th of December, 1799. His last service to his country had been the organization of the provisional army against France, of which he had been appointed the commander-in-chief. The violent party passions of the time had affected the serenity of his declining years, but beside his grave his fellow-countrymen stood united for the moment. General Henry Lee, of Virginia—the great American cavalry commander in the South during the Revolution and the father of the great Confederate General Robert E. Lee in the Civil War—delivered the funeral oration and uttered a sentiment concerning the Father of His Country which has become immortal, representing him as "First in war, first in peace and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

CARPENTER'S HALL
THE PLACE OF FIRST CONGRESS
VIEW OF THE CITY HALL WALL ST 1789
CAPITOL OF THE UNITED STATES AFTER THE CONFLAGRATION IN 1814
THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON D.C.

CAPITOL BUILDINGS OF THE UNITED STATES

"Disturb not his slumbers, let Washington sleep,
'Neath the boughs of the willow that over him weep;
His arm is unnerved, but his deeds remain bright,
As the stars of the dark vaulted heaven at night.
Oh! wake not the hero, his battles are o'er,
Let him rest undisturbed on Potomac's fair shore;
On the river's green border with rich flowers dressed,
With the hearts he loved fondly, let Washington rest.

"Awake not his slumbers, tread lightly around;
'Tis the grave of a freeman—'tis Liberty's mound;
Thy name is immortal—our freedom is won—
Brave sire of Columbia, our own Washington.
Oh! wake not the hero, his battles are o'er,
Let him rest, calmly rest, on his dear native shore;
While the stars and the stripes of our country shall wave
O'er the land that can boast of a Washington's grave."

Washington City, the National Capital.

In the summer of 1800 the seat of the government of the United States was removed from Philadelphia to the new city of Washington, in the District of Columbia; this District being a tract twelve miles square on both sides of the Potomac, ceded to the United States in 1790 by the States of Maryland and Virginia, and the portion on the western side of the river being retroceded to Virginia by the United States in 1846.

Views of Adams and Others.

In conversation President Adams remarked with some warmth concerning his opponents: "You see that an elective government will not do." He also said: "Republicanism must be disgraced, sir." A prominent man of the time remarked that the best thing the French could do was to pray for the restoration of their monarch; whereupon another remarked: "Then the best thing we could do, I suppose, would be to pray for the establishment of monarchy in the United States." The other then replied: "Our people are not yet ripe for it, but it is the best thing we can come to, and we shall come to it."

Other Remarks of Adams

In conversation with Jefferson, President Adams also remarked that no republic could ever last which had not a Senate, and a Senate deeply and strongly rooted, strong enough to bear up against all popular storms and passions; that it was the merest chimera imaginable to trust to a popular assembly for the preservation of our liberties; that anarchy did more mischief in one night than tyranny in an age, and that anarchy had done more harm to France in one night than all the despotism of her kings had ever done in twenty or thirty years. President Adams made the following remark about labor:

His Remark about Labor.

"When the workingmen are paid in return for their labor only as much money as will buy them the necessities of life their condition is identical with that of the slave who receives those necessities at first

hand. The former we call 'free men' and the latter 'slaves,' but the difference is imaginary only."

St. Andrew's Club.

Early in 1800 the St. Andrew's Club of New York—all Scotch Tories—gave a public dinner; and Alexander Hamilton was one of the guests. After dinner the first toast was: "The President of the United States." It was drunk without particular approbation. The next toast was: "George the Third." Hamilton arose and insisted on a bumper and three cheers, whereupon the entire company rose and gave three cheers with a will.

Election of Jefferson.

In 1800 the Federalists nominated John Adams and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney for the Presidency, while the Republicans nominated Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr. This time the Republican party was successful; but, as Jefferson and Burr each had the same number of votes, the election was carried to the House of Representatives, when, after thirty-five ballotings, Jefferson was chosen President, and Burr was declared to be elected Vice President.

Fall of the Federalists.

The election of 1800 reduced the Federalist party to a hopeless minority. The Federalists had done more for the Republic than they had done for themselves. During Washington's administration they had upheld his great measures and originated great measures of their own; but during John Adams's administration they had wasted their strength in quarreling with him or among themselves, and, as a matter of course, his defeat and theirs followed. Their fall was their own work more than it was the work of their political opponents. They had started as the great conservative and aristocratic party, and continually they had shown a distrust of the people that was certain to drive them from power before very long. The daughter of Theodore Sedgwick, one of their most distinguished leaders, said that her father constantly alluded to the masses of the American people as "Jacobins and miscreants," and many other Federalist leaders indulged in similar expressions. Strange to say, the party of the National Constitution—the party which founded the National government—was unable to administer that government; but the qualities that fitted it for the one work may have unfitted it for the other work. John Adams, the Federalist, and Thomas Jefferson, the Republican, both had been identified with the independence and organization of the Nation, and both were highly qualified as statesmen for the Presidency.

President Jefferson, A. D. 1801–1809.

Mr. Jefferson was inaugurated as the third President of the United States on the 4th of March, 1801. In his inaugural address he expressed the conviction that this is the strongest government on the face of the earth and showed his confidence in the rule of the people, at the same time expressing conciliatory sentiments toward his Federalist opponents, saying: "We are all Republicans; we are all

Federalists." He commenced the administration of public affairs with great vigor and ability, and his political foes acknowledged his great wisdom and sound judgment. He made a few changes in the appointive offices, removing Federalist incumbents to make place for his Republican associates. Among the many sayings attributed to President Jefferson was one in which he said that a rebellion in a republic every twenty years was a good thing, as it kept alive the spirit of liberty.

Admission of Ohio.

On November 29, 1802, Ohio was admitted into the family of States, forming the seventeenth of the Union and being the first commonwealth carved out of the great North-west Territory and the first of the new States of the West that was admitted into the Union as a Free State.

Acquisition of Louisiana.

The most important event of Jefferson's administration was the great expansion of the domain of the United States by the purchase of the immense French territory of Louisiana, then extending from the Mississippi river westward to the Rocky Mountains, and from the Gulf of Mexico and the Spanish province of Mexico, or New Spain, northward to the British American possessions. As we have seen, France had claimed and occupied this vast region by virtue of the explorations of the Mississippi Valley by the French explorers in the seventeenth century and had named it in honor of King Louis XIV. By the Peace of Paris in 1763, which closed the Seven Years' War, France had ceded all her territory east of the Mississippi river to Great Britain, and all that part west of that "Great Father of Waters," under the name of Louisiana, to Spain. In 1800 Spain retroceded this vast Louisiana territory to France, after holding possession of that vast territorial domain for thirty-seven years.

Its Previous History.

The Mississippi Closed to American Commerce.

Before retiring from Louisiana the Spanish authorities had excluded the citizens of the United States from New Orleans as a depot for the trade of the Western States, thus closing the mouth of the Mississippi against American commerce; and the French authorities in the retroceded province were suspected of entertaining similar designs. The seizure of New Orleans by the United States was proposed in the United States Senate; but this extreme course gave way to schemes for the purchase of Louisiana by the United States, entertained and carried out to a successful conclusion by President Jefferson. Left to his own counsels, the President instructed his special envoys to France—James Monroe, of Virginia, and Robert R. Livingston, of New York—to purchase that part of Louisiana which included New Orleans; but, as Napoleon Bonaparte, then First Consul of the French Republic, was disposed to sell the whole province, the American envoys bought the entire territory for fifteen million dollars, April 30, 1803.

Purchase of Louisiana.

Jefferson's Assumption of Power.

President Jefferson admitted this to be "an act beyond the Constitution" and suggested a Constitutional amendment which should justify it. Theoretically, the Federalists had advocated increasing the authority of the National government, while the Republicans had made a stand to check such increase of National power; but, practically, this chief event of Jefferson's administration implied a disposition on the part of the great Republican leader to stretch the powers of the general government, particularly the authority of the executive branch of that government, away beyond the Federalist theories. The Federalists opposed the purchase of this vast territory simply because it was a Republican measure, while the Republicans themselves were divided on the subject; and party feeling was intensified. The extension of slavery by the annexation of territory containing almost thirty thousand slaves was lost sight of. The great importance of the acquisition of Louisiana involved in securing the navigation of the Mississippi river from its source to its mouth for the United States, thus freeing the Western States from all possible interference on the part of France or Spain, was a very convincing argument; and the United States Senate confirmed the treaty providing for the purchase of Louisiana by the United States, October 20, 1803.

Arguments for and against the Acquisition.

Status of the Inhabitants.

The treaty of purchase had defined the status of the inhabitants of the ceded territory, except the thirty thousand slaves, in the following words: "The inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States, and admitted, as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Federal Constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages and immunities of citizens of the United States; and in the meantime shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property and the religion which they profess."

Territories of Orleans and Louisiana.

In 1804 the immense domain of Louisiana was divided by act of Congress into two divisions—the Territory of Orleans and the District of Louisiana. The Territory of Orleans—the southern division and the one which had all the chief settlements of the ceded territory—comprised the present State of Louisiana with indefinite boundaries on the west. The District of Louisiana embraced the present States of Arkansas and Missouri and all the region northward and westward that could be included within its undefined limits, its chief settlement being St. Louis. This District was then included within the jurisdiction of the Indiana Territory, but was detached therefrom in 1805 as the Territory of Louisiana. In 1805 also the provisions of the Territory of Orleans were rendered more liberal, as some of the inhabitants had complained of their status.

CAPT. MERIWEATHER LEWIS

GENL. WILLIAM CLARK

Enlargement of Mississippi Territory.

In 1802 Georgia ceded to the United States her hitherto-conceded western domain on condition that slavery should not be prohibited there; and in 1804 this region was annexed to the Mississippi Territory, along with the long narrow strip of country ceded to the United States by South Carolina in 1787; the whole of the annexed region, excepting the eastern portion of the ceded South Carolina strip, which had been annexed to Georgia in 1802, comprehending the region constituting the northern halves of the present States of Alabama and Mississippi.

Explorations of Lewis and Clarke in Oregon.

In the meantime American discoveries and explorations on the Pacific coast were laying the foundation of claims by the United States to the future territory of Oregon. In 1792—during Washington's administration—Captain Robert Gray, of Boston, in the *Columbia*, discovered the great river which he named in honor of his vessel; and from 1804 to 1806—during Jefferson's administration—an exploring expedition under Captain Lewis and Lieutenant Clarke, of the United States army, traced the Missouri river to its source and the Columbia river from its source to the Pacific Ocean, giving their names respectively to the two great rivers which form the Columbia.

War with Tripoli.

The insolent conduct of the piratical Barbary states of Northern Africa caused the United States to stop paying tribute to them in 1801; whereupon the Bashaw, or ruler, of Tripoli declared war against the United States. The American frigate *George Washington*, under the command of Captain William Bainbridge, was sent to the Mediterranean sea to protect American commerce; and in 1803 a small American squadron under Commodore Preble appeared before Tripoli, where one of his vessels, the *Philadelphia*, commanded by Captain William Bainbridge, grounded and was captured by the Tripolitans. In February, 1804, seventy-six Americans, with Lieutenant Stephen Decatur at their head, went into the harbor of Tripoli, boarded the *Philadelphia*, drove the pirates from her deck, and then, under a heavy cannonade from the shore, set the vessel on fire. Decatur did not lose a single man in this bold exploit. A severe naval battle was fought on the 3d of August, 1804, which resulted in an American victory; and the city of Tripoli suffered heavy bombardments from the American squadron. The Bashaw of Tripoli, alarmed at the rapid progress of the victors, made peace with Mr. Lear, the American consul-general on the Mediterranean, June 4, 1805.

Bold Exploits of Preble, Bainbridge and Decatur.

Re-election of Jefferson.

In the autumn of 1804 the Republican party was again successful in the Presidential campaign, Jefferson being reëlected President, and George Clinton, of New York, being chosen Vice President, over the Federalist candidates, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, of South Carolina, for President, and Rufus King, of New York, for Vice President.

Michigan and Illinois Territories.

The great West and South-west were now rapidly becoming peopled; and two new Territories were also formed at this period out of the vast domain of the original Indiana Territory—Michigan Territory, comprehending the present State of that name, erected in 1805; and Illinois Territory, including the present States of Illinois and Wisconsin and the north-eastern portion of Minnesota, organized in 1809.

Aaron Burr's Schemes.

These signs of expansion on the Western plains served to kindle projects of a new empire in that section of the Republic and its domain. In 1806 Aaron Burr—who had been Vice President of the United States during President Jefferson's first term, but whose murder of Alexander Hamilton in a duel in July, 1804, had made him almost universally detested and had lost him a second term of the Vice Presidency—secretly organized a military expedition in the Ohio region, consisting of adventurous spirits, some men of prominence and some of obscurity, with whose assistance he started out with the professed object of establishing an independent empire in the Spanish province of Mexico, or New Spain, with himself as Emperor.

His Trial for Treason and Acquittal.

Burr was soon suspected of the design of separating the country west of the Allegheny mountains from the Union; and, after gathering around him a few followers on the banks of the Mississippi, about a hundred miles above New Orleans, he surrendered himself to the government of the Mississippi Territory, in January, 1807. In the summer of 1800 he was arrested and brought to trial on a charge of high treason, at Richmond, Virginia, before Chief Justice John Marshall, of the United States Supreme Court, with whom sat the Judge of the United States District Court for Virginia. The reason for holding the trial in Virginia was the fact that one of the places where he was charged with having organized a military expedition was within the limits of that State. Like everything else in those times, the trial was made a party question; President Jefferson and the ruling Republican party being strongly against Burr, who had also been a Republican; while the retired Federalist party generally sided with Burr. His guilt not being proven, he was acquitted. For want of proof, he was also acquitted when tried for attempting to invade Mexico.

Robert Fulton and Steam Navigation.

The experiments of Robert Fulton, a native of Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, in the application of steam to purposes of navigation, resulted in complete success in a voyage from New York to Albany, in August, 1807. For some years Fulton had been experimenting in projects of this kind in the United States, England and France. Three other American inventors who were experimenters in steam navigation at this period were John Fitch, a native of Windsor, Connecticut; Oliver Evans, a native of Newport, Delaware, and William

Henry, a resident of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and a relative of the great Revolutionary orator, Patrick Henry, of Virginia.

Condition of Europe.

Europe was still convulsed by the wars resulting from the French Revolution; and at this time the greater part of Continental Europe was under the control of the powerful and victorious Napoleon Bonaparte, who had been created Emperor of the French in 1804. While France was triumphant on land, Great Britain, which was engaged in a long and fierce war with her old enemy, was undisputed mistress of the seas.

British Orders and French Decrees.

The measures of the two belligerent powers for each other's destruction produced great injury to the commerce of the United States. For the purpose of destroying the commerce of France, Great Britain, by an order-in-council, declared the coast of Continental Europe from the mouth of the Elbe, in Germany, to Brest, in France, to be in a state of blockade. Napoleon retaliated by issuing a decree at Berlin, in November, 1806, declaring the blockade of the ports of the British Islands. American vessels were seized by both British and French cruisers, and American commerce was swept from the ocean. In January, 1807, Great Britain, by an order-in-council, prohibited the coast trade with France. The American merchants, whose interests were injured by the measures of the two belligerent powers, demanded redress and protection; and great excitement prevailed in the United States. France and Great Britain still continued their desperate commercial game, regardless of the rights of neutral powers. On the 11th of November, 1807, Great Britain, by an order-in-council, forbade neutral nations from trading with France or her colonies unless they first paid tribute to Great Britain. In retaliation, Napoleon, by a decree issued at Milan, on the 17th of December, 1807, forbade trade with Great Britain or her colonies and authorized the confiscation of any vessel that had submitted to British search or paid British tribute.

Chesapeake and Leopard.

Great Britain, denying that any of her subjects could become citizens or subjects of any other nation, claimed the right to search American vessels and take from them her native-born subjects for her navy. This right was denied by the United States. On the 22d of June, 1807, an event occurred which increased the excitement in the United States and created intense indignation against Great Britain. Four men on board the American frigate *Chesapeake* being claimed as deserters from the British armed ship *Melampus*, and Commodore Barron, of the *Chesapeake*, refusing to surrender them, the *Chesapeake* was attacked by the British frigate *Leopard* off the coast of Virginia. Taken completely by surprise, the *Chesapeake* surrendered after having lost eighteen men killed and wounded. The four men were taken on board the *Leopard*, and the *Chesapeake* returned to Hampton. The

matter was investigated, when it was proven that three of the seamen were native Americans, and that the fourth, after being impressed into the British service, had deserted.

President Jefferson's Action.

In July, 1807, the President issued a proclamation ordering all British armed vessels to leave the waters of the United States and forbidding any to enter until Great Britain should render full satisfaction for the outrage upon the *Chesapeake;* and instructions were sent to the American envoys in London, directing them to seek reparation for the outrage perpetrated and to obtain the renunciation of the pretensions to the rights of search and impressment, pretensions which had been the cause of the wrong committed. The British government recognized their responsibility by sending a special envoy to Washington to adjust the difficulty; but the reparation was not made until four years later, in 1811; and the desired renunciation of the rights of search and impressment was never made.

Federalist Attitude.

Notwithstanding its gravity, the *Chesapeake* affair was made a party question in American politics. The Federalists, the friends of Great Britain, the capitalists and the commercial classes generally, complained of the attitude of the National government as too decided, too pro-French, thus characterizing the administration's course toward Great Britain as subordination to France.

President Jefferson's Recommendation.

President Jefferson wrote shortly afterwards as follows: "In the present maniac state of Europe, I believe we shall, on the contrary, have credit with the world for having made the avoidance of being engaged in the present unexampled war our first object." With this end in view, the President suggested the most self-denying policy. As the aggressions of Great Britain and France were directed against the owners and crews of vessels, the President recommended an embargo on all vessels, American and foreign, in ports of the United States; that is, that commerce was to be abandoned because it led to injuries from foreign nations. In accordance with the President's recommendation,

Embargo Act.

the National Congress passed an embargo act, December 22, 1807, which prevented all American and foreign vessels from leaving American ports. The extreme Federalists denounced the embargo to be in the interest of France, and the measure was violently assailed by the commercial classes in the United States.

Retaliation of France and Great Britain.

Both France and Great Britain retaliated on the United States for the adoption of the embargo, France taking action first. Napoleon, by a decree issued at Bayonne, April 17, 1808, ordered the confiscation of all American vessels in French ports. Later in the same year, December 21, 1808, Great Britain issued an order-in-council prohibiting the exportation of American produce to the European continent, whether paying tribute to France or not.

Repeal of the Embargo.

Finally, because the embargo was very unpopular in the United States, especially with the merchants, to whose interests it was very injurious, and because it failed to obtain justice from France and Great Britain, it was repealed on the 1st of March, 1809, when, by non-intercourse and non-importation acts of the National Congress, all commercial intercourse with those countries was forbidden until they should either modify or rescind their measures so injurious to American commerce.

Election of Madison.

The Presidential election of 1808 resulted in the choice of the Republican candidate, James Madison, of Virginia, for President, and the reëlection of George Clinton, of New York, as Vice President, over the Federalist candidates, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, of South Carolina, for President, and Rufus King, of New York, for Vice President.

President Madison, A. D. 1809–1817.

Mr. Madison entered upon the duties of President of the United States on the 4th of March, 1809, when the relations of the Republic with Great Britain and France were of the most unfriendly character. On account of the unfavorable aspect of affairs, Congress, at the summons of the President, was assembled in extra session on the 22d of May.

False Assurances of the British Minister.

Soon after his inauguration, President Madison was assured by Mr. Erskine, the British Minister at Washington, that a special envoy from Great Britain would soon make his appearance in the United States to negotiate for a settlement of all the subjects of dispute between the two governments. Relying upon this assurance, the President proclaimed a renewal of commercial intercourse with Great Britain; but the British government disavowed Erskine's act, and the President again proclaimed non-intercourse.

Continued British and French Aggressions.

The next year (1810) President Madison renewed commercial intercourse with France. The Emperor Napoleon I. had just issued a decree at Rambouillet, ordering the sale of more than a hundred American vessels as condemned prizes, March 23, 1810; but when he heard of the President's action in ordering a renewal of commercial intercourse with France he signified his willingness to rescind the decrees complained of by the United States, on condition that either Great Britain recalled her orders-in-council or, if Great Britain refused to recall her orders, that the United States would enforce her claims. Great Britain replied that when France unconditionally revoked her decrees Great Britain would likewise revoke her orders-in-council. Mortified and chagrined, the United States renewed her restrictions on British and French commerce, which restrictions were scoffed at by American citizens themselves.

Federalist Opposition.

As we have already observed, the Federalists were bitter against the embargo act and the subsequent non-importation and non-intercourse

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acts. They went as far as the Republicans had gone during the administration of John Adams in the way of nullification of acts of Congress. During the administrations of Jefferson and Madison town meetings, State Legislatures and even Courts, under Federalist auspices, pronounced the embargo unconstitutional. The Massachusetts Federalists were accused of aiming at the secession of their State from the Union, as their State Legislature had declared thus: "Choose, then, fellow-citizens, between the condition of a free State, possessing its equal weight and influence in the general government, or that of a colony, free in name, but in fact enslaved by sister States."

Secession in Massachusetts.

Continued British and French Aggressions.

Both France and Great Britain continued their desperate commercial game for the ruin of each other, regardless of the interests of other nations. Great Britain refused to rescind her obnoxious orders-in-council, and Napoleon adhered firmly to his Berlin and Milan decrees, so injurious to American commerce; and American vessels continued to be seized by both British and French cruisers. In 1811 Great Britain went so far as to send armed vessels to the coast of the United States to seize American merchant vessels and to take them to England as lawful prizes.

President and Little Belt.

On the 16th of May, 1811, an event occurred which increased the bitter feeling in the United States against Great Britain. The British sloop-of-war *Little Belt*, Captain Bingham, was met and hailed by the American frigate *President*, Captain Rodgers, off the coast of Virginia. The *Little Belt* immediately answered by a cannon-shot. A short engagement ensued and when the *Little Belt* had thirty-two men killed and wounded her commander gave Captain Rodgers a satisfactory answer. Both governments approved the acts of their respective officers.

Indian Hostilities in the West.

Amid these troubles with foreign nations and these party agitations at home there suddenly came a fresh outbreak of Indian hostilities against the whites in the West. During Jefferson's administration the United States government began the project of removing the Indians farther westward as early as 1804, but the first effects were disastrous. Two Shawnoese chiefs—the twin brothers Tecumseh and the Prophet—for some time had been settled on the Tippecanoe river, in Indiana Territory, and, instigated by British emissaries, had united the Western Indian tribes in a confederacy, in the spring of 1811, for the purpose of expelling the white people from the country north of the Ohio river.

Tecumseh and the Prophet.

Aims of the Indians.

The Indians especially tried to secure their title to the lands of which the whites were getting possession, by agreements with individuals or with individual tribes. The Indians also sought to prohibit the sale of the ardent spirits with which the white traders were ruining the red

men physically and morally. But to support these worthy objects, the Indian chiefs relied upon treachery, terror, superstition and blasphemy; and, while professing peace, Tecumseh and the Prophet were secretly preparing for war during the spring and summer of 1811.

Battle of Tippecanoe.

Finally, in the autumn of the same year, General William Henry Harrison, Governor of Indiana Territory, led about two thousand troops up the Wabash river to the mouth of Tippecanoe creek, where the Prophet had his warriors. The Prophet proposed a conference for peace; but Harrison, suspecting treachery, caused his troops to sleep on their arms that night, November 6, 1811. Before daylight the next morning the Indians attacked Harrison's camp; but, after a desperate conflict, which lasted until dawn, they were repulsed, November 7, 1811. This engagement is known as the battle of Tippecanoe.

Indian Massacres.

The Indians of the North-west thenceforth for several years continued hostile and perpetrated fiendish massacres upon the white settlers in the Indiana Territory, that by the Pottawatomies at Fort Dearborn, on the site of the present city of Chicago, in 1812, being the most atrocious.

Florida and the State of Louisiana.

There was also trouble on the southern frontier of the United States. In consequence of a revolt against the Spanish authority in West Florida in 1810, President Madison had issued a proclamation declaring the territory on the east bank of the Mississippi river a part of Louisiana, October, 1810. In January, 1811, Congress authorized the acquisition of both East and West Florida if Spain agreed to sell it or if any other European power attempted to seize it. The Territory of Orleans, with a large portion of what Spain claimed as a part of West Florida, was admitted into the Union as the State of Louisiana, April 8, 1812; and another portion of what Spain regarded as a part of Florida was annexed to the Mississippi Territory by act of Congress. A United States official instigated a revolt against Spanish rule in East Florida, a demonstraton being made against St. Augustine; but this proceeding was promptly disavowed by the United States government, though Mobile was held by United States troops until 1813, Spain having relinquished the portion of West Florida annexed by the United States to the new State of Louisiana and the Mississippi Territory. On June 4, 1812, the name of Louisiana Territory was changed to that of Missouri Territory.

Missouri Territory.

Warlike Preparations against Great Britain.

In the meantime the war feeling against Great Britain was growing in the United States. Congress took up the question and voted measure after measure preparatory to hostilities with Great Britain, December, 1811–March, 1812. The situation had now reached a crisis, and President Madison hesitated, as he was no war leader by nature or by principle. But his party—at least the more active part of it—was

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all for an appeal to arms. When he doubted, his party urged war. When he seemed disposed to draw back, his party drove him forward. The President was directly informed by his party that if he desired another nomination for the Presidency he must come out for war. Thereupon he sent a message to Congress asking for an embargo of sixty days. Congress accepted this executive recommendation as preliminary to war, and voted it, by a considerable majority, for ninety days, April 4, 1812. Finally, the British press insolently declared that "the United States could not be kicked into a war."

SECTION II.—WAR OF 1812–15 WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

Declaration of War.

All efforts made by the United States government for a peaceful settlement of the difficulties with Great Britain having failed, as recited by President Madison in a message to Congress, June 1, 1812, the President of the United States, by authority of Congress, issued a proclamation, on the 19th of June, 1812, declaring war against Great Britain. The contest which then began is known as the *War of 1812*, or the *Second War for Independence*.

Military Preparations.

Congress made appropriations for carrying on the war and authorized the President to enlist twenty-five thousand men, to accept the services of fifty thousand volunteers and to call out one hundred thousand militia for the defense of the seacoast and the frontiers. General Henry Dearborn, of Massachusetts, was appointed commander-in-chief. The other leading generals were James Wilkinson, Wade Hampton, William Hull and Joseph Bloomfield. All these officers had served in the War of the Revolution.

Rights of Neutrals and Seamen.

The United States went to war with the greatest naval power of the world for the rights of neutrals and the rights of seamen, both of which principles involved the honor and the independence of the Nation. The rights of neutrals were secured at once, for when France unconditionally rescinded her decrees Great Britain withdrew her orders-in-council, June 23, 1812, four days after the American declaration of war.

Great Britain's One Concession.

Great Britain announced that the rights of American seamen could be secured also if the United States would take measures to prevent British seamen from enlisting in the American naval service.

The War Party and Its Cry.

The Republican, administration, or war party in the United States insisted: "We must fight, if it is only for what has been, for the seizure of nine hundred American vessels and six thousand American seamen, for the injuries which are beyond redress by negotiation." The Republican party really was obliged, under the circumstances, to fight for themselves as a party organization and for the position which they had staked on war. The cause of the United

States was thus, primarily, the cause of a political party, the party nominally headed by President Madison and by two of his Cabinet officers, James Monroe, of Virginia, Secretary of State, and Albert Gallatin, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of the Treasury, and other supporters of the administration. The real leaders of the war party, the administration party, the Republican party, were younger men, some of whom already had risen to distinction and afterwards became the greatest of American statesmen, such as Henry Clay, of Kentucky, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and John Caldwell Calhoun, of South Carolina, also a member of the same body.

Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun.

As the war was the work and policy of the dominant Republican party, it was opposed strenuously by the opposition, or Federalist party, one of whose members soon entered the House of Representatives from Federalist New England and who afterward became one of the greatest of American orators and statesmen—Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts. An anti-war protest from the Federalist members of Congress was the signal for violent Federalist outcries against the war, repeated in public meetings and at domestic hearthstones. Even the pulpit indulged in violent political harangues of an anti-war nature, some in the direction of secession and disunion, as the following words from a Boston clergyman: "The alternative then is, that if you do not wish to become the slaves of those who own slaves, and who are themselves the slaves of French slaves, you must either, in the language of the day, cut the connection or so far alter the National Constitution as to secure yourselves a due share in the government. The Union has long since been virtually dissolved, and it is full time that this portion of the United States should take care of itself."

Federalist Opposition.

Daniel Webster.

Secession Talk of a Boston Clergyman.

The bitter party feeling over the war question broke out in a Republican riot in Baltimore a few days after the declaration of war. The office of a Federalist newspaper, the *Federal Republican*, conducted by Alexander Hanson, was sacked by a mob, who then attacked dwellings, pillaged vessels and finally fired the house of a Federalist suspected of sympathy with Great Britain, June 22 and 23, 1812. A month afterward Hanson opened another newspaper office, and prepared to defend it, with the aid of his friends, against the attack which he felt certain his boldness would provoke. As expected, the mob made its appearance, and, after a night of horror and bloodshed, forced the party in the office to surrender themselves on a charge of murder. The next night the mob attacked the prison, and beat and tortured Hanson and his friends, excepting some who escaped, most unmercifully. General Henry Lee, of Virginia, a Revolutionary soldier and close friend of Washington—the father of General Robert Edward Lee, the eminent Confederate leader in the Civil War half a century later—

Federalist Newspaper Mobbed in Baltimore.

was injured for life while defending Hanson's office against the mob. Another Revolutionary soldier—General Lingan—was actually killed. The Republican city authorities made no effort to suppress the mob, whose ringleaders were acquitted at the subsequent trial. Hanson kept up his paper only by removing to Georgetown, in the District of Columbia.

American Weakness.

The United States was not in a condition to enter into a struggle with the gigantic naval power of the world—the power which so long, often single-handed, had bidden defiance to the colossal power of Napoleon. There was practically no American army worthy of the name. There was an abundant supply of generals, but a few thousand regulars and volunteers constituted the entire military force of the Republic. There was a general distrust of the militia; and some of the State authorities, those of Federalist New England, denied the power of the National government to call that reserve force of the Nation into the field, notwithstanding the fact that the National Constitution authorizes Congress "to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions." The United States navy also was comparatively insignificant, consisting of less than a dozen frigates, about as many smaller vessels and a flotilla of useless gunboats. The American finances were in a relatively-low condition, as the National revenue had fallen off in consequence of the years of interruption of American commerce; and the treasury was wholly inadequate to the requirements of war. Therefore, the United States government had recourse to loans, and afterward to direct taxes and licenses, A. D. 1813. In short, the United States had only its population to rely upon, which the census of 1810 gave as almost seven and a-quarter million, of which almost twelve hundred thousand were negro slaves.

Great Britain's Preoccupation.

Fortunately, for the United States at this critical juncture, Great Britain was preoccupied with her gigantic struggle against the mighty power of Napoleon I., who was then at the zenith of his strength, just preceding his first great check and reverse in his disastrous Russian campaign, which occurred later during this same eventful year of 1812. Under the circumstances, the American declaration of war seemed to the British like the feeble cry of a child amid the contentions of strong men.

Hull's Invasion of Canada and Retreat.

The war commenced with an invasion of Canada, from Detroit, in Michigan Territory, in July, 1812, by about two thousand American troops under the command of General William Hull, Governor of Michigan Territory. When informed that Fort Mackinaw, a strong American post in the North-west, had been surprised and captured by a party of British and Indians on the 17th of July, and that a small

American force under Major Van Horne had been defeated on the River Raisin on the 5th of August, Hull hastily returned to Detroit. Sir Isaac Brock, at the head of thirteen hundred British and Indians, pursued Hull, and, appearing before Detroit, demanded the surrender of that post and Hull's army, threatening in case of a refusal to allow the Indians the unrestrained exercise of their barbarous system of warfare. Hull, greatly alarmed, complied with the demand of the British general; and his army, along with the fort at Detroit and the Michigan Territory, fell into the hands of the enemy.

Hull's Surrender at Detroit.

After Hull's surrender at Detroit the Americans made an attempt to invade Canada on the Niagara frontier. On the 13th of October, 1812, a party of Americans crossed the Niagara river into Canada to attack the British at Queenstown. The invaders captured a battery and made themselves masters of Queenstown Heights; but when the enemy was reinforced by six hundred men under Sir Isaac Brock, the British commander-in-chief, and when many of the American militia refused to go to the relief of their countrymen, the Americans were defeated with the loss of one thousand men in killed, wounded and prisoners. Among those who were taken prisoners by the enemy were Colonel Winfield Scott and Captain John Ellis Wool, who had distinguished themselves by their gallantry. Among the killed on the side of the British was Sir Isaac Brock, their able and heroic commander-in-chief.

Battle of Queenstown.

The Americans, though defeated on land, were successful on the sea during the year 1812. On the 13th of August the American frigate *Essex*, Captain David Porter, defeated and captured the British sloop-of-war *Alert*. On the 19th of the same month (August, 1812) the United States frigate *Constitution*, Captain Isaac Hull, defeated, captured and burned the British frigate *Guerriere* off the Gulf of St. Lawrence. On the 18th of October the United States sloop-of-war *Wasp*, Captain Jacob Jones, compelled the British brig *Frolic* to surrender, after a severe conflict off the coast of North Carolina; but in the afternoon of the same day both the *Wasp* and the *Frolic* were taken by the British ship *Poitiers*. On the 25th of October the American frigate *United States*, Captain Stephen Decatur, captured the British frigate *Macedonian* off the Azores Islands. On the 29th of December the American frigate *Constitution*, Captain William Bainbridge, compelled the British frigate *Java* to strike her colors, after a desperate fight of three hours off the coast of Brazil.

American Naval Victories in 1812.

The Federalists failed in their endeavors to make the war unpopular, as the war spirit of the great majority of the people of the United States was demonstrated fully in the autumn of 1812 by the reëlection of Madison as President, with Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, as

Re-election of Madison.

Vice President, over the Federalist candidates, De Witt Clinton, of New York, for President, and Jared Ingersoll, of Pennsylvania, for Vice President.

Three American Armies in 1813.

The Americans had organized three armies on the Canada frontier for the campaign of 1813. The Army of the West, under General William Henry Harrison, was near the western end of Lake Erie. The Army of the Center, under General Henry Dearborn, the commander-in-chief, was on the Niagara frontier. The Army of the North, under General Wade Hampton, was near Lake Champlain.

Battle of Frenchtown.

The people of the West were resolved to recover Michigan Territory, and so many volunteers from Ohio and Kentucky offered their services that General Harrison found himself obliged to issue an order against further enlistments. On the 10th of January, 1813, General Winchester, with eight hundred Kentuckians, reached the Maumee Rapids; and, after a portion of this force had driven the British from Frenchtown, on the River Raisin, in Michigan, on the 18th of January, Winchester arrived with the remainder of the troops on the 20th (January, 1813). General Proctor, with fifteen hundred British and Indians, attacked the Americans at Frenchtown on the 22d of January; and Winchester surrendered on condition that his troops should be protected from the Indians; but Proctor, in disregard of his promise, marched away, leaving the sick and wounded Americans to be massacred by the Indians. From that time the war-cry of the Kentuckians was: "Remember the River Raisin!"

Massacre of the River Raisin.

Two Sieges of Fort Miegs.

In February, 1813, General Harrison built Fort Meigs, at the Maumee Rapids, where he was besieged at the beginning of May (1813) by two thousand British and Indians under Proctor and Tecumseh, who finally were driven away on the 5th (May, 1813), when Harrison was reinforced by a body of Kentuckians under General Green Clay. On the 21st of July (1813) about four thousand British and Indians under Proctor and Tecumseh again besieged Fort Meigs; but the garrison, then under the command of General Clay, repulsed the enemy and compelled them to retire.

Defense of Fort Stephenson.

After their second repulse before Fort Meigs, Proctor and Tecumseh marched against Fort Stephenson, at Lower Sandusky, now Fremont; which they attacked on the 2d of August (1813); but the garrison of one hundred and fifty men, under Major Croghan, a gallant officer only twenty-one years of age, bravely resisted the assaults of the enemy, who at last were obliged to flee in confusion.

Perry's Victory on Lake Erie.

During the summer the Americans constructed, at Erie, in Pennsylvania, a squadron of nine vessels, carrying fifty-five guns, which they placed under the command of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry. The British had prepared a squadron of six vessels, carrying sixty-

three guns, commanded by Commodore Barclay. A terrible battle was fought between these two squadrons near the west end of Lake Erie, on the 10th of September, 1813. Each squadron had about five hundred men. During the battle, which began about noon, Perry was obliged to abandon his flag-ship, the *Lawrence*, and to transfer his flag to another ship, in the midst of a severe fire from the enemy, Perry shouting: "Don't give up the ship!" Such terrible broadsides were poured upon the enemy's fleet that at four o'clock in the afternoon every British vessel had surrendered to Perry. Perry's dispatch to General Harrison was: "We have met the enemy, and they are ours." This great victory produced unbounded rejoicings throughout the United States, and bonfires and illuminations lighted up the whole country, Perry being the great hero of the hour.

Battle of the Thames.

After the victory on Lake Erie, Perry's fleet conveyed General Harrison and his army across the lake to Canada. Harrison advanced upon Fort Malden, which he found deserted. He pursued and overtook the fleeing British and Indians under Proctor and Tecumseh; and, at the Moravian Town, on the Thames, he annihilated the whole force of the enemy on October 4 and 5, 1813. Tecumseh was among the killed. The consequences of this brilliant victory were the recovery of Michigan and the termination of the war in the North-west.

Recovery of Michigan.

American Capture of York, now Toronto.

On the 27th of April, 1813, General Dearborn, after being conveyed across Lake Ontario in Commodore Chauncey's fleet, landed with seventeen hundred troops at York, now Toronto, the Capital of Upper Canada, now Ontario, and an important depot of British supplies. The place was abandoned immediately by the enemy, who blew up their magazine, thus killing two hundred Americans, among whom was the gallant General Zebulon Montgomery Pike, who led the troops against the town, and who in 1806 had discovered and explored the lofty Rocky Mountain peak afterward named in his honor, Pike's Peak, in the present Colorado. The Americans burned the Parliament House at York.

Capture of Fort George.

On the 27th of May, 1813, the army under Dearborn and the fleet under Chauncey attacked the British at Fort George, in Canada, at the mouth of the Niagara river, and drove them westward for many miles.

Battle of Stony Creek.

On the night of the 6th of June the enemy were repulsed in a sudden attack upon the pursuing Americans, at Stony Creek; but Generals Chandler and Winder, the American commanders, were taken prisoners.

British Repulse at Sackett's Harbor.

On the 29th of May, 1813, Sir George Prevost, with one thousand British soldiers, landed at Sackett's Harbor; but they were repulsed in an attack upon the town by the American militia under General Jacob Brown and were compelled to return hastily to their ships. In August Dearborn was succeeded in command by General James Wilkin-

son, who, with seven thousand troops, went down the St. Lawrence in boats, early in November, for the purpose of attacking Montreal. Wilkinson landed troops near Williamsburg, on the Canada shore of the St. Lawrence, a little below Ogdensburg, where an indecisive action, known as the *Battle of Chrysler's Field*, was fought with the enemy on the 11th of November, 1813. Wilkinson proceeded farther down the river, but when General Wade Hampton refused to coöperate with him he relinquished his intention of attacking Montreal and went into winter-quarters at French Mills.

Battle of Chrysler's Field.

Desolation of the Niagara Frontier.

General George McClure, who then commanded American troops on the Niagara frontier, was pressed so hard by the enemy that he destroyed Fort George and the neighboring village of Newark on the 10th of December, 1813; and on the 12th he fled to Fort Niagara, on the New York side of the Niagara river. The British and Indians crossed the river, captured Fort Niagara on the 29th of December, and laid six towns, including Buffalo, in ashes, in retaliation for the burning of Newark. Thus the war in this quarter was conducted in a barbarous and vandalistic spirit on both sides.

War with the Creek Indians.

In the meantime trouble had arisen in the South, where the Creek Indians, instigated by Tecumseh, had commenced a fierce war against the white people. On the 30th of August, 1813, the Creeks surprised and destroyed Fort Mimms, on the Alabama river, and put to death four hundred men, women and children, who had sought refuge within its walls. This atrocious deed aroused the indignation of the white people. General Andrew Jackson marched into the Creek country, at the head of two thousand men, chiefly Tennesseeans; and, in a series of conflicts, beginning in the early part of November, 1813, and ending with the battle of Tohopeka, or Great Horse Shoe, on the 27th of March, 1814, the Creeks were defeated so thoroughly and their power was broken so completely that they were compelled to accept a humiliating peace. Weatherford, their greatest leader, on being brought as a captive in Jackson's camp, said: "I am in your power. Do with me what you please. I have done the white people all the harm I could. I can do no more." He was spared.

Their Subjugation.

Sea Fights in 1813.

The ocean was the theater of desperate engagements in 1813. On the 24th of February the American sloop-of-war *Hornet*, Captain James Lawrence, captured the British brig *Peacock* off the coast of Jamaica, after a sharp action of fifteen minutes. The *Peacock* sunk soon after the fight, carrying with her to the bottom of the sea nine British and three American seamen. Captain Lawrence, soon after his return to the United States, was promoted to the command of the frigate *Chesapeake;* and on the 1st of June he was defeated and killed, after a bloody struggle of fifteen minutes with the British frigate

Shannon off Boston harbor. Forty-eight of the officers and crew of the *Chesapeake* were killed, and ninety-eight were wounded. As the heroic Lawrence was carried below he exclaimed: "Don't give up the ship!" The American brig *Argus*, Captain Allen, after capturing many British vessels off the English coast, herself was captured on the 14th of August by the British brig *Pelican*. On the 5th of September the American brig *Enterprise*, Lieutenant Burrows, captured the British brig *Boxer* off Portland, Maine. The commanders of both vessels were killed; and their remains were interred, with military honors, in one broad grave, in Portland.

British Depradations on the Chesapeake.

During the spring and summer of 1813 Lewistown, on Delaware bay, and Havre de Grace, Frenchtown, Fredericktown and Georgetown, on Chesapeake bay, were plundered and burned by a British squadron under the command of Admiral Cockburn. After being repulsed in attacks upon Norfolk and Portsmouth, Virginia, in June, 1813, and after committing great outrages at Hampton, Cockburn carried many negroes away from the Carolina coasts and sold them in the West Indies.

British Capture of Oswego.

On the 5th of May, 1814, the town of Oswego, in New York, on Lake Ontario, after a fierce engagement, was captured by the British, who, however, withdrew from the town two days afterward, May 7, 1814.

Battle of Chippewa.

On the 3d of July, 1814, the American army under General Jacob Brown, on the western frontier of New York, crossed the Niagara, with General Winfield Scott and General Ripley, and captured Fort Erie on the same day. Brown advanced northward, along the west bank of the Niagara river; and, on the 5th of July, 1814, he gained a brilliant victory at Chippewa over the British army under General Riall.

Battle of Lundy's Lane.

The British army, under the command of Lieutenant-General Drummond, advanced toward the Niagara, and at sunset on the 25th of July, 1814, met the American army under General Brown at Lundy's Lane, near the thundering cataract of Niagara, where a sanguinary battle ensued, which ended at midnight without a decisive result. Each party had lost over eight hundred men. Both Generals Brown and Scott, the American commanders, were wounded. On the following day (July 26, 1814) the American army retired to Fort Erie without delay.

Siege of Fort Erie.

On the 15th of August the British army under Drummond attempted to take Fort Erie by assault, but was repulsed with the loss of one thousand men. After the British had besieged the fort for more than a month, they were driven from their intrenchments, on the 17th of September, by a party of Americans who sallied from the fort. The enemy then retreated to Chippewa, and in November the Americans

destroyed Fort Erie and recrossed to the New York side of the Niagara river.

Land and Naval Battles of Plattsburg.

When informed that General Izard, the American commander at Plattsburg, in New York, on Lake Champlain, had gone to the Niagara frontier with five thousand of his troops to reinforce General Brown, leaving only fifteen hundred under General Macomb at Plattsburg, Sir George Prevost, who commanded fourteen thousand British veteran troops on the St. Lawrence, advanced toward Plattsburg, before which place he appeared on the 6th of September. During the summer each party had constructed a small squadron on Lake Champlain. On Sunday morning, September 11, 1814, the British squadron under Commodore Downie attacked the American squadron under Commodore Macdonough off Plattsburg; and after a fierce engagement of several hours every British vessel surrendered to Macdonough. On the same day the British land force of twelve thousand men under Prevost, which had attacked the little American army under Macomb at Plattsburg, was defeated and compelled to retreat hastily toward Canada.

British Attack on Stonington.

In the meantime the British had blockaded the whole New England coast and had taken possession of Eastport, Machias and Belfast, in Maine. A British squadron under Commodore Hardy had bombarded and cannonaded Stonington, in Connecticut, for four days when the enemy finally withdrew on the 14th of August. Property on the New England coast was destroyed in many places by British marauding parties.

Capture of Washington.

About the middle of August, 1814, a British fleet under Admiral Cochrane sailed up the Patuxent and landed five thousand troops under General Ross, who defeated the Americans under General Winder at Bladensburg on the 24th (August, 1814), entered Washington on the same day, burned the Capitol, the President's House and other public and private buildings, and then quickly returned to their shipping. President Madison narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. The burning of the public buildings was in revenge for the burning of the Parliament House at York, in Canada, by the Americans, the year before; so the Americans had no right to complain. On August 29th some British frigates appeared off Alexandria, in Virginia, and extorted an enormous ransom from that town.

British Repulse at Baltimore.

Encouraged by their success at Washington, the enemy threatened Baltimore with an attack. With about eight thousand British troops, Ross landed at North Point on the 12th of September, 1814; and, after a desperate engagement seven miles from Baltimore, on the same day, in which Ross was killed, the Americans under General Stricker were compelled to fall back behind the defenses of Baltimore. The British squadron which had ineffectually bombarded Fort McHenry,

garrisoned by a few Americans under Major Armistead, a few miles below Baltimore, finally withdrew with the land troops on the morning of the 14th (September, 1814); and the attempt to take Baltimore was abandoned. It was during the bombardment of Fort McHenry that Francis Scott Key, a young lawyer and poet, who witnessed the bombardment and beheld the Stars and Stripes wave in triumph over the fort, in a moment of patriotic joy, wrote *The Star Spangled Banner.*

"Star Spangled Banner."

The subjection of the Creek Indians by General Jackson did not put an end to the war in the South. The Spaniards of Florida permitted the British to make the town of Pensacola a base of operations. From this point a force of British troops and fugitive Creek warriors marched into Alabama, and attacked Fort Bowyer, now Fort Morgan, below Mobile, on the 15th of September, 1814, but were repulsed with heavy loss. Failing to obtain satisfaction from the Spanish Governor of Florida for sheltering the enemies of the United States, Jackson marched from Mobile, with two thousand Tennesseeans, against Pensacalo, which he seized on the 7th of November, after driving the British to their shipping.

Jackson's Invasion of Florida and Seizure of Pensacola.

After returning to Mobile, Jackson was called to New Orleans to defend that city against an expected attack from the British army and navy. On the 14th of December, 1814, a British fleet captured an American flotilla in Lake Borgne. A British army of twelve thousand men under General Pakenham landed in Louisiana and soon appeared below New Orleans. After being repulsed in an attack upon the British camp, on the night of the 23d of December, 1814, Jackson placed his little army of three thousand men, mostly Tennessee militia, behind strong intrenchments, three miles below New Orleans, and extending from the Mississippi river to an impenetrable cypress swamp, where he was soon reinforced by about three thousand Kentucky militia, increasing his army to six thousand men. The British opened a cannonade on the American works on the 28th of December, 1814, and again on New Year's day, in 1815. At length, on the 8th of January, 1815, the whole British army, twelve thousand strong, with Pakenham at its head, advanced to begin a grand attack upon the Americans, who opened a deadly musketry and artillery fire on the advancing enemy. The British troops at length wavered and began to flee; and, while endeavoring to rally them, General Pakenham was killed. General Gibbs, the next in command, was also slain; and the third, General Keene, was wounded. Thus deprived of their generals, the whole British army retreated to their ships, and this sanguinary battle ended in a glorious victory for the Americans. The British lost two thousand killed and wounded, while the Americans lost only seven killed

British Invasion of Louisiana.

Battle of New Orleans.

and six wounded. This victory produced the liveliest joy in the United States. Five weeks after the battle news reached the United States that a treaty of peace had been concluded at Ghent, in Belgium, two weeks before the battle, December 24, 1814. As the battle was fought after the treaty of peace had been made, it had no effect on the treaty. Had there been an Atlantic Cable in those days the battle of New Orleans would not have been fought.

General Jackson and Judge Hall.

After their disastrous defeat at New Orleans the British retired to sea, and this time they took Fort Bowyer, near Mobile, February 12, 1815. The new State of Louisiana had been defended nobly by the energy of General Jackson and by the patriotic spirit of her people and the people of the entire South-west, whose sons flocked to her rescue. Jackson resorted to anything to defend New Orleans. On the approach of the enemy he proclaimed martial law, and he continued it until after their departure. The author of a newspaper article reflecting upon the general's conduct was imprisoned to stand trial for his life. Judge Hall, of the United States District Court in New Orleans, issued a writ of habeas corpus in the prisoner's behalf, for which the Judge was arrested and expelled from the city by Jackson's order. The United States District Attorney in New Orleans then applied to the State Court of Louisiana in the Judge's behalf, for which Jackson also banished the District Attorney from the city. On the proclamation of peace and the consequent suspension of martial law Judge Hall returned to New Orleans and summoned General Jackson before his Court and fined him a thousand dollars for contempt of court. The general paid the fine, but the people of New Orleans raised a subscription of a thousand dollars which they offered to Jackson to repay him for his fine, which the general refused. Jackson was reimbursed by Congress for the entire amount nearly thirty years later.

Jackson as a Hero.

General Andrew Jackson, the great American hero of the War of 1812, the idol of the South and of the Republican, or Democratic party, had never been to a military school; and for that reason he was ridiculed by Federalists and New Englanders as "a backwoods warrior," as "an accident," as "ignorant, illiterate," etc.

Sea Fights in 1814 and 1815.

The war was still continued with vigor on the ocean during the years 1814 and 1815. On the 28th of March, 1814, the American frigate *Essex*, Captain Porter, was captured off the port of Valparaiso, on the coast of Chili, in South America, by the British frigate *Phœbe* and sloop-of-war *Cherub*. On the 29th of April, 1814, the American sloop-of-war *Peacock*, Captain Warrington, captured the British brig *Epervier* off the coast of Florida. The American sloop-of-war *Wasp*, Captain Blakeley, was lost at sea after capturing thirteen British vessels, among which were the *Reindeer*, taken on the 28th of June, and

the *Avon*, on the 1st of September, 1814. On 16th of January, 1815, the American frigate *President*, Commodore Decatur, was captured off Long Island by a British squadron. On the 20th of February, 1815, the American frigate *Constitution*, Commodore Stewart, captured the British sloops-of-war *Cyane* and *Levant* off Lisbon, in Portugal, after a spirited engagement. On the 23d of March, 1815, the American sloop-of-war *Hornet*, Captain Biddle, captured the British brig *Penguin* in the South Atlantic Ocean, having not yet heard of the treaty of peace concluded two months before.

Other Features of the War.

Having narrated the military and naval events of the War of 1812, we now will proceed to relate the account of the proceedings of the National government, the course of the Federalist opposition party and the protracted peace negotiations ending in the final treaty of peace.

The Nation's Military Weakness.

The Nation was in desperate straits, and various causes produced the same effect. It had been found impossible to raise an adequate army, the very first essential for prosecuting a war, notwithstanding the increase of bounties and the enlistment of minors without the consent of their parents or masters, measures which were rejected when first proposed to Congress, but afterwards adopted, December, 1814. Thus all inducements to strengthen the military arm of the Nation failed. The militia was therefore the main reliance of the Republic, and about this the same controversies continued as those already alluded to between the National and State authorities, as the Federalist opposition sought to embarrass the National government by raising the cry that the people's liberties were imperilled by an increase of the armed forces of the Nation. At the close of the war systems of conscription for recruiting the army and of impressment for the navy were contemplated by the United States government.

New Embargo and Its Repeal.

The military weakness of the Nation was not the only source of embarrassment to the United States government. To prevent supplies reaching the enemy and to deprive him of all advantages of commerce, a new embargo was laid, December, 1813, so severe in its restrictions affecting the coasting trade and the fisheries that Massachusetts denounced it as another Boston Port Bill, the Legislature of that State pronouncing the measure to be unconstitutional. This embargo was repealed in April, 1814, as was also at the same time the non-importation act that had paralyzed the Nation's commercial interests for years.

The Nation's Financial Straits.

The most serious of all the Nation's embarrassments during the war were its financial straits. All efforts for the relief of the National treasury had been found to be wofully insufficient. One loan after another was contracted; and taxes were imposed repeatedly, so that,

finally, carriages, furniture, paper, and even watches, were assessed; other sources of National income being sought, as in the case of a new United States Bank, the earlier institution of this kind having expired in accordance with the provisions of its charter. In 1814 the National government could count on eleven million dollars of revenue, ten millions from taxes and one million from customs duties; while fifty millions were demanded for the expenditures of 1815. In August, 1814, many banks in the United States suspended specie payments.

Contradictory Attitude of the Two Political Parties.

The Federalists all along had been opposed strenuously to the war, and had thrown every obstacle in the way of its prosecution by the administration. This opposition was manifesting itself constantly, and its bases were too deep-seated to be moved easily. Beneath the questions relating directly to the war itself were earlier subjects of controversy, such old problems as the relations of the National and State governments appearing for renewed discussion and dispute. The Federalist Governor of Massachusetts expressed himself thus: "The government of the United States is founded on the State governments and must be supported by them." Thus there seemed to be practically a change of sides by the two great parties of the Nation on the mutual relations of the National and State governments, but the divisions were the same. The Federalists, though theoretically the National supremacy party, now out of power, had become practically the State rights party; while the Republicans, or Democrats, theoretically the State rights party, now in power, had become practically the National supremacy party. In the midst of the war even the divisions between the North and the South reappeared with wider lines; as the South, where the Republican, or Democratic party was supreme, supported the war; while the North, especially New England, where the Federalists were the dominant party, generally opposed the war.

Hartford Convention.

A movement for a convention of the Federalist party, or, as its moving spirits called it, a convention of the States opposing the war, originated in Massachusetts; but at first it received so little support that it lay dormant for several months, after which increasing trials led to renewed struggles. The movement then reappeared in the guise of "a conference between those States the affinity of whose interests is closest and whose habits of intercourse from local and other causes are most frequent," meaning the New England States; but subjects of a general nature were referred "to a future convention from all the States in the Union," in case the conference deemed it expedient. The Legislature of Massachusetts appointed twelve delegates to represent that State in the conference and invited the other New England States to take similar action, October, 1814. The Legislature of Connecticut soon responded by appointing seven delegates to represent that com-

monwealth and named Hartford as the place for the meeting of the conference. The Rhode Island Legislature appointed four delegates. Two counties in New Hampshire each selected a delegate, and one county in Vermont also chose a delegate. The conference, or the "Hartford Convention," as it is called, opened December 15, 1814, with all but two of the twenty-six appointed delegates in attendance; and the other two appeared afterward, thus making, with the secretary, an assembly of twenty-seven persons; George Cabot, of Massachusetts, being the president of the convention, and Harrison Gray Otis, of the same State, being the leading member.

Charges of Secession.

The proceedings of the Hartford Convention, which were secret, were regarded by the ruling Republican party as treasonable, and charges of secession were made freely against it. The dominant Republican party, which was the great majority of the Nation, regarded the Federalist convention of the New England States as the last desperate stake of the opposition, or anti-war party. The Federalists denied the accusations of disunion hurled at the convention and pointed to the words of the call of the Massachusetts Legislature for the conference at Hartford, which proposed such deliberations and such measures only as were "not repugnant to their obligations as members of the Union." The Federalist party, as a whole, apparently attached little importance to the convention, regarding it simply as a meeting of a small number of men to whom the greater part of New England was willing to confide its shattered interests, but without any expectation of relief, as the majority of the Nation was too strong against them.

Proceedings of the Convention.

After opening its proceedings with prayer, the Hartford Convention addressed itself to the consideration of two classes of "dangers and grievances." The principal grievances of the first class were the illegal course of the National government relating to the militia and the destitution of all resources for the defense of New England. As a remedy for these difficulties, the convention suggested that the New England States be permitted to undertake their own defense and also that a reasonable portion of the taxes imposed upon them by the National government be retained by them to defray the cost of defending themselves. As a remedy for the second class of complaints, relating to most of the matters that the Federalist party had charged against Jefferson's and Madison's administrations, the convention proposed seven amendments of the National Constitution. All of these proposed Constitutional amendments were prohibitory and were as follows: against any representation of slaves; against any embargo for more than sixty days; against any war, unless defensive; against any admission of a new State, except by a two-thirds vote of Congress; against the eligibility of persons "hereafter to be naturalized" to Congress or

to any civil office under the United States, and against the reëlection of a President or the election of two successive Presidents from the same State. In proposing these amendments, the convention declared that "no hostility to the Constitution is meditated." After providing for another convention at Boston, if "peace should not be concluded and the defense of these States should be rejected," the Hartford Convention adjourned after a three weeks' session, January 5, 1815.

Its Results.

The results of the Hartford Convention were practically null, having no effect upon the action of Congress, which passed a law without any apparent reference to the convention, ordering the militia to "be employed in the State raising the same or in an adjoining State, and not elsewhere, except with the assent of the Executive of the State so raising the same," January, 1815. That was the only result of the convention. The commissioners appointed by Massachusetts to apply to the National government for permission to carry out the recommendation of the convention relating to the self-defense of the States arrived at Washington just in time to be informed that the war had been ended by a treaty of peace a few weeks before.

Nullification in Connecticut and Massachusetts.

In the meantime the Federalist Legislatures of Connecticut and Massachusetts had followed the example set by the Republican Legislatures of Kentucky and Virginia in 1798 in the way of nullifying the acts of the National Congress, passing acts in direct conflict with a recent statute of the United States concerning the enlistment of minors; and the persons engaged in enlisting minors for the United States service were fined and imprisoned, January, 1815. Both these States previously had arrayed themselves in opposition to the National government, Connecticut by legislative enactment and Massachusetts by judicial tribunals. Still later, Massachusetts resisted the measures of the National government relating to British prisoners. The Hartford Convention did not go so far as nullification, only having declared thus: "That acts of Congress in violation of the Constitution are absolutely void is an undeniable position. It does not, however, consist with the respect and forbearance due from a confederate State towards the general government to fly to open resistance upon every infraction of the Constitution." As party passions were then high, nullification was a natural result in New England.

Treatment of Prisoners of War.

In the first year of the war a serious question arose between the contending nations. The British had proceeded to treat some Irishmen, captured while fighting on the American side, not as ordinary prisoners of war, but as traitors to Great Britain. When these captured Irish Americans were being tried in England for treason Congress asserted itself in their behalf by authorizing the adoption of retaliatory measures. An equal number of British captives were soon imprisoned, and

when the British retorted by imprisoning twice as many captured American officers the Americans imprisoned twice as many British officers. Thereupon the British government ordered its commanders to destroy the American coast towns and their inhabitants in case the Americans inflicted any retaliation upon their British captives. At this juncture the Federalist majority in the Massachusetts Legislature, appearing in the role of nullification against the National government and caring little for the fate of the Irish American prisoners in British hands, forbade the use of the Massachusetts State prisons for the captive British officers then ordered to be imprisoned, February, 1814. Finally the British government retracted its course in this matter by consenting to treat the captured Irish Americans as prisoners of war, thus setting the matter at rest. All past offenses of the sort were pardoned by proclamation from the British government, and the threat of the penalties of treason for future offenses of the same nature was never carried out.

Barbarous Warfare on Both Sides.

In some instances the war had been conducted in a barbarous and vandalistic spirit by both parties. As we have seen, late in 1813 the Americans burned Newark, on the Canadian side of the Niagara river, in revenge for which the British crossed the river and reduced Buffalo and five other American towns to ashes. In revenge for the burning of the Parliament House at York, now Toronto, in Canada, by the Americans, the British burned the Capitol, the Executive Mansion and the other public buildings at Washington when they had captured the National capital and almost made a prisoner of President Madison.

London Comments on American Cowardice.

London's principal entertainments of the time were sham battles displaying the cowardice of the Americans, ready to bring on a war, but too cowardly to fight.

The London *Times* thus spoke of President Madison:

"This fellow, notorious for lying, for imposture of all kinds, for his barbarous warfare, both in Canada and against the Creek Indians, for every thing in short that can debase and degrade a government."

The London *Sun* thus alluded to the American soldiers:

"The American armies, of copper captains and Falstaff recruits, defy the pen of satire to paint them worse than they are, worthless, lying, treacherous, false, slanderous, cowardly and vaporing heroes, with boasting on their loud tongues and terror in their quaking hearts. Were it not that the course of punishment they are undergoing is necessary to the ends of moral and political justice, we declare before our country that we should feel ashamed of the victory over such ignoble foes. The quarrel resembles one between a gentleman and a chimney-sweeper; the former may beat the low scoundrel to his heart's contentment, but there is no honor in the exploit, and he is sure to be

covered with the soil and dirt of his ignominous antagonist. But the necessity will sometimes compel us to descend from our station to chastise a vagabond and endure the disgrace of a contest in order to repress, by wholesale correction, the presumptuous insolence and mischievous designs of the basest assailant."

Peace Preliminaries.

In less than a year after the war had begun the United States accepted an offer of Russian mediation, and the President sent envoys to Europe to treat for peace, clothing them with instructions relative to search and impressment and the question of blockades, March, 1813. The United States Congress had taken a step to facilitate the settlement of the search and impressment question by the passage of the law prohibiting the enlistment of British seamen in the United States navy. In the meantime the two governments had under consideration either London or Gottenburg, Sweden, as the place for the negotiations for a definitive treaty of peace to be undertaken.

American Peace Commissioners.

The disasters of the war on the American side along the Canadian frontier and on the New England coast in the campaigns of 1812 and 1813 made the American cause appear so gloomy that President Madison confessed his weakness by appointing John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts; Henry Clay, of Kentucky; James A. Bayard, of Delaware; Albert Gallatin, of Pennsylvania; William Harris Crawford, of Georgia, and Jonathan Russell, of Massachusetts, as commissioners to negotiate a definitive treaty of peace with Great Britain, January and February, 1814.

American Gloom and Humiliation.

A darker day and deeper humiliation never had come over the American people than when the American commissioners had been appointed to meet British commissioners early in 1814 to negotiate for peace. The British looked upon the Americans as a defeated enemy begging for peace, and were resolved to avenge Saratoga and Yorktown by inflicting all the humiliation possible upon the American Nation. Henry Clay wrote from Europe to President Madison that a continuance of the war would be fatal to the United States. The overthrow of Napoleon Bonaparte early in 1814 by Great Britain and her allies, Russia, Prussia, Austria, Sweden, Spain and Portugal, gave the British a free hand to throw their whole military strength against the United States. It seemed very evident that if the Americans could not hold their own against the British when Great Britain's main military and naval power was employed against the greatest modern conqueror that the world ever saw they could not stand out against the whole British war power when that great conqueror was an exile at Elba. The United States had begun the war by taking the offensive, but were forced to assume the defensive during its last year, after failing in three attempts to conquer Canada.

Severity of British Terms.

The United States was without an active friend among the nations of the world. Great Britain even rejected the proffered mediation of her powerful ally, Russia, in behalf of peace between the two English-speaking nations. Knowing full well the desperate straits of the United States, Great Britain would grant peace to the Americans only on the most humiliating conditions, and the negotiations were protracted for months in consequence of the severity of the British terms. Not only did Great Britain stoutly maintain her doctrine of the right of search and impressment of suspected deserters from her navy; but she demanded that the United States give up to the Indians a large section of territory, embracing all of what now is comprised in the States of Michigan, Wisconsin and Illinois, the greater part of Indiana and about a third of Ohio, to constitute a sort of Indian sovereignty under British guaranty, never to be purchased by the United States and to serve as a sort of buffer state for the perpetual protection of the British American possessions against American ambition. The British also demanded that the Americans relinquish the right of keeping armed ships on the Great Lakes; cede a very large slice of Maine to Canada in order to make a road from Halifax to Quebec, and renew the provisions of the treaty of 1783 giving British subjects the right of navigating the Mississippi. Such was the humiliating alternative tendered by Great Britain to the United States in the spring of 1814.

Concessions on Both Sides.

It was only after news of General Jackson's subjugation of the Creek Indians, the allies of the British against the Americans, had reached Europe that the British relaxed the severity of their terms of peace and withdrew their demand for a cession of American territory, but only after months of fruitless negotiation and after the American commissioners had almost given up in despair. The overthrow of Napoleon Bonaparte by Great Britain and her European allies in the spring of 1814 also induced the United States to modify her demands upon Great Britain in relation to the British claims of the right of search and impressment. The Federalists asserted that this action of the Madison administration was due to fear of British power, so largely increased by the overthrow of Napoleon; but the administration and its party declared that the pacification of Europe did away with the very abuses of which the United States had complained, and that, therefore, it was unnecessary for the United States longer to insist upon the relinquishment of the right of search and impressment and the right of blockade—in short, that there would be no impressments or blockades in times of peace. At any rate, the American commissioners were instructed to leave these points for future negotiation.

Peace Negotiations at Ghent.

The American and British commissioners finally met at Ghent, in Belgium, early in August, 1814, and set about the negotiations for a

definitive treaty of peace; but four and a half months passed before they came to terms. The British yielded their demands for the retension of conquests made during the war, as they desired to dispose of the American question in the uncertain condition of European affairs. Lord Liverpool, the British Prime Minister, wrote to Lord Castlereagh, the British plenipotentiary at the Congress of Vienna, which then was in session: "Some of our European allies may not be indisposed to favor the Americans, and if the Emperor of Russia should be desirous of taking up their cause we are well aware that there is a most powerful party to support him." The Duke of Wellington was asked to take command of the British forces in America. He agreed to do so, but advised peace, saying that there was "no vulnerable point of importance belonging to the United States" which the British could hold, "except New Orleans." Sir Edward Pakenham's disastrous defeat and death afterwards demonstrated that even that place could not be held by the British. Lord Castlereagh wrote from Vienna that the American war made little sensation there. But when this war was ended by the negotiations at Ghent the negotiations at Vienna were pushed forward with more ease than Great Britain had experienced previously.

Peace of Ghent.

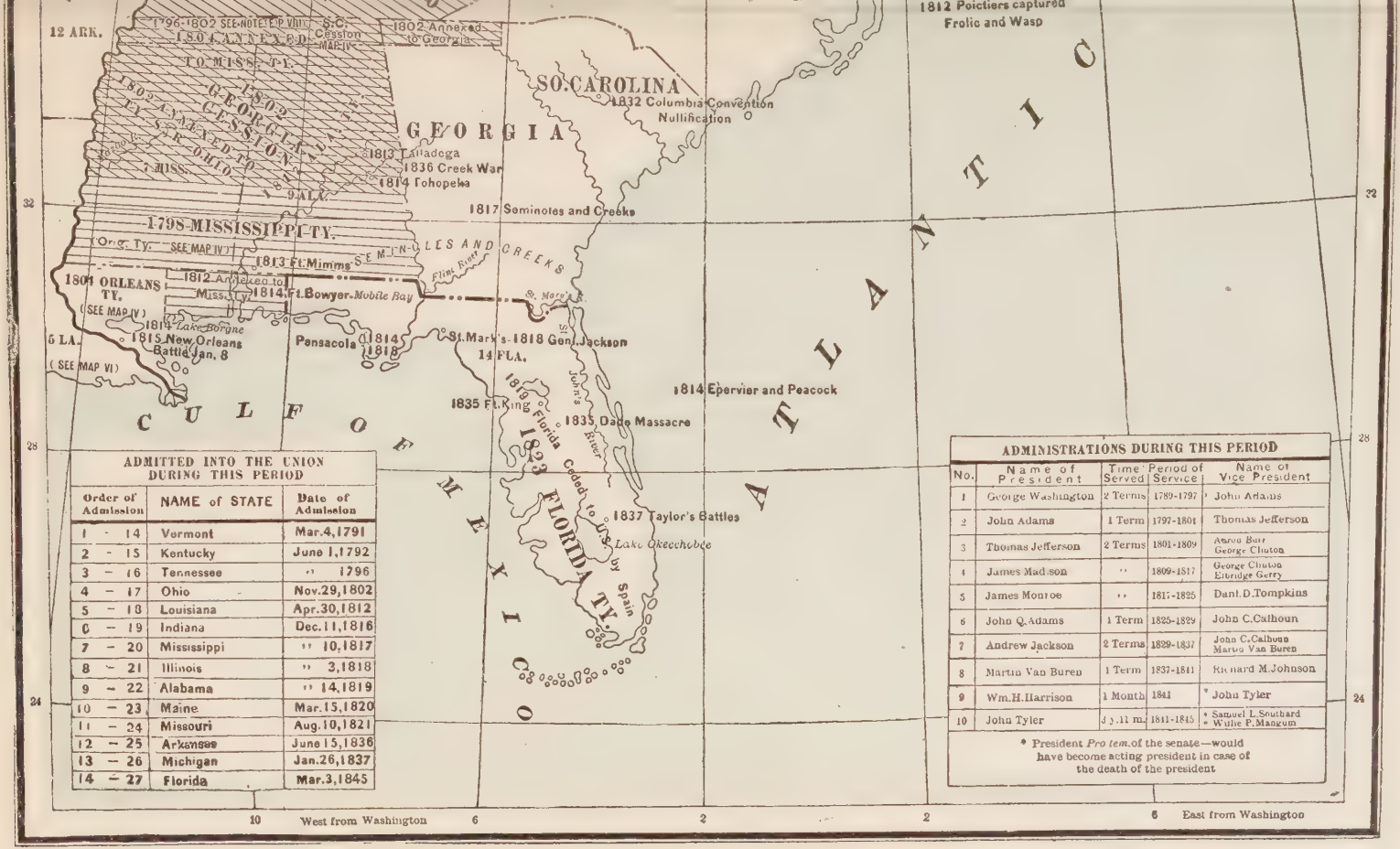
The Peace of Ghent, signed by the American and British commissioners the day before Christmas, December 24, 1814—one day more than two weeks before the battle of New Orleans—restored the conquests on both sides and provided commissioners to arrange the boundary question and minor issues between the two nations. But the treaty was humiliating to the Americans because they did not gain a single point for which they went to war with Great Britain, as that power refused resolutely to relinquish her doctrine of the right of search and impressment. This subject was not even mentioned in the treaty. The result of the war fully justified the Federalist contention that the contest was a wholly-useless one. As the treaty of peace was signed two weeks and one day before the battle of New Orleans was fought, and as the news of the treaty had not reached America in time to prevent the battle, that battle had no effect or influence upon the terms of the treaty. After the United States Senate had ratified the treaty, President Madison issued a proclamation of peace, February 18, 1815.

The President's Recommendation.

Within a week after proclaiming peace, the President recommended "the navigation of American vessels exclusively by American seamen, either natives or such as are already naturalized"; the reason assigned being "to guard against incidents which, during the periods of war in Europe, might tend to interrupt peace."

Indian Treaty.

In September, 1815, the United States government concluded a treaty of peace with the Indians of Indiana, Illinois and Michigan Territories, by which the Indian tribes which had been at war with the



ADMITTED INTO THE UNION DURING THIS PERIOD

Order of Admission	NAME of STATE	Date of Admission
1 - 14	Vermont	Mar.4,1791
2 - 15	Kentucky	June 1,1792
3 - 16	Tennessee	" 1796
4 - 17	Ohio	Nov.29,1802
5 - 18	Louisiana	Apr.30,1812
6 - 19	Indiana	Dec.11,1816
7 - 20	Mississippi	" 10,1817
8 - 21	Illinois	" 3,1818
9 - 22	Alabama	" 14,1819
10 - 23	Maine	Mar.15,1820
11 - 24	Missouri	Aug.10,1821
12 - 25	Arkansas	June 15,1836
13 - 26	Michigan	Jan.26,1837
14 - 27	Florida	Mar.3,1845

ADMINISTRATIONS DURING THIS PERIOD

No.	Name of President	Time Served	Period of Service	Name of Vice President
1	George Washington	2 Terms	1789-1797	John Adams
2	John Adams	1 Term	1797-1801	Thomas Jefferson
3	Thomas Jefferson	2 Terms	1801-1809	Aaron Burr George Clinton
4	James Madison	"	1809-1817	George Clinton Elbridge Gerry
5	James Monroe	"	1817-1825	Daniel D.Tompkins
6	John Q.Adams	1 Term	1825-1829	John C.Calhoun
7	Andrew Jackson	2 Terms	1829-1837	John C.Calhoun Martin Van Buren
8	Martin Van Buren	1 Term	1837-1841	Richard M.Johnson
9	Wm.H.Harrison	1 Month	1841	* John Tyler
10	John Tyler	3 yrs.11 mo.	1841-1845	* Samuel L.Southard * Willie P.Mangum

* President *Pro tem.* of the senate—would have become acting president in case of the death of the president

10 West from Washington 6 2 2 6 East from Washington

Longitude West from Greenwich
95
91
87
83
79
75
71
67
63
48
44
40
Lake of the Woods
Itasca Lake
BRITISH AMERICA
1818 ANNEXED TO MICH. TY.
1809 ILLINOIS TERRITORY
1805 MICHIGAN TERRITORY
1805 LOUISIANA TY.
1803 France ceded Louisiana to the United States
1800 Spain ceded Louisiana to France
1812 Ft. Mackinaw
1838 Canadian Rebellion
1813 York (now Toronto)
1813 Chrysler's Field
1814 Battle of Lake Champlain and Plattsburg Sept. 11.
1814 LaColle Mill
1813 Boxer and Enterprise
1813 Sackett's Harbor
1812 Battle of the Thames
1814 Queenston
1814 Lundy's Lane
Chippewa 1814
1812 Lewiston
1812 Detroit Hull's Surrender
1814 Ft. Erie
1814 Fort Malden
1813 Frenchtown
1812 Brownstown
1832 Black Hawk War
1813 Perry's Victory
1792 Cession to Pennsylvania
(SEE TABLE MAP VIII)
1812 Guerriere and Constitution
1813 Chesapeake and Shannon
1814 Hartford Convention
1842 Dorr's Rebellion
1801 West Point
1804 Hoboken
1789 New York-Constitution
1815 President Captured
1791 Philadelphia-U.S. Bank
1790 Maumee Ford
1813 Ft. Meigs
1800 WEST. RES.
SEE TABLE MAP VIII
1813 Ft. Stephenson
1794 Wayne's Campaign
1794 Whiskey Rebellion
1811 Tippecanoe
1791 St. Clair's Defeat
Ter. N.W. of Riv. Ohio
SEE MAP IV
1830 Peter Cooper's Engine
1844 Morse's Telegraph
1814 Bladensburg
1800 Washington
1799 Mt. Vernon
1790 District of Columbia
1814 Washington Ross
1841 Ft. McHenry North Point
Baltimore
PENNSYLVANIA
MARYLAND
VIRGINIA
OHIO
ILLINOIS
INDIANA
10 ME.
MAINE
VT.
VERMONT
NEW HAMPSHIRE
MASSACHUSETTS
R.I.
CONN.
NEW YORK
NEW JERSEY
DEL.
1809 Hudson
1807 Fulton
1790 Par. of Va. Ceded
SEE MAP IV

United States agreed to bury the tomahawk and sheathe the scalping-knife and to join with the friendly Indians in living at peace with the whites.

National Exhaustion.

President Madison, in consenting to war as the price of his renomination and reëlection, had his reward; as the difficulties of his second term were more serious than those of any previous administration and weighed heavily upon him. The President and his party—in fact, the whole Nation—welcomed peace, as though the Republic had been plunging into an abyss which yawned at its feet. The National debt had been increased to one hundred and twenty million dollars—a large sum in those times. Some parts of the country had suffered more than others; commerce and some other industries had vanished; while the entire Nation was in a condition of temporary exhaustion.

Complete American Independence.

Though the direct issues which led to the war were ignored entirely in the treaty of peace, yet there was a substantial gain for the United States in the fact that the great result of the war was to make the United States truly independent, for which reason the War of 1812 has often been called the *Second War for Independence*. Before that war, party politics in the United States turned on questions of the foreign policy of the Nation, and there was a pro-British and a pro-French party in the United States. Such was not the case thereafter, questions of a domestic nature thenceforth being the issues between the great political parties. Never after the War of 1812 did the American people hang in suspense upon British orders-in-council or French decrees; and never thereafter did they or their parties shape their policy only in accordance with foreign movements. The foreign aggressions preceding the war and which led to it had more to do in producing this beneficial result than the war itself, which simply hastened its final consummation.

SECTION III.—MISSOURI COMPROMISE AND MONROE DOCTRINE (A. D. 1815–1825).

Recovery from the War's Effects.

The depression at the close of the war with Great Britain was accompanied by elation at the return of peace. All over the country men resumed their old enterprises or began new ones, without anxiety as to the present or the future. The National government exerted itself to promote the return of material prosperity. A new tariff law was enacted, both to increase the revenue and to protect domestic manufactures. Internal taxes was abolished by degrees, and the United States Bank was rechartered in March, 1816. The revival of National prosperity was very gradual, though it was uninterrupted, and the

general tendency was toward recovery from the disorders inflicted upon the country in consequence of the recent war with Great Britain.

War with Algiers. No sooner was the war with Great Britain terminated than the United States was obliged to engage in a short war with the piratical Barbary state of Algiers, in Northern Africa. Under the impression that the navy of the United States had been almost destroyed by that of Great Britain, the Algerines had become extremely insolent and committed depredations upon American commerce in the Mediterranean sea. Commodore Decatur, who was sent immediately to the Mediterranean with a United States squadron, captured two Algerine vessels on the 17th of June, 1815; and on the 28th (June, 1815), he appeared before the city of Algiers and demanded that all Americans held as prisoners should be set at liberty, that all destroyed American property should be indemnified and that all claims to tribute from the United States in future should be relinquished. Two days afterward (June 30, 1815) the Dey, or ruler of Algiers, greatly alarmed, assented to Decatur's conditions, and a treaty of peace was signed. Decatur also obtained satisfaction from the rulers of Tunis, Tripoli and Morocco; and thenceforth American commerce was not disturbed in the Mediterranean sea. The United States was the first power that made any determined efforts to stop the piratical proceedings of the Barbary states. Great Britain did the same thing in 1816, as already noticed.

Election of Monroe. In the election in the autumn of 1816 the Republican candidate for President, James Monroe, of Virginia, was elected by a large majority, with Daniel D. Tompkins, of New York, as Vice President. The Federalist candidates were Rufus King, of New York, for President, and John Eager Howard, of Maryland, for Vice President.

Admission of Indiana. During the last year of Madison's administration the Territory of Indiana was admitted into the Union as the State of Indiana, to which a strip of the southern part of the Michigan Territory was annexed, December 11, 1816.

President Monroe, A. D. 1817–1825. Mr. Monroe was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1817. He selected a Cabinet of able men and entered upon the duties of his office with vigor, at a time when the Republic was recovering from the effects of the late war with Great Britain, when American commerce and manufactures were reviving and when the Nation was starting on a new and glorious career of prosperity, wealth, power and greatness.

Emigration to the West. During the war with Great Britain the prices of various commodities had become so high that the numerous manufacturing establishments in the United States had enjoyed a great degree of prosperity; but when, on the return of peace, British goods flooded the country at low prices these establishments ceased to flourish, and thousands were compelled to seek other occupations. This sudden change in the pecuniary con-

dition of so many thousands led to so large and rapid an emigration to the vast region west of the Alleghanies, which awaited the industry of the agriculturist, that in less than ten years four new and prosperous States had grown up in the recent vast wilderness.

Jackson's Second Invasion of Florida.

In the latter part of 1817 the Seminole and Creek Indians began a series of murderous attacks upon the white settlers of Southern Georgia. General Jackson, with some Tennessee troops, marched against the hostile Indians. With the belief that the Creeks were protected by the Spanish authorities of Florida, Jackson marched into that country, captured the post of St. Mark's, sent the Spanish authorities to Pensacola and afterward to Havana, in Cuba, and hanged Alexander Arbuthnot and Robert C. Ambrister, British subjects, who were known to have excited the Indians to war.

Spain's Protest.

The Spanish Minister at Washington protested against Jackson's invasion of Florida in a time of peace between Spain and the United States; and the United States government immediately ordered the restitution of the invaded province to Spain, though approving Jackson's general course.

Controversies about Florida.

Florida was a sore spot to the United States in many respects. The old disputes about the boundaries between Florida and the United States had never been settled. Fugitives from justice, runaway slaves, pirates, smugglers and warlike Indians used Flordia as a place of refuge and as a starting-point. The Spanish authorities of Florida were not disposed or able to respect their neighbors of the United States. As President Monroe said in reference to Florida, "This country had, in fact, become the theater of every species of lawless adventure." Controversies about American indemnities and other disputes were left unsettled, and new troubles were added as a result of the Spanish American revolutions and the disposition of the people of the United States to furnish substantial aid to the revolutionists in their war for independence.

Spain's Cession of Florida to the United States.

Under these circumstances the United States government renewed its earlier proposition to purchase Florida from Spain; but the early acceptance of this offer by Spain was retarded by disagreements respecting the boundary between Louisiana and the Spanish province of New Spain, or Mexico, but this boundary was finally settled to begin at the Sabine river, thus bringing the treaty for the cession of Florida to a conclusion; and on the payment of five million dollars by the United States government to American citizens who claimed indemnity from Spain that nation ceded East and West Florida to the United States on Washington's Birthday, 1819. In 1821 Spain ratified the treaty; and Flordia Territory was organized in accordance with an act of Congress the same year, February, 1821.

Florida Territory.

Treaty of 1818.

In the meantime, in the year 1818, a treaty with Great Britain fixed the boundary line between the United States and British America at forty-nine degrees north latitude, from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains.

Five New States.

Five new States were admitted into the Union during Monroe's administration—Mississippi, in 1817; Illinois, in 1818; Alabama, in 1819; Maine, in 1820, and Missouri, in 1821. Mississippi was formed out of the western half of the Mississippi Territory, the eastern half of the same Territory then becoming the Alabama Territory, which became the State of the same name two years later. The northern part of Illinois Territory, embracing the present State of Wisconsin and the north-eastern part of Minnesota, was then annexed to Michigan Territory. Maine had been relinquished by Massachusetts; and Missouri was carved out of the Missouri Territory, being the second State formed out of the original vast Louisiana domain. In 1819 Arkansas Territory was formed, embracing the region comprised by the present State of that name and the region westward included since in Oklahoma and Indian Territory.

Slavery or Freedom in Missouri.

When the proposition for the admission of Missouri was brought forward in Congress, in 1819, angry debates arose as to whether it should be admitted as a Free or a Slave State. This was the first great contest for supremacy in the Republic between the friends and the opponents of slavery. Missouri was already slave territory; but when it was moved to admit her as a State, James W. Tallmadge, of New York, made a motion in the National House of Representatives that no more slaves be admitted into the proposed new State and that the children of those already there be emancipated at the age of twenty-five. This motion passed the House of Representatives, but it was lost in the Senate. Then John W. Taylor, another New York Representative, moved to prohibit slavery in the whole Territory to the north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude; but this motion was defeated by the House. A bill establishing the part of Missouri Territory to the south of the line just designated was passed, naming that region the Territory of Arkansas, March, 1819; the admission of Missouri as a State being delayed for the time.

Intense Agitation of the Slavery Question.

The agitation was of a character sufficiently bitter to plunge the Nation into the horrors of civil war. Many in the Northern, or Free States felt that the time had arrived to make a determined stand against the further extension of slavery. In opposition to this view, the projected restriction of slavery was denounced as an infringement of the rights of the Southern, or Slave States, and as a prelude to a negro massacre, a civil war, a dissolution of the Union. The venerable Thomas Jefferson, from his home at Monticello, Virginia, wrote sorrow-

fully: "The Missouri question is a breaker on which we lose the Missouri country by revolt, and what more God only knows. From the battle of Bunker's Hill to the Treaty of Paris we never had so ominous a question." John Adams, from his home at Quincy, Massachusetts, wrote more hopefully: "I hope it will follow the other waves under the ship and do no harm."

Angry Public Discussions.

The agitation throughout the Union was intense. Public meetings were held in both sections of the country. The meetings in the Slave States sought to repel the interference of the Free States. The meetings in the Free States rebuked the pretensions of the Slave States. The controversy entered the State Courts and the State Legislatures, those in the North declaring that Missouri must be a Free State, while those in the South asserted that the proposed new State must be open to the settlement of slaveholders with their slave property the same as any other property.

Momentous Issue.

It was a most momentous question. A Massachusetts Congressman remarked: "Scarcely ever was so great a question before a human tribunal." The whole vast domain originally called Louisiana, as well as Missouri, was to be opened or closed to slavery. Not only the few thousand slaves within the proposed new State, but the hundreds of thousands to follow them into the new State and beyond it, were to be disposed of by the settlement to be arrived at. The anti-slavery party insisted upon the right and duty of Congress to consecrate Missouri to freedom. The pro-slavery party insisted that Congress had no right to interfere; that a State alone had the right to determine whether it should be a Free State or a Slave State, and that in the case of Missouri especially the new State itself had no other alternative than to allow slavery, as it was bound by the treaty under which Missouri, as a part of the original Louisiana, had been acquired, and by which the inhabitants, being admitted to all the rights of citizens of the United States, had been admitted to all the rights of slaveholders of the United States.

Balance of Free and Slave States.

There was another argument to the question. The Union at that time embraced twenty-two States, exactly half of this number being Free States, the other half being Slave States. As Alabama, the last preceding State admitted, was a Slave State, it was argued in the North that the next State to be admitted ought to be a Free State. When, upon the reassembling of Congress, in December, 1820, Maine, which thus far had been a part of Massachusetts, sought admission into the Union as a separate State the argument was turned to the other side, it being urged in the South that, as Maine was to be a Free State without dispute, Missouri ought to be a Slave State, to preserve the balance in the number of Free and Slave States in the Union.

Missouri Compromise Bill in the United States Senate.

The United States Senate united Maine and Missouri in the same bill and on the same terms, without any restriction whatever upon slavery; but Senator Jesse B. Thomas, of Illinois, moved a clause prohibiting slavery in any part of the Louisiana domain not yet organized, thus leaving the State of Louisiana and the Territory of Arkansas, as well as Missouri, just what they then were—slave territory. The line of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude—proposed the previous year—was again proposed, with the reservation that Missouri, though north of that line, was to be a Slave State. This compromise measure was proposed by the North, on whose part it conceded Missouri to slavery, while on the part of the South it yielded to freedom the vast region west of Missouri and north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude, the dividing line between slavery and freedom running westward from the southern boundary of Missouri.

Adoption of the Missouri Compromise.

While the United States Senate was discussing and adopting the foregoing compromise, the National House of Representatives passed a bill providing for the admission of Missouri, separately from Maine and restricting slavery. Angry debates followed and the most intense excitement prevailed. Henry Clay, still a Representative from Kentucky, wrote that the subject "engrosses the whole thoughts of the members and constitutes almost the only topic of conversation." A committee of conference, of the two Houses of Congress, prepared the way for an agreement of both Houses on a bill for the admission of Missouri, after the formation of her State Constitution, free of restrictions, but prohibiting slavery north of the line of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude, March 3, 1820. At the same time Maine was admitted as a Free State, March 3, 1820. Such was the famous *Missouri Compromise,* of which Henry Clay was regarded as the author, as he was of the Tariff Compromise of 1833 and the Compromise of 1850.

Various Interpretations of the Compromise.

The Missouri Compromise prohibited slavery forever in the vast region west of that State and north of the designated line of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude. Such was the letter of the law, but it was interpreted variously. When President Monroe consulted his Cabinet upon approving the act of Congress upon the subject all except his Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, were disposed to construe the prohibition of slavery as applying only to the Territories of the United States and not to the States that afterwards might be erected out of those Territories. This was not a difference of opinion between Northern and Southern men; but it was a difference of view between a strict and a liberal interpretation of the National Constitution, the strict constructionists denying to Congress all power and right to restrict a State, while the liberal constructionists main-

tained the right of Congress to fix the conditions under which a State can be admitted into the Union.

Views of Jurists and Lawyers.

These different constructions also prevailed outside of the Cabinet, among jurists and constitutional lawyers. Among the members of Congress voting for the Compromise were many who, no doubt, understood it as applying to Territories only and not to new States. The Free State party, unquestionably, adopted the broader interpretation, prohibiting a State, as well as a Territory, from establishing slavery. This difference of view as to the meaning of the Compromise augured ill for the future domestic peace of the American Union, being a dark prelude to what was to occur forty years later.

Missouri State Constitution.

Perfect tranquillity was not yet fully restored. Rejoicing in becoming a Slave State, Missouri adopted a State Constitution which prohibited the State Legislature from emancipating the slaves or from permitting the immigration of free negroes. When this subject was brought before Congress, near the end of the year 1820, various tactics were adopted, the extreme pro-slavery party favoring the immediate admission of Missouri, while the extreme anti-slavery party urged the subversion of the State, the State Constitution and the Compromise together.

Admission of Missouri.

Henry Clay, as the leader of the moderate party, after long exertions, finally succeeded in securing the passage of a bill providing for the admission of Missouri as soon as her Legislature should solemnly covenant the rights of citizenship to "the citizens of either of the States," February, 1821. This requirement was complied with by Missouri, which therefore was admitted into the Union as a Slave State, August 10, 1821.

Attempt to Make Illinois a Slave State.

In the neighboring State of Illinois was a large and influential party that seemed resolved upon the establishment of slavery within the borders of that State. As the Illinois Constitution, as well as the Congressional Ordinance of 1787, forbade slavery in Illinois, an effort was made to call a State convention to get rid of the prohibition. The State Legislature agreed to this; but the Governor of the State, Edward Coles, assumed the leadership of the anti-slavery cause; and, after a bitter contest of eighteen months, Illinois was saved to freedom, 1822–'23.

Prohibition of the Slave Trade.

Most slaveholders were as willing as the anti-slavery people to resist the slave trade. More than fourteen thousand slaves were said to have been imported into the United States in the year 1818. In 1819 Congress passed an act imposing new and severe penalties on the slave trader and providing for the restoration of the unfortunate victims to their native Africa. In 1820 Congress passed an act stigmatizing the slave trade as piracy.

Re-election of Monroe.

In the autumn of 1820 Monroe and Tompkins were reëlected President and Vice President by an almost unanimous Electoral vote, only one Electoral vote being cast for Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, the Presidential candidate of the dissatisfied elements of both parties. The old Federalist party was almost extinct, and the administration was very popular. Among the important events of the administration of Monroe was the recognition of the independence of Mexico and the South American republics by the United States, when

Monroe Doctrine.

the President declared, as a principle, "that the American continents are not henceforth to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power." This is known as the *Monroe Doctrine.*

Canning as Its Instigator.

The famous Monroe Doctrine, of which so much has been said within late years, was not of American origin, but of British origin. Its author was not President Monroe or his Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, but was suggested first by the famous British statesman, George Canning, while Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in Lord Liverpool's Ministry, as early as 1818.

His Reasons and Aims.

Canning urged the principle of this famous doctrine upon the United States government through Richard Rush, the United States Minister in London during Monroe's administration, while John Quincy Adams was Secretary of State. The reason given by Canning for his policy on this question was the action of that famous alliance of the four Great Powers of Continental Europe—Russia, Prussia, Austria and France—which had entered on a crusade against the progress of liberalism, constitutionalism and democracy in Europe and in the interest of absolutism and autocracy, for which purpose they formed the celebrated *Holy Alliance.*

Course of the Holy Alliance.

The Holy Alliance had crushed the insurrections against absolutism in Naples, Piedmont and Spain; in the two Italian kingdoms by Austrian troops in 1820 and 1821, and in Spain by a French army of one hundred thousand men under the Duke of Angoulême in 1823.

Full Accord of Great Britain and the United States as to Spanish America.

Great Britain and the United States, which agreed in their policy respecting the Spanish American republics, which just then were achieving their independence of Spain after a bloody struggle of more than a dozen years, feared and suspected that the Holy Alliance, under Russia's leadership, would extend to the American continent their policy of crushing liberty and republicanism and aid Spain to recover her lost American colonies. Great Britain and the United States had given their moral support to the Spanish American colonies in their struggle for independence against the despotic power of Spain and recognized their independence, and British subjects and American citizens had aided by arms the revolted Spanish American colonies in their fight for freedom and independence.

Jefferson's Approval of this Anglo-American Accord.

Thus before the present Anglo-American era of good feeling did the two great kindred English-speaking nations coöperate in the cause of liberty—a policy commended heartily by Thomas Jefferson, who contended that with the powerful aid of Great Britain the United States would be able to withstand the encroachments of the despotic crowned heads of Continental Europe upon the infant republics of the New World. Jefferson contended that Great Britain was the power which could do the United States the most harm as an enemy and the most good as a friend.

Canning's Stated Reason for His Action.

Canning, who was a disciple of that great British statesman of the stirring period of the French Revolution and of Napoleon Bonaparte's wars, the younger William Pitt, had assigned the following reason for suggesting the principle and policy bearing the name of the Monroe Doctrine: "I resolved that if France should have Spain it should not be Spain with the Indies. I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old."

President Monroe's Message in 1823.

Acting upon Canning's advice and in accordance with Secretary of State John Quincy Adams's recommendation, President Monroe, in a message to Congress, in December, 1823, formulated the principles and policy of the celebrated doctrine bearing his name in the following words:

Its Words.

"We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and the allied Powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any part of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European Power we have not interfered and shall not interfere; but with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have on great consideration and just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European Power, in any other light than as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States."

Twofold Purpose of the Monroe Doctrine.

As expounded and interpreted by its promulgators and advocates, the newly-proclaimed Monroe Doctrine had a twofold purpose. It showed the intention of the United States to prevent the European Powers from extending their system of government to the American continent to subvert the republican institutions thereon existing or to plant on this continent their own monarchical institutions wherever they could find a spot. The first point was to protect all the republics of Spanish America. The second was to protect the still-unoccupied regions of the New World. Although Congress declined to take final action on the Monroe Doctrine, the President's message struck a popu-

lar chord, and its sentiments found a ready echo in the hearts of the people of the United States.

Aims of the Holy Alliance.

The great monarchies of Continental Europe forming the Holy Alliance, whose soul and inspiration was the stern despot, Emperor Alexander I. of Russia, after the overthrow of Napoleon I. resolved to stamp out every vestige of the French Revolution; and with this view they resolved to crush out every manifestation of democracy, republicanism, liberalism and constitutionalism, not only in Europe, but, if possible, also in the colonies and dependencies of European nations in other parts of the world.

Project of the Holy Alliance Frustrated by Great Britain.

There was, therefore, the best reason for the fear and suspicion of Great Britain and the United States that the Holy Alliance would make an effort to restore Spain's dominion in the New World, even after the Spanish Americans had fairly won their independence by force of arms against their mother country, especially as recorded in the memoirs of Prince Metternich, the distinguished Austrian statesman and Chancellor of the Austrian Empire from 1815 to 1848, that in the summer of 1824, after the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine, the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs proposed a conference at Paris to consider Spanish American affairs. France, Austria, Prussia and Russia assented, but Great Britain's opposition defeated the project.

Jefferson's View.

When President Monroe was considering his celebrated message in which he enunciated the Monroe Doctrine he invoked the advice of his two immediate predecessors, ex-Presidents Jefferson and Madison. In reply Jefferson wrote as follows:

"America, North and South, has a set of interests distinct from those of Europe and peculiarly her own. She should therefore have a system of her own separate and apart from that of Europe. While the last is laboring to become the domicile of despotism our endeavor should surely be to make our hemisphere that of freedom. One nation most of all could disturb us in this pursuit. She now offers to lead, aid and accompany us in it. By acceding to her propositions we detach her from the bands, bring her mighty weight into the scale of free government and emancipate a continent at one stroke. * * * Great Britain is the nation which can do us the most harm of any one of all on earth, and with her on our side we need not fear the whole world. With her, then, we should sedulously cherish a cordial friendship, and nothing would tend more to knit our affections than to be fighting once more side by side in the same cause.

* * * * * *

"But the war in which the present proposition might engage us, should that be its consequence, is not her war, but ours. Its object

is to introduce and establish the American system of keeping out of our land all foreign powers, of never permitting those of Europe to intermeddle with the affairs of our nations. It is to maintain our own principle, not to depart from it. And if to facilitate this we can effect a division in the body of the European powers and draw over to our side its most powerful member, surely we should do it. But I am clearly of Mr. Canning's opinion that it will prevent instead of provoke war. With Great Britain withdrawn from their scale and shifted into that of our continents, all Europe combined would not undertake such a war. For how would they propose to get at either enemy without superior fleets? Nor is the occasion to be slighted which this proposition offers of declaring our protest against the atrocious violations of the rights of nations by the interference of any one in the internal affairs of another, so flagitiously begun by Bonaparte and now continued by the equally-lawless alliance calling itself holy."

Madison's View.

The following is ex-President Madison's reply to President Monroe:

"From the disclosures of Mr. Canning it appears, as was otherwise to be inferred, that the success of France against Spain would be followed by an attempt of the holy allies to reduce the revolutionized colonies of the latter to the former dependence.

"The professions we have made to these neighbors; our sympathies with their liberties and independence; the deep interest we have in the most friendly relations with them, and the consequences threatened by a command of their resources by the great powers confederated against the rights and reforms of which we have given so conspicuous and persuasive an example, all unite in calling for our efforts to defeat the meditated crusade. It is particularly fortunate that the policy of Great Britain, though guarded by calculations different from ours, has presented a coöperation for an object the same with ours. With the coöperation we have nothing to fear from the rest of Europe, and with it the best assurance of success to our laudable views. There ought not, therefore, to be any backwardness, I think, in meeting her in the way she has proposed, keeping in view of course the spirit and forms of the Constitution in every step taken in the road to war, which must be the last step if those short of war should be without avail."

House of Representatives in 1825.

The United States House of Representatives adopted the following resolution in 1825:

"That the United States ought not to become a party with the Spanish American republics, or either of them, to any joint declaration for the purpose of preventing interference by any of the European powers with their independence or form of government, or to any compact for the purpose of preventing colonization upon the

continents of America, but that the people of the United States should be left free to act in any crisis in such a manner as their feelings and friendship towards those republics and as their own honor and policy may at the time dictate."

Other Views. The following as views and expositions of the Monroe Doctrine are of interest, as expressing the opinions of such eminent statesmen of the earlier years of the great American Republic as John Quincy Adams, Benton, Webster, Clay and Calhoun.

John Quincy Adams's View. John Quincy Adams, as President Monroe's Secretary of State, asserted that "each [American republic] will guard by its own means against the establishment of any future European colony within its borders."

Webster's View. Said the distinguished Massachusetts orator and statesman, Daniel Webster, concerning the newly-proclaimed Monroe Doctrine: "The President's message found a corresponding response in the breasts of the free people of the United States." Webster also said in reference to the Monroe Doctrine: "There will be, I trust, an American policy."

Benton's View. The following is from a speech of the Hon. Thomas Hart Benton, of Missouri, in the United States Senate, during a debate on the Monroe Doctrine:

"This is very far from being a pledge to take up arms in defense of the invaded American states. We have not undertaken to stand guard over the New World and repulse all intrusive colonists from its shores, and nothing could be more erroneous or more at war with our established principles of non-interference with other nations."

Calhoun's View. The next quotation is from a speech of the renowned John Caldwell Calhoun, of South Carolina, in the United States Senate, while the Monroe Doctrine was a subject of debate:

"The doctrine must be limited by the conditions under which it was made. Otherwise it would have involved the absurdity of asserting that the attempt of any European state to extend its system of government to this continent, the smallest as well as the greatest, would endanger the peace and safety of our country."

Clay's View. The following is the exposition of the Monroe Doctrine by the distinguished Kentucky statesman, Henry Clay, when Secretary of State in President John Quincy Adams's Cabinet, a few years after the promulgation of the famous doctrine.

"In December, 1823, the then President of the United States, in his annual message upon the opening of Congress, announced as a principle applicable to this continent, which ought hereafter to be insisted on, that no European nation ought to be allowed to plant upon it new colonies. It was not proposed by that principle to disturb

pre-existing European colonies already established in America; the principle looked forward, not backward."

Monroe's Appeal for Struggling Greece.

The same message in which President Monroe enunciated his celebrated doctrine also spoke for freedom in the Old World, in its allusion to Greece's struggle for liberation from the galling Turkish yoke, which struggle was then attracting the attention of Europe and America. When the Greek War for Independence broke out in 1821 the Messenian Senate had appealed to the United States for aid in its gigantic struggle with its Moslem oppressor. In the United States, as throughout Europe, popular sympathy was on the side of the struggling Greek patriots; and individual Americans had given personal services and financial aid, and now the President's message reflected the sentiment of the American people. Daniel Webster and Henry Clay pleaded the Greek cause on the floors of Congress, Webster urging the appointment of a commission to Greece and all the moral support that could be given to a good cause; while an American poet, Fitz-Greene Halleck, immortalized his own name by his beautiful poem on the heroic death of the Greek patriot, Marco Bozzaris, on the field of victory.

Lafayette's Visit.

In August, 1824, the beloved Lafayette arrived in the United States, as the guest of the Nation for whose independence he had fought so valiantly nearly half a century before. During a period of eleven months he visited twenty States of the Union, being everywhere received with demonstrations of gratitude. The frigate *Brandywine,* in compliment to him, conveyed him back to his delightful France, starting in September, 1825. Congress voted him a township of land and a grant of two hundred thousand dollars as a reward for his services in the cause of American Independence.

Election of John Quincy Adams.

In the Autumn of 1824 there were four candidates in the field for the Presidency. As not one of them had received a majority of the Electoral vote, the election was carried to the House of Representatives, when John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, son of President John Adams, was chosen President, and John Caldwell Calhoun, of South Carolina, was elected Vice President. The Federalist party had ceased to exist; and the four candidates for President belonged to the Republican party, which soon began to be called the Democratic party, which name it has borne ever since. The other three Presidential candidates were General Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee; Henry Clay, of Kentucky, and William Harris Crawford, of Georgia. As the Presidential campaign of that year was a political contest of candidates and sections rather than of party principles, there being no vital issues at stake, there was a consequent absence of the political rancor of the previous campaigns.

SECTION IV.—STATE RIGHTS, TARIFF COMPROMISE, ANTI-SLAVERY (A. D. 1825–1845).

President John Quincy Adams, A. D. 1825–1829.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1825, when the United States was at peace with all the world and when there was an absence of political rancor at home because of the disappearance of the Federalist party, so that this period is known as the "Era of Good Feeling."

Pan-American Congress at Panama.

In the beginning of John Quincy Adams's administration the government of the United States received an invitation from some of the Spanish American republics to unite with them in a Pan-American Congress at Panama. The objects of this Congress were rather indefinite, but embraced all subjects from mere commercial regulations to the Monroe Doctrine. The President appointed two envoys, and the Senate confirmed them and the House of Representatives made the necessary appropriations, though with considerable opposition, December, 1825–March, 1826. One of the envoys soon died, and the other did not go on his mission, so that the United States was not represented in the Congress, which was in session in June and July, 1826, and adjourned to meet at Tacubaya, Mexico, early in 1827. The envoys of the United States proceeded to Tacubaya at the appointed time, but no Congress assembled there.

The State Rights Question.

The question of State Rights versus National supremacy began to assume importance at this period. The alleged right of a State to nullify any act of the National Congress which it considered unconstitutional was but another method of asserting that the State, not the Nation, was sovereign, and was practically an assumption of State sovereignty under the authority of the National Constituton. As we have seen, this doctrine had been maintained by Jefferson and Madison and by the Resolutions of the Virginia and Kentucky Legislatures in 1798, also by the New England Federalists as reflected by the Massachusetts and Connecticut Legislatures and the Hartford Convention in 1814. This doctrine was now reasserted and became the great question before the American people during the administrations of John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson.

Georgia Controversy.

This question assumed shape when, in the earlier part of John Quincy Adams's administration, there was a controversy between the National government and the State of Georgia concerning the removal of the Indians within the borders of that State. The National government had agreed to remove the Indians to the region west of the Mississippi river when it could be done peacably, buying the lands of the Creeks and Cherokees within the limits of the State, in con-

sideration of Georgia's cession of the territory embraced in the present Alabama and Mississippi to the United States many years before. Some difficulty with the Creeks, who had not been treated justly, delayed their removal. The Governor of Georgia, assuming State supremacy, threatened to remove them immediately. The National government interfered in behalf of the Indians, and the difficulty perhaps would have ended in civil war had not the National government taken a firm stand. Governor Troup, of Georgia, accused the administration of anti-slavery motives in the matter, called upon the neighboring States to stand by their arms and even sent surveyors into the Indian country. President John Quincy Adams communicated the matter to Congress, asserting his determination to enforce the laws and fulfill the duties of the Nation by all the force committed to his charge for that purpose. Thereupon Governor Troup wrote to the Secretary of War: "From the first decisive act of hostility you will be considered and treated as a public enemy." The threatened storm was averted; and the Indians, in consideration of a large annuity which was to be paid to them from the National treasury, agreed to remove peacefully to the country west of the Mississippi, in what since has been the Indian Territory, which has been set apart as a general home for the Indians.

Erie Canal.

John Quincy Adams's administration is celebrated for various internal improvements. The Great Erie Canal, which connects the Hudson river with Lake Erie, in the State of New York, was completed in 1825 through the exertions of the distinguished De Witt Clinton. The first railroad in the United States was finished in Quincy, Massachusetts, in 1827.

Deaths of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson.

The fiftieth anniversary of American Independence, or the 4th of July, 1826, was made memorable by a strange coincidence, which made a profound impression throughout the United States. On that day John Adams died at Quincy, Massachusetts, and Thomas Jefferson, at Monticello, Virginia. Those two statesmen had been the most earnest advocates of independence; each had signed the great Declaration; each had been a member of the Continental Congress, afterward Vice President, and lastly President of the United States.

Anti-Masons.

In 1827 an event occurred which caused great excitement throughout the country and led to the formation of a new and for a time a formidable but short-lived political party. William Morgan, a native of Virginia, but then a resident of Western New York, announced his intention to publish a book in which the secrets of Free Masonry were to be disclosed to the public. One evening he was kidnapped secretly by several men in a carriage and taken away from Canandagua, being never seen thereafter. A dead body found afterward in the Niagara

river was said to have been that of Morgan, and Free Masons were charged with his murder. An anti-Masonic party was formed quickly and carried some of the State elections.

American System.

It was during the administration of John Quincy Adams that the principle of encouraging home manufactures by imposing duties on foreign articles of the same kind became a settled national policy in the United States and was called the *American System*. That policy was very popular with the manufacturers of the Northern section of the Union; but the planters of the cotton-growing States, who found a ready market for their raw cotton in England, opposed it. A tariff law enacted in 1828 was made to appear very unjust to the Southern planters by John C. Calhoun and other Southern politicians, who taught the doctines of "State Rights" and "Nullification."

Southern Opposition Thereto.

The tariff of 1816 was intended to aid the Nation in recovering from the losses of the War of 1812 and to protect domestic manufactures against importations from foreign countries. It was then urged by the Southern States in the opinion that cotton would command higher prices if manufactured at home, and was opposed by the Northern States, particularly the New England States, whose interests then were more commercial than manufacturing or agricultural. But after the adoption of the tariff the Northern and Middle States invested more and more of their capital in manufactures, while the cotton-growing States of the South continued to raise the raw material without attempting to manufacture it into fabrics. Thus the North and the South changed views on the tariff question, the South becoming opposed violently to protective duties, one of the Southern leaders declaring that Southern interests had been sacrificed shamefully, while the manufacturers of cotton, woolen, hemp, iron and other materials in the New England and Middle States demanded protection, holding a convention for that purpose at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, in July and August, 1827, saying: "We want protection, and it matters not if it amounts to prohibition." The result was the tariff law of 1828.

Protest of South Carolina.

South Carolina, Georgia and Virginia declared the tariff act of 1828 to be unconstitutional. South Carolina's Legislature even went so far as to issue an "exposition and protest," in which was made a threat of resistance on the part of that State to the National government, December, 1828. This exposition and protest argued thus: "The existence of the right of judging of their powers, clearly established from the sovereignty of the States, as clearly implies a veto or control on the action of the general government on contested points of authority; and this very control is the remedy which the Constitution has provided to prevent the encroachment of the general government on

the reserved rights of the States. * * * There exists a case [the tariff] which would justify the interposition of this State, and thereby compel the general government to abandon an unconstitutional power." Daniel Webster wrote: "In December, 1828, I became thoroughly convinced that the plan of a Southern Confederation had been received with favor by a great many of the political men of the South." The inevitable consequence of nullification was secession, which was attempted a third of a century later, precipitating the Civil War.

Election of Jackson.

In the Presidential election of 1828 General Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, was chosen President of the United States, and John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, was reëlected Vice President; thus defeating President John Quincy Adams for reëlection. The Republican party had become divided, Jackson and Calhoun being the candidates of the portion thereafter called the Democratic party, while John Quincy Adams and Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania, were the candidates of the portion called the National Republican party.

President Jackson, A. D. 1829–1837.

General Jackson was inaugurated, on the 4th of March, 1829, seventh President of the United States. He formed a Cabinet from his political friends and entered upon the duties of his exalted station with a determined will and with incorruptible integrity. His first act was to remove hundreds of public officials for the purpose of providing places for his political followers, thus giving practical effect to the doctrine that "to the victors belong the spoils." In this he established a new precedent, as his six predecessors altogether had made only sixty-four removals from office.

Spoils System.

Popular Justification Therefor.

President Jackson's action in thus giving a partisan character to his administration was fully acceptable to the majority of the American people, who argued that it was right that the inferior officers of the government should hold the same views as the superior officials, as such a condition was demanded in the interest of harmony. Besides, much stress was laid on the necessity of reforming the administration, as the extravagance of the preceding administration had been heralded all over the land by Jackson's partisans.

Jackson's First Message.

In his first annual message to Congress in December, 1829, President Jackson strongly opposed a renewal of the charter of the United States Bank and favored a lowering of the tariff of 1828, practically recommending concessions to the demands of South Carolina and other dissatisfied States. In May, 1830, Congress slightly modified the tariff, thus furnishing a precedent of the giving way by the Nation to the demands of a State.

In the meantime Daniel Webster had nobly defended the Nation's sovereignty in the United States Senate. In December, 1829, Senator Foot, of Connecticut, offered a resolution in the Senate concerning

Hayne's Speech in the United States Senate.

the disposition of the public lands; but the public lands were forgotten in the debates which followed regarding the relative powers of the States and the National government. Robert Young Hayne, a United States Senator from South Carolina, supported the theories of State sovereignty as advocated by his State; but everybody was well aware that he was speaking for a greater South Carolina statesman and orator, John Caldwell Calhoun, Vice President of the United States for a second term and still more influential as the leader in the nullification movement.

Webster's Masterly Reply.

Hayne's first speech on the State sovereignty question, January 19, 1830, was answered by Webster the next day so effectually that Hayne's reply was not completed for several days, when Webster spoke the second time, January 26, 1830, with the greatest effect ever witnessed in either House of Congress. He argued ably that the National government is not a mere league or compact of sovereign independent States, but a government established by the people of the United States, and that it could be resisted only by an appeal from one of its branches to another or by the right of revolution against them all. Said this great "Defender of the Constitution," as he was called thereafter: "I trust that the crisis has in some measure passed by."

Bad Temper in Congress.

But even Webster did not see then how the perilous crisis continued. The bad temper in Congress early in 1831 was described by a visitor thus: "When we entered the House there was a debate going on relative to a reduction of the duty on salt. Some Southern members spoke with great vehemence, but nobody on the floor paid any attention to them. They spoke of their oppression; of throwing themselves on the sovereignty of their States; of being goaded to rebellion; of the time being near when vengeance should stalk about these halls. It was melancholy to see such feelings aroused among our countrymen and more painful to see them disregarded."

Nullification by South Carolina.

The crisis continued more than a year and finally culminated in a threatened outbreak of civil war late in 1832. Having reduced the high duties on some articles, but leaving them on others, Congress refused to abandon the principle of protection in the new tariff of 1832. The South Carolina members of Congress immediately united with Vice President Calhoun in an address declaring their belief that "the protecting system must now be regarded as the settled policy of the country," and recommending a struggle to transmit to posterity "the rights and liberties received as a precious inheritance from an illustrious ancestry." The South Carolina Legislature summoned a State convention, which met at Columbia, the State capital, under the presidency of Governor Hamilton, November 19, 1832, and a few days later passed an ordinance declaring that "the several acts, and parts

of acts, purporting to be laws for imposing duties on importation * * * are unauthorized by the Constitution of the United States, and violate the true intent and meaning thereof, and are null and void, and no law, nor binding upon the State of South Carolina, its officers and citizens; * * * and that it shall be the duty of the Legislature to adopt such measures and pass such acts as may be necessary to give full effect to this ordinance, and to prevent the enforcement and arrest the operation of the said acts, and parts of acts, of the Congress of the United States within the limits of the State," November 24, 1832.

Her Threat of Secession.

In this instance South Carolina went farther than any of her predecessors in nullification. The ordinance of the State concluded thus: "We, the people of South Carolina, do further declare that we will not submit to the application of force on the part of the federal government, to reduce this State to obedience, but that we will consider the passage by Congress of any act * * * to enforce the acts hereby declared to be null and void, otherwise than through the civil tribunals of the country, as inconsistent with the longer continuance of South Carolina in the Union; and that the people of this State * * * will forthwith proceed to organize a separate government." This was more than nullification; it was secession.

Action of Her State Convention, Governor and Legislature

Governor Hamilton informed the State Legislature a few days after the adoption of the foregoing ordinance by the State convention in the following words: "The die has been at last cast, and South Carolina has at length appealed to her ulterior sovereignty as a member of this confederacy. * * * That it brings up a juncture of deep and momentous interest is neither to be concealed nor denied." The Legislature responded unhesitatingly to the convention by passing a series of acts prohibiting the collection of duties and providing for volunteers, or, if necessary, the entire State militia, to resist such collection by force of arms.

President Jackson's Proclamation.

The National government was as resolute as was South Carolina. President Jackson was eminently adapted to meet such a crisis as then had arrived. He did not waver an instant, but met the crisis promptly by a proclamation in which he warned the South Carolina nullifiers that the laws of the United States would be enforced by military power, if necessary, and ordered a National vessel to the support of the United States officials at Charleston. In his proclamation he went on to say: "No act of violent opposition to the laws has yet been committed; but such a state of things is hourly apprehended; and it is the intent of this instrument to proclaim not only that the duty imposed on me by the Constitution, to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, shall be performed, * * * but to warn the citizens of South Carolina * * * that the course they are urged to

pursue is one of ruin and disgrace to the very State whose right they affect to support," December, 1832. The President's appeal to the South Carolinians was the more forcible from the fact that it came from one of themselves, as it were, Jackson himself being a South Carolinian by birth.

His Message to Congress.

In an elaborate message to Congress, January 16, 1833, President Jackson denounced both nullification and secession, maintaining that "the result of each is the same; since a State in which, by a usurpation of power, the constitutional authority of the federal government is openly defied and set aside wants only the form to be independent of the Union." The President then went on to recount the measures he had taken and to propose those he considered necessary for Congress to take. After some delay, Congress responded by the passage of an enforcing act, of which the primary object was to secure the collection of customs in the ports of South Carolina. To this action of Congress, John Caldwell Calhoun, who had resigned as Vice President of the United States in order to represent South Carolina in the United States Senate, vainly offered his opposition; while Daniel Webster argued strenuously against him, as he had argued so ably against Robert Young Hayne two years before. This was in February, 1833.

Resolution of the States.

The National government was supported zealously by most of the States in this momentous crisis, either by the proceedings of their Legislatures or by the action of their citizens. The principle of State sovereignty seemed to be abandoned, though it might have found support had it not been for the extremity to which it was pushed. South Carolina seemed to be deserted by all her sister States on this issue in this crisis—even by her neighbors who generally had been disposed to take sides with her. Only Virginia came forward as a sort of mediator by appealing both to the National government and to South Carolina to put an end to all strife. As if to show her sympathy for the cause of South Carolina, Virginia appointed a commissioner to convey her sentiments to the people of South Carolina. This was the only exception to the course of the several States of the Union, all the other States ranging themselves distinctly on the side of the National government.

Tariff Compromise.

On one point, however, there was a decided reservation on the part of a number of the States. North Carolina, Alabama and Georgia openly condemned the tariff, Georgia even proposing a Southern convention to adopt measures to resist the continuance of so unconstitutional a system. The matter was taken up in the United States Senate by Henry Clay, who had been regarded as the author of the Missouri Compromise. In consultation with others, that great statesman then introduced a Tariff Compromise, proposing that all duties on imports

exceeding twenty per cent. should be reduced to that rate by successive diminutions through the next ten years, until June 30, 1842. Unlike the Missouri question, the tariff question was settled without prolonged struggles. The champions of protection opposed the new compromise on financial grounds, but especially for political reasons. Webster regarded it as "yielding great principles to faction," and others agreed with him that this was no time to waive the National supremacy when a State was in open rebellion against the Nation. Nevertheless, the Tariff Compromise became a law, March 2, 1833. As one of Clay's correspondents wrote to him, "the lightning was drawn out from the clouds lowering over the country," and South Carolina quietly subsided. But as that State was full of insubordination, the clouds still lowered.

President Jackson's Regret.

President Jackson ever afterward regretted that he did not then carry out his threat to arrest Calhoun for high treason. Many others united with the President in this regret, feeling convinced that the time had arrived to test the strength of the National government, and that the trial of its next to the highest official, on the charge of conspiring against it, would have afforded the best opportunity of settling forever the relations between the Nation and the States than could be found in enforcing acts or compromises.

Calhoun and Slavery.

Escaping trial, Calhoun went home to tell his fellow-citizens of South Carolina that the South could not be united against the North on the tariff question, saying: "The basis of Southern union must be shifted to the slave question." This question had entered upon its latest phase by this time. Two periods have been noticeable in the anti-slavery movement in the United States; the first being from the founding of the National government to the year 1831, during which period anti-slavery signified opposition to an evil which affected all parts of the Union, and to the relief of which all parts of the country must contribute, slavery to be abolished by degrees, with compensation to the slaveholders, societies having been formed for this purpose.

First Period of Anti-Slavery.

Second Period.

The character of the anti-slavery movement changed during its second period, beginning in 1831. Thenceforth slavery was considered the sin for which only those who tolerated it must pay the penalty, the institution to be abolished at once, without compensating the owners of slaves; and, as emancipation of the slaves could be accomplished only at great risks and in defiance of powerful traditions, the work of manumission must be done by individuals engaged in individual action, though combined in associations. As a natural consequence of this contrast, the South, which had coöperated in the anti-slavery movement before 1831, opposed it resolutely thenceforth. In 1826 there were one hundred and forty-four anti-slavery societies, of

which one hundred and six were in the South. Ten years later there were no such associations in the South.

Southampton Massacre.

The sectional opposition of the South to the anti-slavery movement dated from the "Southampton Massacre," which occurred in Southampton county, Virginia, in August, 1831. The leader of this massacre was a slave of fanatical character, named Turner; and its first victims were sixty whites, the last being one hundred negroes who were slain by the Virginia militia and the United States troops sent against them.

Emancipation under Consideration in Virginia.

In December of the same year, 1831, the Virginia Legislature, while discussing the Southampton Massacre, considered its cause and the possibility of abolishing slavery within that State. Various plans of emancipation were proposed, and the general tone of the discussion was anti-slavery, though no methods of emancipation were adopted, and though all such plans were opposed by the Legislators from the eastern counties of the State. Said Thomas Jefferson Randolph, a grandson of the author of the Declaration of Independence and Third President of the United States: "The hour of eradication of the evil is advancing; it must come." This was the last time that any Southern State Legislature or any Southern assembly of any kind discussed even the possibility of emancipation.

Benjamin Lundy.

The altered character of the anti-slavery movement was apparent already. Benjamin Lundy, a mechanic of Quaker parentage, commenced his anti-slavery periodical entitled *Genius of Universal Emancipation* in 1821, and in 1824 he removed its office from the Free State of Ohio to the Slave State of Maryland. In Baltimore he continued to urge the abolition of slavery, and he traveled in the North and in the South, actively agitating the abolition cause among his fellow-laborers.

William Lloyd Garrison.

In Boston, Lundy found a young printer named William Lloyd Garrison, who was a co-laborer in the same cause in which he had embarked, and who was willing to go with him to Baltimore. Soon after Garrison's arrival in Baltimore he was arrested and fined for an article which he had written; and, as he was unable to pay the fine, he was imprisoned until released through the efforts of a friend at a distance. He returned to Boston; and in 1831 he began the publication of a journal called *The Liberator*, which was the most outspoken and openly-hostile publication that had yet appeared against the institution of chattel slavery. This journal declared: "A greater revolution in public sentiment is to be effected in the Free States, particularly in New England, than at the South. * * * Let Southern oppressors tremble; let Northern apologists tremble. * * * On this subject I do not wish to speak or write with moderation."

American Anti-Slavery Society.

The new school of abolitionists were few and uninfluential. A few local societies were formed, and their meetings and publications increased the volume of the anti-slavery movement more than they augmented its power. The abolition cause gained fresh strength in the United States in consequence of the abolition of slavery in the British colonies by act of the British Parliament in 1833, for which the immortal Wilberforce and Clarkson had labored for a generation. Early in the winter of 1833–'34 the leading American abolitionists met in Philadelphia and organized the American Anti-Slavery Society. The declaration of this assemblage, compared by its members to the Declaration of Independence adopted in the same city fifty-seven years before, was prepared by William Lloyd Garrison. This declaration recognized the right of the States to legislate exclusively on slavery within their own respective limits, but asserted the right of the National government to suppress the slave trade between the States and to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia and in the Territories of the United States. Among those at this Philadelphia abolitionist assemblage was Lucretia Mott, a Quaker and a native of Massachusetts, but then a teacher in Philadelphia.

Its Declaration.

This declaration of the American Anti-Slavery Society insisted upon the duty of the government and the people, particularly in the Free States, "to remove slavery by moral and political action, as prescribed in the Constitution of the United States." The declaration was imperative in every particular, and it was memorable in American history as inspiring as well as expressing the strongest anti-slavery sentiments of that period. Thirty years afterward the great Quaker and anti-slavery poet, John Greenleaf Whittier, said: "I set a higher value on my name as appended to the anti-slavery declaration of 1833 than on the title page of any book."

Popular Reaction against Abolition.

The abolitionists were soon beset; and men pointed at them as if they were crazy or wicked, considering them as general disturbers of social order and of established institutions, even in the North. Mobs broke up their meetings and violently handled their leaders, who sometimes escaped with their lives only by being taken to prison. The Georgia Legislature offered five thousand dollars' reward for the arrest and conviction of the editor or publisher of *The Liberator*. Georgia, Alabama, the two Carolinas and Virginia asked the Free States to make anti-slavery publications penal offenses and to suppress anti-slavery societies. These Southern demands were supported in the North by both officeholders and private citizens.

Charleston Postoffice Mobbed.

In 1835 the United States postoffice at Charleston, South Carolina, was mobbed and papers brought by mail from the North were seized and burned. Instead of defending his charge, the postmaster ordered

similar mail matter to be stopped thereafter; and the United States Postmaster-General refused to condemn the Charleston postmaster's action, though confessing that he had no authority to approve it.

Government Concessions to Slavery.

The National government followed the popular lead in the reaction in favor of slavery. President Jackson's message to Congress in December, 1835, suggested the passage of a law to prohibit the circulation of "incendiary publications" through the mails. In February, 1836, Calhoun, as Chairman of a Senate committee, reported a bill providing that when a State declared publications incendiary Congress must prohibit their circulation; but this proposed measure fell through, April, 1836. But its failure was more than counterbalanced by the action of the National House of Representatives in adopting a rule which was maintained for several years, that "all petitions relating in any way to slavery be laid on the table without being printed or referred," May 26, 1836. These first concessions to slavery were ominous, not only to slaves, but to freemen.

President Jackson and the Supreme Court.

In 1832 President Jackson came into collision with the Supreme Court of the United States respecting the removal of the Creek and Cherokee Indians from Georgia. The authorities of Georgia threatened to remove them by force; and, when the Supreme Court decided against the claims of that State, the President sided with the authorities of Georgia, and the Indians were removed beyond the Mississippi as speedily as possible.

Black Hawk War.

In the spring of 1832 the Sac, Fox and Winnebago Indians, in Wisconsin Territory, led by the famous chief, Black Hawk, commenced a destructive war on the frontier settlements of Northern Illinois. The Indians were subdued thoroughly in August of the same year, 1832, by United States troops under General Scott and Illinois militia under General Atkinson. Black Hawk was made prisoner and was taken to the principal Eastern cities in order that he might be impressed with the number and power of the white people. In the Black Hawk War both Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis were captains of companies of militia.

Re-election of Jackson.

In the fall of 1832 Jackson was reëlected President, with Martin Van Buren, of New York, as Vice President, they being the nominees of the Democratic party; while the candidates of the National Republican party were Henry Clay, of Kentucky, for President, and John Sergeant, of Pennsylvania, for Vice President. The Nullificationists nominated John Buchanan Floyd, of Virginia, who received the eleven Electoral votes of South Carolina for President. The Anti-Masonic candidates were William Wirt, of Virginia, for President, and Amos Ellmaker, of Pennsylvania, for Vice President; and they carried the State of Vermont.

PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES

Trouble with France about Spoliation Claims.

The standing grievances of the United States against European nations for the payment of indemnities long due for spoliations of American commerce during the Napoleonic wars were settled during the period from 1830 to 1834; Denmark, Portugal, Spain and Naples paying the indemnities demanded; but with France there was some trouble before the claims were paid. The French government under King Louis Philippe fixed the amount at about five million dollars; but the Chamber of Deputies refused to vote the money, and the draft of the United States government for the first installment was protested, in 1834. Thereupon President Jackson proposed to Congress to authorize reprisals upon French property. The French Minister at Washington was then recalled, and the American Minister at Paris was offered his passports. After some diplomatic bickering, both nations accepted the proffered mediation of Great Britain; and in 1836 the French government paid the five millions demanded by the United States government as indemnity, and the difficulty ended, thus restoring peaceful relations between the two nations.

The United States Bank Question.

Besides the controversies over the State Rights and slavery questions there was another question which engaged the public attention during Jackson's administration—the financial question. This controversy was between the President, sustained by the Democratic party, on one side, and the United States Bank, upheld by the National Republican party, a few years later known as the Whig party, under the leadership of Henry Clay and Daniel Webster, on the other side. The protective tariff was favored by the Whigs and opposed by the Democrats.

Overthrow of the United States Bank and Removal of Public Funds.

In his first annual message to Congress, in December, 1829, President Jackson expressed himself strongly against a renewal of the charter of the United States Bank, which would expire in 1836. In 1832 he vetoed a bill passed by Congress for the renewal of the bank's charter; and, although Congress refused to authorize the removal of the public funds from the United States Bank, in 1833 he took the responsibility of ordering the Secretary of the Treasury to remove them. As that official refused to do so, he was removed by the President; and his successor, Roger Brooke Taney, of Maryland, obeyed the President's behest. The result was great excitement and a terrible financial and business convulsion throughout the country.

The Senate and Webster

The United States Senate accused the President of violating the National Constitution, and Daniel Webster called upon "all who mean to die as they live, citizens of a free country," to "stand together for the supremacy of the laws." The question was both financial and political and thus excited universal public interest. The public debt was all paid off in 1835.

Seminole War in Florida.

When, in December, 1835, the United States government attempted to remove the Seminole Indians from Florida to the Territories west of the Mississippi, in accordance with a treaty which had been concluded with a few chiefs, that fierce tribe began a war against the United States. On the 28th of December, 1835, a band of Seminoles, with their famous chief, Osceola, at their head, killed General Thompson and five of his friends near Fort King. On the same day another party of Seminoles attacked one hundred men under Major Dade and killed all but four of them. On the 30th of December, 1835, General Clinch defeated the Seminoles on the banks of the Withlacoochee; and on the 29th of February, 1836, General Gaines defeated them near the same place.

Specie Circular

On the 11th of July, 1836, a circular was issued from the Treasury Department requiring collectors of the public revenue to receive only gold and silver in payment. This circular, known as the *Specie Circular*, created much bitter feeling against President Jackson.

Election of Van Buren.

In the Presidential election in the autumn of 1836 Martin Van Buren, of New York, the Democratic candidate for the office of President of the United States, was elected. As the people had failed to elect a Vice President, Richard Mentor Johnson, of Kentucky, was chosen as such by the United States Senate. The Whig candidate for President was General William Henry Harrison, of Ohio, with Francis Granger, of New York, for Vice President. Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts, a Whig, received the fourteen Electoral votes of his own State. Hugh Lawson White, of Tennessee, a Democrat, received the twenty-six Electoral votes of Georgia and Tennessee. Willie Person Mangum, of North Carolina, a Democrat, received the eleven Electoral votes of South Carolina.

Arkansas and Michigan.

Two new States were admitted into the Union during the administration of General Jackson—Arkansas, in June, 1836, and Michigan, in January, 1837. A strip of land in the south-eastern part of Michigan Territory—the "Toledo district"—long had been a bone of contention between Ohio and Michigan Territory; and finally it was annexed to Ohio in 1836. All that part of Arkansas Territory west of the present limits of the State of Arkansas was annexed to the Indian Territory, which had been formed in 1830 as a permanent home for the Indian tribes removed thither from the eastern parts of the United States, and which from 1836 to 1854 embraced the region westward from Missouri and Arkansas to the Rocky Mountains, and northward from Texas to the Nebraska river, north of which was Missouri Territory. In 1836 Wisconsin Territory was organized, embracing the present State of that name and the north-eastern part of Minnesota. In 1838 Iowa Territory was organized, comprising the present State of the same

Indian, Missouri, Wisconsin and Iowa Territories.

name and all of the present Minnesota west of the Mississippi river and all of the present two Dakotas east of the Missouri and White Earth rivers.

President Van Buren, A. D. 1837–1841.

Mr. Van Buren was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1837, at a time when the country was on the brink of a terrible financial and business convulsion. During March and April of that year (1837) there were mercantile failures in the city of New York to the amount of over one hundred millions of dollars. The effects of these failures were felt throughout the whole country, and credit and confidence were destroyed. The banks suspended specie payments. The National government could not call in its deposits or collect its duties in specie, and the National treasury was empty. The twenty-eight million dollars of surplus revenue were distributed among the States, in accordance with President Jackson's order removing the public funds from the United States Bank in 1833 and the expiration of the Bank in 1836.

Panic of 1837.

General Distress.

The gigantic business failures throughout the country, following in the course of trade, the speculations and disorders among business men, etc., brought on the commercial crisis from which almost everybody suffered—capitalists failing, laborers losing employment and families being reduced to want. The New York banks first suspended specie payments, and the banks of other cities followed.

Proposed Relief Measures.

A deputation waited upon President Van Buren and asked for the suspension of specie payment into the United States treasury and the summoning of an extra session of Congress. The extra session was held in September, 1837, but the President's proposal of a system by which the public funds should be deposited in public offices was not adopted immediately. The people were obliged to rely upon their own resources to restore their broken fortunes.

State Insolvency.

One great obstacle in the way of a restoration of general public confidence was the financial insolvency of the States. For two years before the panic State debts had been contracted amounting to almost one hundred million dollars. It soon became difficult to pay the interest on these obligations. Indiana, Illinois and Arkansas suspended the payment of interest. Maryland and Pennsylvania paid only a part of the interest, and this only by certificates. Michigan and Louisiana ceased even acknowledging their debts, besides ceasing to pay. Mississippi repudiated five million dollars at once, on the ground that the bank in whose favor her bonds had been issued had sold them on terms contrary to its charter. The Territory of Florida also repudiated its debts. Thus eight States and a Territory became worse than bankrupt in the course of a year and a half, 1841–'42.

End of the Seminole War.

The Seminole War in Florida still continued. In March, 1837, some of the Seminole chiefs made a treaty of peace with General Jessup;

but it was soon broken by the treacherous Osceola, who, in consequence, was seized by stratagem, in October, 1837, and imprisoned in Fort Moultrie, where he died. On Christmas day, 1837, Colonel Zachary Taylor defeated the Seminoles near Lake Okechobee. This destructive war ended in 1842, after a continuance of seven years.

Murder of Rev. Elijah Parish Lovejoy.

The anti-slavery agitation still went on, and in the first year of Van Buren's administration it produced a martyr. Among the few who stood firm in the cause of anti-slavery was a young New England clergyman named Elijah Parish Lovejoy, who had become editor of *The Observer*, at St. Louis. He was a man of broader nature and better culture than any who yet had become prominent in the anti-slavery cause. He did not claim to be an abolitionist or to engage exclusively in a crusade against slavery, but he sympathized with the anti-slavery cause and always boldly avowed his sentiments. He was especially a champion of the right of free speech, which had been imperilled since the National government and the people had united against it. Said he: "So long as I am an American citizen, so long as American blood runs in these veins, I shall hold myself at liberty to speak, to write and to publish whatever I please on any subject, being amenable to the laws of my country for the same." He removed his paper from St. Louis to Alton, Illinois, so that he might be in a Free State; but the State was not free to such courageous men as he. He was mobbed repeatedly, his house was stoned and his printing presses were destroyed; and, finally, while defending a new press by force of arms with a few friends, he was shot at midnight, November 7, 1837. Such was the popular feeling at the time that a meeting to express horror at this murder was held with difficulty, even in that "Cradle of Liberty," Faneuil Hall, Boston; and even at this meeting the Massachusetts Attorney-General spoke unqualifiedly in defense of the murderers.

Rebellion in Canada.

The peaceful relations between the governments of the United States and Great Britain were disturbed in 1837 by a rebellion in Canada, which had for its object the establishment of the independence of that country. The leaders of the revolt were Louis Joseph Papineau, in Canada East (now the province of Quebec), and William Lyon Mackenzie, in Canada West (now the province of Ontario). Great Britain was offended because hundreds of citizens of the United States crossed the borders of New York into Canada to aid the rebellious Canadians. The danger of war was averted by the prompt action of the President of the United States and of the Governor of New York, who issued proclamations declaring that all who crossed the border to aid the insurgents would forfeit all claims to the protection of the government of the United States.

The Caroline and Sheriff McLeod.

Two incidents of this trouble over the Canadian insurrection of 1837 were the cases of the steamer *Caroline* and Alexander McLeod. Some New York citizens who had crossed into Canada to aid the insurgents encamped on Navy Island, a British possession in the Niagara river, to which they transported arms and stores in the *Caroline*. This steamer was destroyed by a British detachment while anchored on the American side of the Niagara river. This British detachment was accompanied by Alexander McLeod, Sheriff of Niagara county, Canada; and an American citizen lost his life in the fray.

McLeod's Arrest and Trial.

In 1841 Sheriff McLeod, while in New York, was arrested by the State authorities on a murder charge. The British government demanded his release, and this demand was sustained by the United States government on the ground that McLeod had acted as an official of Great Britain. But the New York State authorities refused to release him and tried him for murder, but he was acquitted for lack of evidence. Had he been harmed or convicted and imprisoned Great Britain was ready to declare war against the United States. Congress afterward passed an act requiring that similar cases should be tried only in the United States Courts. McLeod's release settled his case; but the case of the burning of the *Caroline* on the American shore of the Niagara remained to be settled later, as there were other questions in dispute between the United States and Great Britain awaiting settlement, as noted in the next two paragraphs.

Maine Boundary Dispute.

The peace between the United States and Great Britain was also threatened by a dispute about the boundary between the State of Maine and the British province of New Brunswick. The inhabitants of Maine and New Brunswick were prevented from settling the dispute by an appeal to arms only by the conciliatory course of General Scott, who had been sent to the border by the United States government to preserve peace, in 1839.

Dispute about the Slave Trade.

Besides the disputes growing out of the Canadian insurrection and the unsettled Maine boundary there was another controversy with Great Britain—that resulting from the boarding of American vessels on the African coast by British cruisers engaged in the suppression of the slave trade. This right, which was denied by the United States, was asserted in a quintuple treaty concluded by the Five Great Powers of Europe—Great Britain, France, Austria, Prussia and Russia.

Election of General William Henry Harrison.

The financial convulsions of Jackson's and Van Buren's administrations produced such a change in the minds of the people of the United States that the Whig candidate for the Presidency of the Republic, in 1840, General William Henry Harrison, of Ohio, was elected by an overwhelming majority, with John Tyler, of Virginia, as Vice President; thus defeating President Van Buren in his second candidacy,

along with Vice President Richard Mentor Johnson, who was also a candidate for reëlection, in one of the most memorable Presidential campaigns in American political history, the log cabin and hard cider figuring prominently at Whig mass meetings. The candidates of the Liberty party, composed of abolitionists and other anti-slavery men, were James Gillespie Birney, of New York, for President, and Littleton Waller Tazewell, of Virginia, for Vice President.

President William Henry Harrison. A. D. 1841.

General Harrison took the oath of office on the 4th of March, 1841, as ninth President of the United States. On the 17th of the same month (March, 1841) the new President issued a proclamation calling an extra session of Congress, to begin on the 31st of May of that year. The hopes of the people of the United States that a new career of prosperity was about to dawn upon the Nation by a change of policy were soon dispelled by the death of President Harrison, which occurred on the 4th of April, 1841, just one month after his inauguration.

President Tyler, A. D. 1841–1845.

In accordance with the requirements of the National Constitution, the Vice President, John Tyler, was immediately inaugurated President of the United States. The extra session of Congress called by Harrison commenced on the 31st of May and ended on the 13th of September, 1841. Two bills which had been passed for the re-charter of the United States Bank were vetoed by President Tyler. All the members of the Cabinet, with the exception of Daniel Webster, Secretary of State, dissatisfied with the action of the President in respect to the bank, charging him with violating the pledges which he had made to the party which had elected him to the Vice Presidency, immediately resigned their offices.

His Rupture with His Party.

His Descent from Wat Tyler.

President Tyler claimed to be a descendant of the famous blacksmith, Wat Tyler, the leader of the great peasant rebellion in England against King Richard II. in 1381. It is said that President Tyler refused to appoint Reuben Hyde Walworth, then Chancellor of the State of New York, to the office of United States Judge, because he was told that Chancellor Walworth was a descendant of William Walworth, Lord Mayor of London, who, with the king's retinue, had killed Wat Tyler.

Chancellor Walworth.

Civil War in Rhode Island.

In 1842 there was a short civil war in Rhode Island as a result of the agitation for a State constitution in exchange for the old charter granted by King Charles II. in 1662, under which only freeholders and their eldest sons could vote, and under which representation had become very unequal because of changes in the populations of the towns. In 1841 two State constitutions were framed, each granting universal suffrage and equal popular representation; one by a "People's Convention," called by a Suffrage Association; and the other by a "Land-

holder's Convention," called by the State Legislature under the forms of law. Both constitutions were submitted to a general popular vote, and the "People's Constitution" was approved by a popular majority in December, 1841, while the "Landholders' Constitution" was rejected by the people in March, 1842. As the "People's Constitution" had not been adopted according to the forms of law, the State authorities refused to accept it. The Suffrage party chose Thomas Wilson Dorr for Governor, and the Law and Order party elected Samuel W. King to the same office, Dorr having his capital at Providence and King his capital at Newport. Dorr attacked the arsenal at Providence and afterwards threw up intrenchments at Chepachet, but fled when three thousand volunteers marched against him, thus ending the civil war, June, 1842. In 1843 a new State constitution went into operation granting all the reforms which Dorr and his party demanded.

Webster-Ashburton Treaty.

In 1842 the dispute about the Maine and New Brunswick boundary line was settled by a treaty negotiated at Washington, by Daniel Webster on the part of the United States and Lord Ashburton on the part of Great Britain. As Secretary of State in President Tyler's Cabinet, Mr. Webster had proposed to the British Minister at Washington to take up the disputed boundary question. The British government appointed Lord Ashburton as a special envoy for the purpose. In the conferences between Mr. Webster and Lord Ashburton commissioners from Maine and Massachusetts were present in all questions relating to the disputed boundary. These negotiations ended in the *First Treaty of Washington*, which settled the disputed boundary and other questions in controversy between the two governments, April, 1842; and the treaty was duly ratified on August 20, 1842.

Other Disputes Settled by the Treaty.

The other questions settled were those of the steamer *Caroline* and the searching of American vessels in African waters by British cruisers engaged in the suppression of the slave trade. The British envoy made an apology for the seizure of the *Caroline*. The claim to a right to board American vessels was put down in such a way as to lead to the denial of the claim of the Five Great Powers of Europe to such right. The treaty also provided for the mutual surrender of fugitives from justice under either British or American jurisdiction.

The Old Impressment Question.

The old question about the impressment of seamen was put to rest by a letter from Secretary Webster to Lord Ashburton, repeating the rule at first laid down by President Jefferson "that the vessel being American shall be evidence that the seamen on board are such," and adding that thereafter "in every regularly-documented American merchant vessel the crew who navigate it will find protection in the flag which is over them." Thus all disputed questions were settled by the treaty or accompanying negotiations except the Oregon boundary

controversy, which had not yet become serious. In 1846 Webster said in the United States Senate: "I am willing to appeal to the public men of the age whether in 1842 and in the city of Washington something was not done for the suppression of crime, for the true exposition of the principles of public law, for the freedom and security of commerce on the ocean and for the peace of the world."

Explorations of Captain Wilkes and Fremont.

The year 1842 was also notable for the return of the United States South Sea Exploring Expedition under Captain Charles Wilkes, which had gone on its voyage of exploration in the Southern Pacific in 1838, and which had discovered the great strip of uninhabited land along the Antarctic Circle known as the Antarctic Continent. In the years 1842 and 1843 John Charles Fremont was making the explorations in the Rocky Mountain region which won for him the name of "the Pathfinder."

Electro-magnetic Telegraph.

The electro-magnetic telegraph—the invention of Professor Samuel Finley Breese Morse—was finished in 1844; and the first message conveyed over the wires was sent on May 24th of that year in the words, "What hath God wrought," which were dictated by Anna G. Ellis, daughter of the Commissioner of Patents, who came early in the morning to inform the distinguished inventor of the appropriation of thirty thousand dollars by Congress for the construction of his first telegraph line between Baltimore and Washington. Soon afterward the proceedings of the Democratic National Convention at Baltimore, which nominated James Knox Polk as a candidate for the Presidency, were sent by this wire from Baltimore to Washington; being the first news ever sent by telegraph.

Extreme Attitude of Abolitionists.

The anti-slavery agitation, weak as it had become, went on; and the persecution and oppression of the abolitionists had caused them to assume a new and extreme attitude in 1842, when Garrison and his colaborers demanded the repeal of the Union as "the grand rallying point." They also proposed other repeals, such as that of the pulpit, which had not denounced slavery as it should have done, and that of the churches, which had not compelled their pulpits to denounce it. Instead of promoting abolitionism, these passionate appeals retarded its progress. Men who were willing to fight slavery were not willing to oppose their country or their church and became anti-abolitionists instead of becoming abolitionists. Another party was required to lead the fight against slavery, and this required time for its formation. In the meantime a new political party took the field in the anti-slavery cause under the name of the Liberty party.

The Liberty Party.

Southern Imprisonment of Colored Seamen.

For over twenty years colored sailors arriving in ports of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Louisiana had been liable to imprisonment during the stay of the ship in which they had come. In

1824 William Wirt, of Virginia, then Attorney-General of the United States, delivered an opinion that the act of South Carolina, where this practice had its origin, was unconstitutional and incompatible with the rights of other nations. South Carolina yielded so far as British seamen were concerned, but she refused to yield with regard to Americans. In 1842 Congress practically sustained South Carolina and her sister Slave States in their course in this matter, by refusing, by a large majority, to interfere. In 1844 the Massachusetts Legislature authorized the Governor of that State to appoint agents to inquire into the imprisonment of Massachusetts seamen in Charleston and New Orleans, the two great Southern ports. The Governor appointed Samuel Hoar to go to Charleston and Henry Hubbard to go to New Orleans, but both were driven off when they reached those cities.

Massachusetts Missions.

South Carolina asserted her right to exclude "seditious persons or others whose presence may be dangerous," and this was the reason for the expulsion of the Massachusetts agent. That State previously had been content to exclude colored citizens, but now it excluded white citizens also. The expelled agent asked in his report to the State of Massachusetts: "Has the Constitution of the United States the least practical validity or binding force in South Carolina, except where she thinks its operation favorable to her?"

Assertion of South Carolina.

It was later when the Church had become divided on the slavery question; two of the leading denominations of the United States, the Presbyterians and the Methodists, becoming divided into the Presbyterian Church North and the Presbyterian Church South and into the Methodist Church North and the Methodist Church South. But while many clergymen in the North took a stand against slavery on moral grounds, other preachers in the North as well as in the South became apologists and defenders of that peculiar institution of the Southern States, going so far as to call slavery "a Biblical institution," "a divine institution," etc., and denouncing the abolitionists as "disturbers of the divinely-established social order," as "inciters to disturbance of the public peace," as "incendiaries," as "anarchists," etc.; thus giving justification to the abolitionists for their denunciation of the Church as "an upholder and defender of slavery." In those days the majority of the clergy of the United States maintained that the slave was the private property of the man who had the money to purchase his body from the man who had the "right" to sell. It sounds strange at the present time to read the utterances of the clergy of those times on this subject.

Church Divisions on Slavery.

Attitude of the Clergy on Slavery.

In the latter part of the eighteenth century the Methodist Church of the United States had excluded slaveholders from its membership and had expressed "the deepest abhorrence of the practice of slavery"

Attitude of the Methodist Church.

and resolved never to "cease to seek its destruction by all wise and prudent means," thus acting in accordance with the sentiment of the Rev. John Wesley himself, who had characterized slavery as "the sum of all villainies." But from this high moral position the Methodist Church of the United States receded during the first half of the nineteenth century, thus imitating the example of the other American denominations by accepting the doctrine of the right of private property in men and women. In 1836 the General Conference of the Methodist Church of the United States, in session at Cincinnati, by a vote of one hundred and twenty to fourteen, passed resolutions severely denouncing the "modern abolition movement" and wholly disclaiming "any right, wish or intention to interfere in the civil and political relations between master and slaves as it exists in the slaveholding States in this Union." In the report of the Methodist General Conference at Baltimore in 1840, the Rev. Dr. Capers, after quoting from the reports of the General Conferences in 1780, 1784 and 1785, condemning the institution of chattel slavery in the strongest language, pointed out that the members of those Conferences were poor men and had little connection with slavery, that they had adopted the language which was precisely consistent with the circumstances and just such language as he would adopt under similar circumstances. In later years, when the Church had extended farther and "become more entangled with slavery, there was a corresponding faltering in the language of the Church against it." Thus we find the Methodist General Conference endorsing slavery, declaring that it is no sin, condemning any effort to overthrow it as "treasonable and wicked," denouncing the abolitionists and severely censuring two members of the Conference for attending an abolitionist meeting.

Clergy for Slavery.

The following quotations from the declarations of Church assemblages and from the sayings of preachers in both the North and the South before 1850 show the attitude of a large part of the Churches and the clergy on the question of slavery.

Slaves or Wage Laborers.

In 1835 the Charlestown Baptist Association summed up the slavery question, which then was agitating the minds of great men in both the North and the South, in the following words: "It amounts, in effect, to this, whether the operatives of a country should be bought and sold and themselves become property, as in this State, or whether they shall be hirelings and their labor only become property, as in some other States. In other words, whether an employer may buy the whole time of laborers at once, of those who have a right to dispose of it, with a permanent relation of care and protection over them, or whether he shall be restricted to buy it in certain portions only, subject to their control, and with no such permanent relations of care and protection."

Death to Abolitionists.

The following was a Church resolution adopted at Clinton, Mississippi, in 1835: "*Resolved*, That it is our decided opinion that any individual who dares to circulate, with a view to effectuate the designs of the abolitionists and of the incendiary tracts of newspapers now in course of transmission to this country, is justly worthy, in the sight of man and God, of immediate death; and we doubt not that such would be the punishment of any such offender in any part of the State of Mississippi where he may be found."

Cold Steel.

The Rev. Dr. Spring, of the American Colonization Society, said: "The best way to meet the abolitionists is with cold steel and Dupont's best." [By "Dupont's best" he meant *powder*.]

Abolitionists like Infidels.

The Rev. Dr. William L. Plummer, of the Presbyterian General Assembly, in 1840, said: "Abolitionists are like infidels, wholly unaddicted to martyrdom for opinion's sake. Let them understand that they will be caught [lynched] if they come among us, and they will take good heed to keep out of our way."

Abolitionism as Wicked.

Dr. Plummer also said: "I have carefully watched the matter from its earliest existence, and everything I have seen or heard of its character, and both from its patrons and enemies, has confirmed me beyond repentance in the belief that, let the character of the abolitionists be what it may, in the sight of the Judge of all the earth, that it is the most meddlesome, reckless, fierce and wicked excitement I ever saw."

Abolitionist Preachers Not Tolerated.

The Rev. Robert M. Anderson, at the sessions of the Presbyterian Congregation within the bounds of the West Hanover Presbytery, said: "At the appointed stated meetings of our Presbytery I design to offer a preamble and resolution on the subject of treasonable and abominably-wicked influence of the Northern and Eastern fanatics with our political and civil rights, our property and domestic concerns. You are aware that our clergy, with or without reason, is more suspected by the public than the clergy of any other denomination. Now, dear Christian brethren, I humbly express it, as my humble wish, that you acquit yourselves like men. If there by any stray goat of a minister among you tainted with the bloodhound principles of abolitionism, let him be ferreted out, silenced, excommunicated and left to the public to dispose of him in other respects."

Slavery as Divine.

Chancellor Harper, a prominent divine of South Carolina, said: "It is the order of nature and of God that the being of superior faculties and knowledge, and therefore of superior power, should control and possess those who are inferior. It is as much in the order of nature that men should enslave each other as that other animals should prey upon each other."

Slavery as God's Will.

Bishop Mead, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in 1843, said: "Almighty God has been pleased to make you slaves here, and to give

you nothing but labor and poverty in this world, which you are obliged to submit to, as it is His will that it be so."

Bishop Mead's Advice to Slaves.

Bishop Mead's advice to the slaves was as follows: "For this you have a general rule that you ought to always carry in your minds, and that is, to do all service for them [the masters] as if you did it for God Himself. * * * Do what your masters under God provide for you to do. And how shall they be able to do this—to feed and cloth you—unless you take honest care of everything that belongs to them? Take care that you do not fret or murmur or grumble at your condition, for this will not only make your life miserable, but will greatly offend Almighty God. * * * It is the will of God, Who has, by His providence, made you servants, because, no doubt, He knew that condition would be best for you in this world, and help you the better toward heaven, if you would but do your duty in it. So that any discontent in your not being rich or free or great, as you see some others, is quarreling with your heavenly Master and finding fault with God Himself. Now, when correction is given you, you either deserve it or you do not deserve it. But, whether you deserve it or not, it is your duty, and Almighty God requires that you bear it patiently."

Abolitionism as Anarchy.

The Rev. J. H. Thornwell, in a public meeting in South Carolina, said: "That slavery as it exists in the South is no evil and is consistent with the principles of revealed religion, and that all opposition to it arises from a misguided fanaticism which we are bound to resist at the very threshold. That all interference with this subject by fanatics is a violation of our civil and social rights; is un-Christian and inhuman, leading, necessarily, to anarchy and bloodshed, and the instigators are murderers and assassins."

Abolitionism as Ungodly.

The Rev. Mr. Lord, the President of Dartmouth College, at Hanover, New Hampshire, said: "Abolitionism is at fault. It is false and wrong. It destroys the ancient landmarks. It obliterates the old paths. It puts its heels on constitutional realism. It sunders what God has intended, and unites what God has sundered."

Great Temperance Revival.

In the early forties a great temperance revival spread over the United States, and hundreds and thousands signed the pledge of total abstinence from all intoxicating drinks. Reformed drunkards suddenly became great temperance orators and lecturers, and were instrumental in leading multitudes of their unfortunate fellow-men who had been slaves to the cursed bowl to throw off the shackles of the demon strong drink and thenceforth to lead lives of sobriety and total abstinence.

Gough, Hawkins and Father Matthew.

The most famous and eloquent of these temperance orators was a young New England hatter, John Bartholomew Gough, a native of England, who, after his liberation from the slavery of the cup, spent years in lecturing on temperance through the United States and leading thou-

sands from lives of drunkenness to sober and temperate habits. Another celebrated temperance orator and lecturer was John Henry Willis Hawkins, of Baltimore, who, after his deliverence from the tyranny of "King Alcohol," also took the lecture platform in the cause of temperance, and, like Gough, led thousands of poor drunkards to lives of usefulness and sobriety. Hawkins founded a famous and widespread national temperance organization called the *Washingtonians*. In the late forties a famous temperance apostle from Ireland—Father Matthew, a Roman Catholic priest who had caused thousands of drunkards in his native country to sign the pledge—made a temperance-lecturing tour of the United States and induced thousands of Irish Americans to place their signatures to pledges of total abstinence.

SECTION V.—ANNEXATION OF TEXAS AND OREGON CONTROVERSY (A. D. 1845–1846).

Texas under Spain and Mexico.

We have deferred the question of the annexation of Texas and the election of James Knox Polk to the Presidency on that issue. We will now proceed to an account of this interesting and important subject. It was not certain whether Texas formed a part of the Spanish dependency of Mexico, or New Spain, or whether it was a part of the vast domain of Louisiana, which France had sold to the United States in 1803, when, in 1813, American adventurers set foot on Texas soil to join the Mexicans in their struggle for independence of Spanish rule; but the boundary line between the Spanish Mexican province of Texas and the United States was definitely fixed in the treaty by which Spain ceded Florida to the United States in 1819. Thus Texas was distinctly conceded to Spain as a part of her province of Mexico by the United States; and when Mexico herself won her independence of Spain in 1821 Texas, as a part of Mexico, was lost to the Spanish dominion in America.

American Emigration to Texas.

As soon as Mexico had achieved her independence she invited and encouraged emigration from the United States into Texas; and a number of American emigrants under Stephen F. Austin, of Missouri, settled in the as-yet-unoccupied territory in the same year—1821. This American colony on Texas soil prospered in spite of the difficulties of the enterprise and the continual domestic revolutions in Mexico, and by 1833 there were ten thousand Americans in this outlying Mexican province.

Texan War of Independence.

In the last-named year—1833—these American Texans formed a constitution and sent Austin to Mexico to ask for the admission of Texas as a State of the Mexican Republic. This request was denied,

and Austin was thrown into prison. In 1835 the Texans rose in rebellion against the oppressive Mexican military rule. President Santa Anna proceeded to reduce these American Texans to complete submission and sent a military force to arrest the Texan officers under the State constitution and to disarm the Texan people. The Texans were victorious at Gonzales, October 2, 1835, and captured the strong fortresses of Goliad and the Alamo.

Fall of the Alamo.

On March 6, 1836, four thousand Mexicans under Santa Anna retook the Alamo after a siege of two weeks, but only after a desperate assault in which the garrison of one hundred and fifty Texans all perished, David Crockett, the famous hunter among them. A few days before—March 2, 1836—a Texan convention of delegates at Washington, on the Colorado, declared Texas an independent republic. On April 21, 1836, sixteen hundred Mexicans under Santa Anna were utterly defeated and routed by less than half as many Texans under General Sam Houston in the decisive battle of San Jacinto, Santa Anna himself being taken prisoner the next day. In order to obtain his release, Santa Anna ordered the Mexican army to retire beyond the Rio Grande and acknowledged the independence of Texas; but after his return to Mexico, Santa Anna disavowed this treaty, made while he was a prisoner, and the Mexican Congress refused to confirm it. Although Mexico refused to acknowledge the independence of Texas, she did not make another effort to reconquer her lost province. In October, 1836, General Houston was elected President of Texas, which remained an independent republic nine years, recognized as such by the United States, Great Britain and France.

Texan Declaration of Independence.

Battle of San Jacinto.

Independence of Texas.

President Jackson's Course.

One of President Jackson's later messages to Congress was on the subject of Texan independence. He very decidedly counseled caution, for reasons which were now apparent. But as Congress recognized the new republic as one of the family of nations, President Jackson gave his assent thereto in the last hours of his administration, which, as we have seen, ended March 4, 1837.

Reasons for Annexation.

In his inaugural address President Sam Houston expressed the desire of the Texan people to unite their destinies with those of the people of the United States—a very natural desire, as they were almost universally emigrants from the country to which they wished to be reunited. It was just as natural that the American people should wish them again under the folds of the Stars and Stripes, partly because of old associations and partly because of new ones connected with the late Texan Revolution. Besides these there were other motives to incline Americans, those of the Southern States, in favor of the addition of the "Lone Star State" to the galaxy of the great constellation of the American Union.

Slavery in Texas.

Many Americans had opposed the relinquishment of the Louisiana claims to Texas in the treaty with Spain for the cession of Florida to the United States in 1819, and these Americans were therefore very earnestly in favor of recovering the territory thus surrendered. Twice did the United States endeavor to recover the relinquished territory from Mexico by purchase, in 1825 and 1835, but in vain. Many in the South desired to recover Texas because of its congenial climate and its resources, but more especially on account of the existence of slavery in Texas. But the last reason was a cause for opposition in the North to the annexation of Texas. The anti-slavery party in the United States would, therefore, have no desire to recover Texas, even after it had been surrendered, besides having little sympathy with the history or the character of the Texan people, whom they regarded as a wild and lawless set, unfit to share in the established institutions of the United States and therefore an element of danger to the American Union.

Conflicting Titles.

There was still another reason for opposition to the annexation of Texas to the United States—an objection entertained very generally on account of Mexico's claim to the Texan territory. President Jackson dwelt upon this feature of the case in his message to Congress in 1836, already alluded to. In that message he stated very plainly that the recognition of Texan independence was the recognition of the Texan title to the territory, as conflicting with the Mexican assertion of sovereignty.

Mexican Spoliations.

The foregoing question was especially delicate because of already-existing differences between the governments of the United States and Mexico. Mexico complained of repeated American invasions of her territory, in violation of all amity and neutrality. The United States demanded redress for Mexican spoliations of American property and Mexican injuries to American citizens from the time that Mexico became independent of Spain. In spite of these various complications, the United States recognized the independence of Texas, waiving the question of annexation for the time being.

Texas Refused Admission.

Early in 1837, the beginning of Van Buren's administration, Texas applied for annexation to the United States; but her request was refused and was then withdrawn. In 1838 William Campbell Preston, of South Carolina, introduced resolutions in the United States Senate in favor of the proposed annexation; but these resolutions were rejected.

Revival of Annexation Project.

The project of annexation was revived frequently, and Texas remained the object of desire and of debate. Van Buren's administration continued negotiations, first with Mexico, deprecating the continuance of hostilities, and then with Texas, proposing new reasons for alliance and new means of annexation to the United States. President Tyler was strongly in favor of effecting the annexation during

his administration, and in this he was sustained by a gradually-increasing sentiment in the same direction on the part of the South, while the North was becoming continually more antagonistic to the scheme. New arguments in favor of annexation were added to the old ones. It was asserted by the annexationists that there was danger of Texas throwing herself into the arms of another nation—of Great Britain or France—to the detriment of the United States.

Slavery in Texas.

But the overshadowing dispute respecting annexation arose from the existence of slavery in Texas. As the anti-slavery sentiment grew in the North nothing appeared more effectual to check the growth of this sentiment than the increase of slaveholding territory, which lay close at hand in Texas. If the United States did not annex Texas it might cease to be slaveholding, as Great Britain, the great abolitionist power, was believed to entertain the design to obtain possession of Texas for the purpose of abolishing slavery therein. In September, 1843, Abel Parker Upshur, Secretary of State, wrote: "Few calamities could befall this country more to be deplored than the abolition of domestic slavery in Texas." In 1844, Upshur's successor, John C. Calhoun, wrote: "To this continent the blow would be calamitous beyond description. * * * Annexation is forced on the government of the United States in self-defense." It was plain to both the pro-slavery and the anti-slavery people that the annexation of Texas was demanded in the interest of slavery and that such annexation would strengthen that institution in the United States, for which reason annexation was more and more favored in the South and more and more opposed in the North.

The South's Desire for Annexation in the Slavery Interest.

The South regarded the annexation of Texas as necessary to the interests of slavery both in Texas and in the United States. In case Texas ceased to be slaveholding a vast market for slaves would be closed and a large place of refuge would be opened for fugitive slaves. For these reasons President Tyler and his two successive Secretaries of State—all Southern men and all devotedly sustained by the South—were striving for increasing the territorial extent of slavery in the United States by the annexation of Texas. But the more these Southern statesmen strove for increase of slave territory, the more did the North oppose their scheme by antagonizing the annexation of Texas. It was a repetition of the Missouri struggle and more than that. The North argued that in the case of Missouri it fought against the admission of one of our own Territories as a Slave State, while in the case of Texas it fought against the admission of a foreign nation into our Union as a Slave State.

Renewed Slavery Agitation.

It thus became more and more the settled purpose of the South to force Texas into the Union in spite of Northern opposition, or, as

one of the South Carolina Congressional districts presented the alternative, "either to admit Texas into the Union or to proceed peaceably and calmly to arrange the terms of a dissolution of the Union." But the North argued, in opposition to this, that the character of the Union as a republic, founded for freedom and for free institutions, would be lost by the acquisition of territory expressly for slavery. A fresh struggle for and against slavery followed, in which the anti-slavery cause was gaining new recruits. What the abolitionists were unable to accomplish, the slaveholders and their supporters effected, by bringing to public view the momentous character of the crisis toward which the Nation was advancing. Tyler's administration endeavored to effect a compromise by preparing a treaty which admitted Texas as a State of the Union and which had been prepared by Calhoun as Secretary of State, but this treaty was rejected by the United States Senate in June, 1844.

Election of Polk.

The question of annexation then became an issue in the Presidential election of 1844, and annexation was sustained by the Democratic party and opposed by the Whig party. James Knox Polk, of Tennessee, the Democratic candidate for President, was elected by a large majority, with George Mifflin Dallas, of Pennsylvania, as Vice President, over the Whig candidate, Henry Clay, of Kentucky, for President, with Theodore Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, as candidate for Vice President. The candidates of the Liberty, or anti-slavery party were James Gillespie Birney, of New York, for President, and Thomas Morris, of Ohio, for Vice President. The Whig defeat was owing largely to the vacillating conduct of their Presidential candidate. Clay had been nominated by the Whigs because he had opposed annexation, but when he wrote a letter in which he showed a wavering disposition his party became discouraged and lost the election. Thus Henry Clay, the founder, leader and great idol of the Whig party, was defeated for the Presidency the third time—twice by General Jackson and once by a comparatively-mediocre man like Polk, both from Tennessee.

Clay's Defeat.

Joint Resolution of Annexation.

Feeling their project of annexation endorsed by the American people, the Southern politicians sought to put it in execution; and upon the meeting of Congress in December, 1844, resolutions to annex Texas were proposed. Even Southern Whigs objected. Senator William Cabell Rives, of Virginia, called it "a dangerous precedent." Senator John McPherson Berrien, of Georgia, characterized it as being "at the sacrifice of the peace and harmony of the Union." Representative Kenneth Rayner, of North Carolina, said: "If we admit that the general government can interpose to extend slavery as a blessing, we must admit that it can interfere to arrest it as an evil."

Annexation Resolution Adopted by Congress.

The joint resolutions of the two Houses of Congress providing for the annexation of Texas were adopted March 1, 1845, and approved by President Tyler the next day. This joint resolution provided that when Texas had sufficient population it might be divided into five States, and that in all such States as might lie south of the line of the Missouri Compromise the people might decide whether or not they wanted slavery, while in all States that might be formed north of said line slavery should be prohibited. As Texas had no territory north of that line this prohibition was meaningless.

Florida and Iowa.

On March 3, 1845, the day before he retired from the Presidency, Mr. Tyler signed a bill for the admission of Florida and Iowa into the Union of States; Florida being admitted at once, and Iowa on December 28, 1846. All of Iowa Territory north of the present State of that name was annexed to Wisconsin Territory.

President Polk, A. D. 1845–1849.

Admission of Texas.

Mr. Polk was inaugurated President of the United States on the 4th of March, 1845; and exactly four months later—on the 4th of July, 1845, the sixty-ninth anniversary of American independence—the government of Texas formally approved the joint resolution of the Congress of the United States for annexation, and the "Lone Star," which had been an independent republic for nine years, became one of the great American constellation, being numbered as the twenty-eighth State of our Union.

Ominous War Clouds.

Before Polk's administration was a year old ominous war clouds were hovering over the United States, as the diplomatic relations of this country with both Great Britain and Mexico were of so menacing a character as to threaten an open rupture and an outbreak of hostilities on both the north-western and south-western frontiers of the United States, the dispute with Great Britain being about Oregon and the dispute with Mexico about Texas. Before proceeding with the rupture with Mexico we will consider the Oregon controversy with Great Britain.

American and British Claims to Oregon.

The controversy with Great Britain about the conflicting claims to the Oregon territory were of long standing and reached a crisis just at the time when hostilities with Mexico were breaking out on the Rio Grande frontier. The claims of the United States to Oregon were based: First, upon American voyages to the Pacific coast, especially the one made in 1792 by Captain Robert Gray in the *Columbia*, from which vessel the great river in that region received its name; secondly, upon the acquisition of Louisiana from France in 1803, with all the Spanish rights to the Pacific shores; thirdly, upon an exploring expedition under Captain Lewis and Lieutenant Clarke, of the United States army, by whom the Missouri river was traced to its source and the Columbia descended to the Pacific Ocean in the years 1804 to 1806;

fourthly, upon the settlement of Astoria, at the mouth of the Columbia river, by John Jacob Astor in 1811, in prosecuting the fur trade. The British claims to Oregon were based upon various pretensions of discovery and occupancy. In 1818, and again in 1827, did the two nations agree to a joint possession of the disputed territory. During Monroe's administration, and again during Tyler's, did the United States propose a division of Oregon between the two nations; but Great Britain objected, and the conflicting claims of the two nations to this outlying domain were fast approaching a crisis which threatened a rupture and an outbreak of hostilities.

Extent of the Rival Claims.

The United States claimed the whole territory as far north as fifty-four degrees and forty minutes north latitude, embracing the region now comprised in the Canadian province of British Columbia, in addition to what is now embraced by the States of Oregon, Washington, Idaho and the north-western part of Montana; or, in other words, the whole region bounded by the Rocky Mountains on the east and the Pacific Ocean on the west, and by what then was the northern boundary of Mexico, the forty-second parallel of north latitude, on the south, and fifty-four degrees and forty minutes north latitude, on the north. The British claim also embraced the whole of this region. Great Britain's rejection of the American proposition to divide the territory raised a war cry by the Democratic party in the United States during the Presidential campaign of 1844 that Oregon must be held by the United States—the war cry of "Fifty-four forty or fight."

Crisis in the Dispute.

In 1845 President Polk renewed the offer to Great Britain for a division of Oregon between the two nations, but on less favorable terms to Great Britain; and the offer was again rejected by the British government. In 1846, in accordance with President Polk's recommendation, a year's notice was given by the United States government to Great Britain, preliminary to the termination of the existing arrangements concerning the joint occupation of Oregon. In the meantime American emigration to Oregon had been in progress on so large a scale that there were some thousands of American settlers in the disputed territory in 1846; and a serious crisis had now been reached in the controversy, threatening to involve the United States in a war with Great Britain just after she had become engaged in her war with Mexico.

Settlement of the Controversy.

But the prospect of war with Great Britain was terminated by the United States accepting Great Britain's proposal for a division of Oregon, giving to Great Britain all that portion of the disputed territory north of the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude and assigning to the United States all that part south of that parallel, thus ending the long controversy.

Debates in Congress and Parliament.

The debates in Congress and in Parliament during the years 1842 to 1846, and articles in leading journals and reviews, after generously discounting their partisan overstatements, clearly portray the then-prevailing knowledge, or, rather, the prevailing ignorance, both in the United States and in Great Britain, as to the whole region west of the Mississippi.

Benton's View.

In the National House of Representatives, in 1844, Robert Charles Winthrop, of Massachusetts, cited with approval the following words spoken by the distinguished Thomas Hart Benton, of Missouri, in the United States Senate in 1825:

"The ridge of the Rocky Mountains may be named without offense as presenting a convenient natural and everlasting boundary. Along the back of this ridge the western limits of the Republic should be drawn, and the statue of the fabled god Terminus should be raised upon its highest peak, never to be thrown down."

Mc-Duffie's View.

In the United States Senate on January 25, 1843, the great orator and statesman, George McDuffie, of South Carolina, in speaking of the country now embraced in the two Dakotas, Nebraska, Kansas, and thence westward to Oregon and Washington, said:

"What is the character of this country? Why, as I understand, that seven hundred miles this side of the Rocky Mountains is uninhabitable, where rain scarcely ever falls—a barren and sandy soil—mountains totally impassable, except in certain parts. Well, now, what are we going to do in such a case as that? How are you going to supply steam? Have you made anything like an estimate of the cost of a railroad running from here to the mouth of the Columbia? Why, the wealth of the Indies would be insufficient! You would have to tunnel through mountains five or six hundred miles in extent. Of what use will this be for agricultural purposes? I would not, for that purpose, give a pinch of snuff for the whole territory. I wish it was an impassable barrier to secure us against the intrusions of others. If there was an embankment of even five feet to be removed, I would not consent to expend five dollars to remove that embankment to enable our population to go there. I thank God for His mercy in placing the Rocky Mountains there."

Westminster Review.

A writer in the *Westminster Review*, in 1846, thus described the great plains of the region embraced in the present Nebraska, Kansas and Oklahoma:

"From the valley of the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains the United States territory consists of an arid tract extending south nearly to Texas, which has been called the Great American Desert. The caravan of emigrants who undertake the passage take provisions for six months, and many of them die of starvation on the way."

Views of Webster, Winthrop and Berrien.

Indeed, the question much debated at the time was: Is Oregon worth saving? Those renowned Massachusetts orators and statesmen, Senator Daniel Webster and Representative Robert Charles Winthrop, were of the opinion that the government would be endangered by a further enlargement of territory. John McPherson Berrien, of Georgia, declared in the United States Senate that the region under discussion was a barren and savage one, as yet unoccupied, except for hunting, fishing, and trading with the natives; while William S. Archer, of Virginia, said in the United States Senate that the part near the coast alone contained land fit for agricultural purposes, and that there were no harbors which were or could be rendered tolerable. And yet, out of all this hot debate and war talk, there emerged in 1846 peace, Oregon and the forty-ninth parallel.

Subsequent Discovery of Gold in California.

Three years later came the discovery of gold in California, one of the vast territories acquired by the United States by conquest and purchase from Mexico as a result of the war between the two nations. Then California—as Australia soon after and as South Africa and Klondike near the close of the nineteenth century—set men's imaginations on fire. Long caravans of ox teams in endless succession wended their slow way across the plains, the mountains and the deserts to the sunset land of gold. Government surveys for a railroad promptly followed, and crude and imperfect knowledge as to the region rapidly gave place to better, though still defective, knowledge of the *Great West*.

Sequel.

One of the original views entertained concerning the region east of the Rocky Mountains, which since has been believed to be wrong, now appears to have been somewhat correct. On the old maps of the United States about the middle of the nineteenth century was a large region called the "Great American Desert." This view was afterwards believed to have been incorrect, and the maps no longer had the "Great American Desert" upon them. But, in view of the recent failures of crops in that region through droughts, grasshopper plagues, etc., it seems that the earlier maps were not so far wrong, after all.

SECTION VI.—WAR WITH MEXICO (A. D. 1846–1848).

Diplomatic Rupture

As had been predicted would be the case, the annexation of Texas led to war between the United States and Mexico. Mexico all along had declared that she would consider such annexation as a warlike act on the part of the United States. Accordingly, after the passage of the joint resolution of annexation by the two Houses of the United States Congress, General Almonte, the Mexican Minister at Washing-

ton, demanded his passports, March 6, 1845, and the Mexican government suspended diplomatic intercourse with the American Minister at the city of Mexico; so that there was a diplomatic rupture between the two nations a year before the outbreak of hostilities. The Mexicans said: "War is the only recourse of the Mexican government." The cause of Mexico's action was the American occupation of a State which Mexico still claimed as an integral part of her own territory, notwithstanding the fact that it had been an independent republic for nine years, and as such had been recognized by Great Britain and France, as well as by the United States.

Disputed Boundary of Texas.

Besides the annexation of Texas, the boundary between Texas and Mexico was in dispute. Texas itself and the United States regarded the Rio Grande as the boundary, while Mexico claimed that the Nueces river was the line of separation and that the region between that river and the Rio Grande was not a part of Texas. Therefore, even if Texas were no longer Mexican territory—which Mexico refused to acknowledge—the region between the Nueces and the Rio Grande was still a part of Mexico.

Mexican Outrages on Americans.

Along with the annexation of Texas and the disputed boundary between her and Mexico, there was a third cause of controversy between the United States and Mexico, though this alone would not have brought on the war. This was the system of outrage and spoliation suffered by American citizens in Mexico ever since that country achieved its independence of Spain, American merchants losing their property and American sailors their rights by seizures on Mexican waters and in Mexican ports.

Failure to Obtain Redress from Mexico.

Notwithstanding a treaty between the two nations in 1831, these wrongs complained of had continued, until President Jackson, in the last month of his administration, February, 1837, considered it best to recommend demands for justice "from on board one of our vessels of war on the coast of Mexico." Finally, in 1839, the Mexican government entered into a treaty with the United States government by which a commission was appointed in 1840 to examine the American claims. The term of this commission expired in 1842, before more than a third of the claims had been examined; and the United States government urged the appointment of a new commission, but all to no purpose. In 1843 the United States government itself paid some claims acknowledged by the Mexican government to be due American citizens, their payment by the Mexican government being delayed. All this, however, was a secondary cause of war, which never would have occurred without a more exciting cause.

American Envoy to Mexico.

In November, 1845, an envoy was sent to Mexico by the United States government with authority to propose and execute a settlement

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SCENES IN MEXICO

Upper: View of Monterey, Mexico

Lower: Chapultepec Castle, City of Mexico. Residence of President Diaz and former site of Montezuma's Palace

of all disputes between the two nations; but this envoy was denied a hearing, as Mexico, fresh from one of her chronic revolutions, demanded that the Texas question must be disposed of and on Mexico's terms before any general negotiations could be entered upon, and the American envoy was obliged to return without effecting the object of his mission, March, 1846.

General Taylor in Texas.

As early as August, 1845, President Polk had ordered General Zachary Taylor to advance into Texas with fifteen hundred troops to protect that State from invasion and to take post near the Rio Grande as an army of observation. In March, 1846, Taylor left his camp at Corpus Christi, and, having established a depot of supplies at Point Isabel, advanced to the mouth of the Rio Grande, opposite the Mexican city of Matamoras, where he erected Fort Brown. There, on April 24, 1846, he received the following message from the Mexican General Arista: "Pressed and forced into war, we enter into a struggle which we cannot avoid without being unfaithful to what is most sacred to men."

First Bloodshed.

Being informed that the Mexicans were crossing the Rio Grande above Fort Brown, Taylor sent sixty dragoons under Captain Thornton to reconnoiter. These were surprised, on the 26th of April, 1846, by the Mexicans, and, after losing sixteen men, were made prisoners, Captain Thornton alone escaping by an extraordinary leap of his horse. This was the first bloodshed in the war between the United States and Mexico. General Taylor, as previously authorized by his government, called on the States of Louisiana and Texas for five thousand volunteers.

Fort Brown Bombarded.

Leaving a small garrison in Fort Brown, Taylor marched back to Point Isabel, which was threatened by the Mexicans. The Mexicans under General Arista began the bombardment of Fort Brown; and Major Brown, the gallant commander of the garrison, was mortally wounded.

Battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma.

While returning to Fort Brown, Taylor, at the head of two thousand men, met six thousand Mexicans under Arista, at a prairie called Palo Alto, on the 8th of May; and, after a desperate battle of five hours, during which he lost only fifty-three men, Taylor gained a glorious victory. Among the mortally wounded was Major Ringgold, whose efficient battery had contributed vastly toward gaining the victory. As the officers crowded around the heroic major when he fell, he said to them: "Leave me alone. You are wanted at the front." On the following day, May 9, 1846, Taylor again defeated the Mexicans with a loss of one thousand men, at Resaca de la Palma. In this battle Captain May with a force of dragoons was ordered to charge upon a Mexican battery under General La Vega's direction, which was

doing terrible execution. In the face of a murderous fire, Captain May and his brave followers drove away or cut to pieces the Mexican cannoniers and took General La Vega prisoner at his guns. By the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma the Mexican army was virtually annihilated.

Declaration of War.

On the 11th of May, 1846, the Congress of the United States declared that "war existed by the act of the Republic of Mexico," appropriated ten millions of dollars to carry on the war and authorized the President to call out fifty thousand volunteers. The Secretary of War and General Scott planned the military operations. A fleet was to sail around Cape Horn and attack the Pacific coast of Mexico; an Army of the West, under General Stephen Watts Kearny, was assembled at Fort Leavenworth to invade New Mexico and to coöperate with the Pacific fleet; an Army of the Center, under General John Ellis Wool, was collected at San Antonio de Bexar, in Texas, to invade Mexico from that point; and the Army of Occupation, under General Taylor, was largely reinforced by the new volunteers.

Plan of Campaign.

Disparity of Forces.

Mexico issued her declaration of war against the United States on May 23, 1846. The military forces of both nations at the opening of hostilities were small, the United States army being the smaller of the two. But this disparity was insignificant in comparison with that between the two nations. The foe of the United States in this struggle was no more formidable than would have been one of the States of her own Union. Broken by revolutions and civil wars, Mexico had practically no government or army to defend herself against the powerful foreign foe which now invaded her soil. She had officials and soldiers, but these had neither strength nor efficiency. Though one section of the United States and one of the two great political parties of the country were opposed to the war waged against Mexico, these divisions of the American people were comparatively nothing as contrasted with the dissensions and distractions of the Mexican Republic, which was torn and distracted by its chronic revolutions even in the presence of the formidable invasion of her territory by the armies of her powerful neighbor.

Anti-War Party in the United States.

As far as the United States was concerned, the war was of a sectional and a partisan character. As the annexation of Texas had been favored and effected by the South, the pro-slavery people and the Democratic party, and had been opposed by the North, the anti-slavery people and the Whig party, so the war with Mexico, as a result of that annexation, was sustained and prosecuted by the South, the pro-slavery element and the Democratic party, and opposed and denounced as unjust by the North, the anti-slavery element and the Whig party. Said a certain South Carolina writer: "It is a Southern war." In the

North some of the Whig leaders went to violent extremes in their denunciations of the war, as, for example, the great orator and statesman, Thomas Corwin, of Ohio, whose speeches in the United States Senate denouncing the war equaled in vituperation those of the Earl of Chatham in the House of Lords in denunciation of the American war. In one of his speeches Corwin expressed the hope that the Mexicans would welcome the American troops "with bloody hands to inhospitable graves."

Taylor's Invasion of Mexico

On the 18th of May, 1846, General Taylor crossed the Rio Grande into Mexico and took possession of the city of Matamoras. In August, 1846, Taylor, at the head of six thousand men, marched against the city of Monterey, which, after a siege and assault of four days, he captured on the 24th of September, with its garrison of nine thousand Mexican troops under General Ampudia. After this triumph Taylor advanced farther into Mexico; and, after being joined by General Wool, he took possession of Victoria, the capital of the State of Tamaulipas, on the 29th of December, 1846.

Capture of Matamoras, Monterey and Victoria.

Battle of Buena Vista.

Early in 1847 a large part of Taylor's army was sent to assist General Scott in the siege of Vera Cruz; so that Taylor was left in command of only five thousand men, to oppose twenty thousand Mexicans gathering at San Luis Potosi under General Santa Anna. Santa Anna demanded Taylor's instant surrender, having sent a messenger with the demand. Taylor refused; and on Washington's Birthday and the following day—February 22 and 23, 1847—a fierce battle was fought between the armies of Taylor and Santa Anna at a plantation called Buena Vista, eleven miles from Saltillo. The Mexicans, although four times as numerous as the Americans, were badly defeated and compelled to flee during the night, leaving their dead and wounded on the field of battle. Among the killed on the American side was Lieutenant-Colonel Clay, son of the distinguished Henry Clay, of Kentucky. Among the American officers who distinguished themselves in this battle was General Taylor's former son-in-law, Colonel Jefferson Davis, who, with his gallant Mississippians, bore a conspicuous part in achieving the American victory.

Conquest of Northern Mexico.

In consequence of the battle of Buena Vista, the Americans were now masters of all Northern Mexico; and in September, 1847, Taylor left his army in command of General Wool and returned to the United States.

Conquest of New Mexico and California.

The Army of the West under General Kearny took formal possession of New Mexico, at Santa Fé, its capital, on the 18th of August, 1846. Leaving the greater part of his force with Colonel Doniphan at Santa Fé, Kearny, at the head of one hundred men, hastened to take possession of the Mexican province of California, on the Pacific

coast. While on his way to California, Kearny learned, by a messenger, that the conquest of that country had been already accomplished by Colonel John Charles Fremont, with a few United States troops, assisted by the United States navy under Commodores Sloat and Stockton.

Operations of Fremont, Sloat, Stockton and Kearny in California.

Before receiving intelligence of the breaking out of hostilities, a small party of Americans, partly trappers and partly settlers, declared their independence of Mexico, at Sonoma, a small town near San Francisco, on the seventieth anniversary of American Independence, July 4, 1846. The leader of these Americans was the celebrated explorer of the Rocky Mountain region—Colonel John Charles Fremont, "the Pathfinder." He recently had been ordered by the United States government to occupy California. Fremont and his followers acted in coöperation with the American fleet under Commodore Sloat, who had taken possession of Monterey, California, July 7, 1846, and entered San Francisco Bay two days later (July 9, 1846). Sloat was soon succeeded in command of his fleet by Commodore Stockton, who, in conjunction with Colonel Fremont, took possession of Los Angeles, then the capital of California, August 13, 1846. In September and October (1846) the Mexicans recovered Los Angeles and reconquered the greater part of California, and, after the battle of San Pasqual, December 6, 1846, hemmed in General Kearny, so that he was in great peril until he was relieved by a force sent to his aid by Commodore Stockton. Stockton and Kearny recaptured Los Angeles, after two battles with its Mexican garrison, January 10, 1847. Three days later the Mexicans surrendered to Fremont at Cowenga, January 13, 1847, thus completing the American conquest of California. On February 18, 1847, General Kearny proclaimed the annexation of California to the United States. At various times the Mexicans in California rallied against the Americans, but without success.

Operations in Lower California and Western Mexico.

The Americans, under different commanders, afterward assailed Lower California and occupied La Paz and San José during the year 1847; while, on the eastern coast of the Gulf of California, a small American naval force under Captain Lavalette took Guaymas, in October, 1847; and, on the Pacific coast of Mexico, an American squadron under Commodore Shubrick took Mazatlan, in November, 1847.

Operations on the Eastern Coast of Mexico.

The United States navy blockaded the Mexican ports on the Gulf of Mexico in a very feeble manner from the beginning of the war and engaged in a series of operations. Commodore Conner twice attacked Alvarado, which was defended gallantly by its Mexican garrison on both occasions, August 6 and October 15, 1846. Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry, a brother of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry, the victor of Lake Erie, attacked Tobasco, on a river emptying in at the

southern coast of the Gulf of Mexico, but failed to take the town, though he captured some prizes and hamlets, October 23–26, 1846. Tampico was occupied after its evacuation by the Mexicans, November 15, 1846. Commodore Perry afterward took Tuspan, April 18, 1847, and Tobasco, June 15, 1847; both towns being defended very feebly by their Mexican garrisons.

Doniphan's Invasion of Mexico.

In accordance with the orders of General Kearny, Colonel Doniphan, with one thousand Missouri volunteers, forced the Navajo Indians to make a treaty of peace with the United States on the 22d of November, 1846, and then proceeded to join General Wool. Doniphan defeated the Mexicans under General Ponce de Leon at Bracito, on Christmas day, 1846, and occupied El Paso two days later; and at Sacramento, on the 28th of February, 1847, he gained a victory which gave him possession of Chihauhau, a city of forty thousand inhabitants and the capital of the State of the same name. After a march of five thousand miles, Doniphan joined General Wool at Saltillo on the 22d of March, 1847. The conquest of Northern Mexico and California was now complete, and General Winfield Scott had just commenced at Vera Cruz a campaign which ended in the reduction of the Mexican capital and the military occupation of the heart of the Mexican Republic.

Battles of Bracito and Sacramento.

Occupation of Chihuahua.

Conquest of Northern Mexico.

Insurrection in New Mexico.

Late in 1846 an insurrection of Mexicans and Indians broke out in New Mexico against the Americans at a little village about fifty miles from Santa Fé; the American governor, Charles Bent, and many others being murdered; but after a number of battles the insurgents were reduced to submission by Colonel Sterling Price, of Missouri, in January, 1847.

General Scott's Invasion of Mexico.

On the 9th of March, 1847, a United States army of twelve thousand men under General Scott and a squadron under Commodore Conner appeared before Vera Cruz and soon completely invested the city. After a vigorous siege and bombardment, the city of Vera Cruz and the neighboring castle of San Juan de Ulloa, together with five thousand Mexican troops and five hundred cannon, were surrendered to Scott, on the 26th of March, 1847.

Siege and Capture of Vera Cruz.

Battle of Cerro Gordo

After the capture of Vera Cruz, Scott's army marched toward the city of Mexico. In a bloody battle of two days, April 18–19, 1847, at Cerro Gordo, a difficult mountain pass, Scott defeated Santa Anna, who was at the head of twelve thousand troops, strongly intrenched. The Mexicans lost one thousand men in killed and wounded, and three thousand were made prisoners by the Americans. The Mexican army was completely broken up, and Santa Anna fled on a mule.

After their victory at Cerro Gordo the Americans continued their advance toward the capital of the Mexican Republic, took possession

Occupation of Perote and Puebla.

of Peroté, the strongest fortress in Mexico, on the 22d of April, 1847, and on the 5th of May entered Puebla, a city of eighty thousand inhabitants, where they rested until August, after a series of victories almost unparalleled in the annals of war.

Scott in the Valley of Mexico.

After having received reinforcements, Scott left Puebla on the 7th of August, 1847, and resumed his march toward the Mexican capital; and on the 10th (August, 1847) the American troops saw the extensive valley of Mexico before them. Lakes, plains, cities and cloud-capped mountains burst upon their gaze. Away in the distance was seen the great city of the Montezumas, with its lofty domes and towers. But between that city and the American army were strong fortifications and a Mexican army of thirty thousand men under Santa Anna to be overcome.

Santa Anna's Army.

Santa Anna's army was composed of regular troops and volunteers, old and young, rich and poor, men of every profession and occupation, all uniting patriotically in the defense of their country against its foreign invaders. Behind this gallant but inefficient army was the

Mexican Patriotism.

Mexican government, rent to pieces and feeble to the last degree, but still trying to unite itself to oppose the formidable foe threatening its capital. Even the Mexican clergy, incensed by the seizure of church property to meet the exigencies of the situation, were divided in the face of the foe. Though a broken nation, Mexico still deserved respect for her last earnest resistance to the invading enemy.

Battles of Contreras, San Antonio and Churubusco.

On the 20th of August, 1847, the American army, after a bloody struggle, carried the Mexican camp of Contreras by assault; General Valencia gallantly resisting the Americans for two days before he was totally routed, August 19–20, 1847. On the same day the Americans took the strong fortress of San Antonio and gained a brilliant victory over the Mexicans at Churubusco. Santa Anna's army, virtually annihilated, fled to the capital. During this bloody day the Mexicans lost four thousand men in killed and wounded, and over three thousand were made prisoners by the victorious Americans.

Short Armistice.

Scott now offered the Mexicans peace. Santa Anna asked for an armistice, which Scott granted; but, when informed that the treacherous Mexican general was improving the time by strengthening the defenses of the capital, the American commander declared the armistice at an end on the 7th of September, 1847.

Battles of Molino del Rey and Chapultepec.

The victorious Americans took by storm the strong position of Molino del Rey on the 8th of September and the lofty fortified hill of Chapultepec on the 13th of the same month, the division under General Worth bearing a conspicuous part in these bloody actions. Inside these lines was the Mexican Military College, which was defended heroically by its students, mere boys outvying veterans by their valor;

but the College was taken after a determined resistance of two days, September 12–13, 1847.

Scott's Occupation of the City of Mexico.

The next day—September 14, 1847—Scott entered the Mexican capital in triumph; and by his orders the Stars and Stripes were raised on the National Palace, the Hall of the Montezumas, by Generals William Jenkins Worth and John Anthony Quitman. Santa Anna and the authorities of the Mexican Republic had fled.

Subsequent Actions.

Santa Anna retired in the direction of Puebla, which he vainly endeavored to take from the Americans under General Childs. Santa Anna's purpose was to cut off all communication between General Scott and the coast, but he failed in this object. After a few battles and skirmishes, the severest of which was at Huamantla, all hostilities were at an end. The American generals then engaged in quarreling among themselves and in arresting each other; and in February, 1848, General Scott was superseded in command by General William Orlando Butler.

Price's Second Invasion of Chihuahua.

Early in 1848 General Price led a second American expedition into Chihuahua; and after the treaty of peace had been made, but before he had heard of it, he again occupied the city of Chihuahua, March 7, 1848, and defeated the Mexicans at Santa Cruz de las Rosales, March 16, 1848.

Composition of the United States Armies.

The United States armies which had performed the great exploits just referred to—invaded the enemy's country, defeated its armies in every battle, captured its chief seaports and its strong fortresses, occupied its capital and completely destroyed its military power—was no regular force prepared by years of discipline for the field, but consisted mainly of the thousands of volunteers that flocked to the field from every State of the Union, among whom the few regiments of United States regulars were lost in numbers. These armies were commanded by efficient officers trained at West Point for the profession of arms. The two great generals of the war—Taylor and Scott—were both Whigs, members of the party opposed to the war. The result of the war was to give the United States a more decided military character than it had yet possessed.

Forced Supplies

The United States government had resolved "to compel the enemy to contribute, as far as practicable, towards the expenses of the war"; and for this purpose two measures were resorted to. One of these measures was the collection of the duties imposed upon all merchandise admitted into the Mexican ports occupied by the Americans; which, as the United States government admitted, "was, in effect, the seizure of the public revenues of Mexico." The other measure was in the form of forced requisitions and forced contributions from the enemy wherever the Americans occupied the enemy's country. As early as September, 1846, the Secretary of War had instructed General Taylor

to "draw supplies from the enemy without paying for them and to require contributions, if in that way you are satisfied you can get abundant supplies." The same instructions were sent to General Scott in the spring of 1847. But both generals declined to raise forced supplies, though Scott exacted several large contributions from the conquered country after his occupation of the Mexican capital.

Wilmot Proviso.

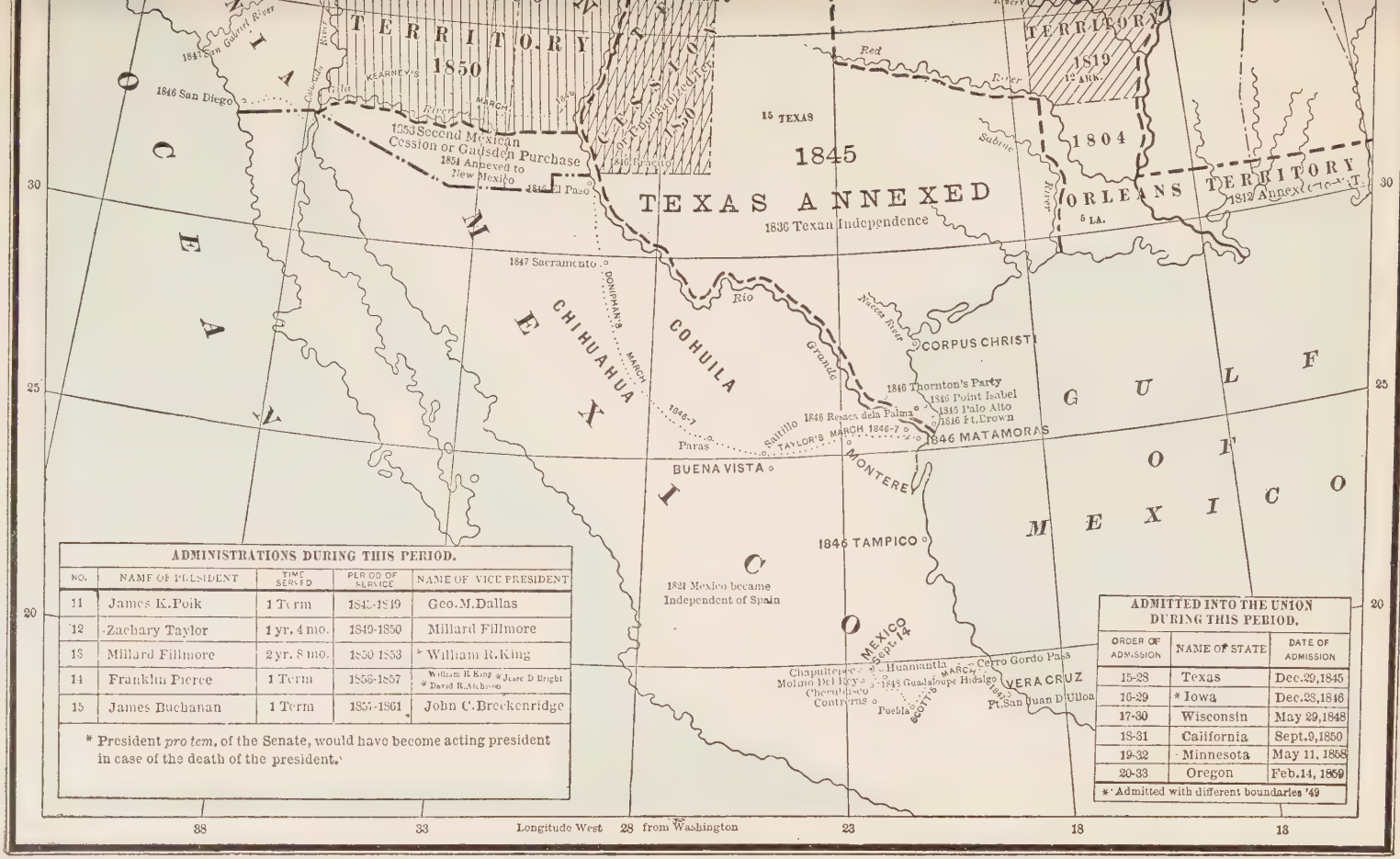
In July, 1846—less than three months after the outbreak of hostilities—the United States made overtures of peace, which the Mexican President referred to the Mexican Congress, where the matter rested. In announcing to the United States Congress his peace proposal to Mexico, President Polk suggested the appropriation of a certain sum as an indemnity for any territory that the United States might retain at the close of the war. In the debate which followed, David Wilmot, a Democratic Representative in Congress from Pennsylvania, moved the following proviso to the appropriation: "That there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any territory on the continent of America which shall be acquired by or annexed to the United States by virtue of this appropriation, or in any other manner whatsoever." This *Wilmot Proviso*, as it is called, was adopted hastily by the House of Representatives, but was not acted upon by the Senate because it was too late in the session. In the next session the proviso was again adopted by the House of Representatives, but was rejected by the Senate, whereupon it was abandoned by the House.

Peace Negotiations.

As early as April, 1847, after the United States Congress had made the requisite appropriation which he had asked as necessary to insure peace negotiation, President Polk appointed Nicholas Philip Trist, chief clerk of the State Department, as a commissioner to proceed to Mexico with the form of a treaty of peace requiring Mexico to cede a part of her territory, for which, however, she would receive some money compensation. Mr. Trist had to wait at General Scott's headquarters in the valley of Mexico until August, 1847, before he obtained an interview with the Mexican commissioners. At his several meetings with them he found that there was a wide difference between his peace conditions and their terms. The Mexican commissioners were reluctant to give up any territory, even that between the Nueces and the Rio Grande which was claimed by the United States as a part of Texas. They had very positive instructions not to sign any treaty providing for the cession of territory unless it prohibited slavery in the ceded territory. Mr. Trist replied: "No President of the United States would dare to present any such treaty to the Senate." This was the chief obstacle to the signing of a treaty, the Mexican commissioners demanding that slavery must be excluded from the ceded territory, and the United States commissioner opposing such restriction;

Mexican Opposition to Slavery in Ceded Territory.

Longitude West 105 from Greenwich
130
125
120
115
110
100
95
90
85
80
50
45
40
Oregon claimed to 54° 40′ by the U.S. and occupied jointly with Great Britain from 1818 till 1846
54° 40′
B R I T I S H A M E R I C A
49° established as the northern boundary for Oregon in 1846
WASHINGTON
1853
1848 TERRITORY
OREGON TERRITORY
1848
20 OREGON
1803 LOUISIANA PURCHASE
NEBRASKA TERRITORY
1854
KANSAS TERRITORY
1854
MINNESOTA
TERRITORY
1849
WISCONSIN
TERRITORY
1836
IOWA
TERRITORY
1838
1848 FIRST MEXICAN CESSION
UTAH TERRITORY
1850
1848 Gold
1847 Great Salt Lake Mormons 1847
By Guadalupe
1846 Sonoma
1846 Yerba Buena
1847 San Francisco
1846 Mont
1850 Colorado Ter.
1861 Dakota Ter.
1861 Nebraska Ter.
1836 Annexed to Missouri
1846 Ft. Leavenworth
1836 Annexed to Wisconsin
1846 Annexed to Iowa
11 MO.
Missouri River
Mississippi River
Nebraska admitted 1867



ADMINISTRATIONS DURING THIS PERIOD.

NO.	NAME OF PRESIDENT	TIME SERVED	PERIOD OF SERVICE	NAME OF VICE PRESIDENT
11	James K. Polk	1 Term	1845-1849	Geo. M. Dallas
12	Zachary Taylor	1 yr. 4 mo.	1849-1850	Millard Fillmore
13	Millard Fillmore	2 yr. 8 mo.	1850-1853	* William R. King
14	Franklin Pierce	1 Term	1853-1857	William R. King * Jesse D. Bright * David R. Atchison
15	James Buchanan	1 Term	1857-1861	John C. Breckenridge

* President *pro tem.* of the Senate, would have become acting president in case of the death of the president.

ADMITTED INTO THE UNION DURING THIS PERIOD.

ORDER OF ADMISSION	NAME OF STATE	DATE OF ADMISSION
15-28	Texas	Dec. 29, 1845
16-29	* Iowa	Dec. 28, 1846
17-30	Wisconsin	May 29, 1848
18-31	California	Sept. 9, 1850
19-32	Minnesota	May 11, 1858
20-33	Oregon	Feb. 14, 1859

* Admitted with different boundaries '49

and the negotiations failed for the time, the commissioners separating in September, 1847, without effecting anything.

Peace of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

Commissioner Trist was recalled by the United States government; but he disregarded the orders of his government by remaining in Mexico, and in November, 1847, he entered into fresh negotiations for peace with new commissioners on the part of Mexico. The collapse of Mexico's resistance to the American invaders obliged the new Mexican commissioners to accept any peace terms dictated to them; and the result of the negotiations was the treaty of peace signed by Mr. Trist and the Mexican commissioners at Guadalupe Hidalgo, a suburb of the Mexican capital, on the 2d of February, 1848. By this treaty Mexico ceded the whole of Texas, New Mexico and Upper, or New California to the United States; while the United States stipulated to restore her other conquests and to pay to Mexico fifteen million dollars for the ceded territory, and also to assume the old claims of American citizens against Mexico, amounting to more than three million dollars. Other provisions were modified at Washington, and the alterations were accepted by the Mexican Congress, in session at Queretaro; and the ratifications were exchanged at Queretaro, May 30, 1848. President Polk proclaimed peace, July 4, 1848; and the United States military forces speedily evacuated the territory that still remained to Mexico, embracing only about half of her original domain.

California and New Mexico Ceded to the United States.

SECTION VII.—COMPROMISE OF 1850, SLAVERY AND SECESSION (A. D. 1848–1861).

The New Domain of the United States and the Slavery Question.

The war with Mexico and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo added more than eight hundred thousand square miles of new territory to the two million square miles constituting the former domain of the United States, thus enlarging the National area more than a third. This would have been an embarrassing accession of territory to any nation. To the United States at that period it presented overwhelming difficulties because of its relation to the slavery question, as it involved an agitation of that disturbing question greater in intensity than any previous agitation on that subject, shaking the Nation to its very foundations and menacing its very existence. The Southern people claimed the war as their special work, and therefore considered themselves as entitled to its spoils, thus seeking the establishment of slavery in the newly-acquired National domain. On the contrary, Northern anti-slavery men declared that the war had been a sufficient evil in itself, and strenuously opposed the additional evil of slavery extension. Thus the two great sections of the Union were arrayed against each other

respecting the disposition of the slavery question in the newly-acquired domain.

Gold in California and Emigration Thither.

Besides its variety of scenery, climate, soil and productions, California soon unfolded a new source of wealth, hitherto undreamed of. In January, 1848—shortly before the Peace of Guadalupe Hidalgo—gold was discovered accidentally at Sutter's mill, just then erected along a small branch of the Sacramento river; and the existence of the same precious metal was disclosed in other localities of the newly-acquired region. As a result of these discoveries, a stream of emigration set in towards California from all parts of the United States and from every quarter of the civilized world, and the newly-acquired territory was soon covered with gold diggers and settlers who made their homes in the new land of gold. Said President Polk in speaking of these new National accessions: "The acquisition of California and New Mexico, the settlement of the Oregon boundary, and the annexation of Texas, extending to the Rio Grande, are results which, combined, are of greater consequence, and will add more to the strength and wealth of the Nation, than any which have preceded them since the adoption of the Constitution."

New Difficulties.

But President Polk saw a new source of danger in the new acquisitions and the National perils brought with them in reference to the slavery question and the serious dissensions resulting therefrom. In communicating the exchange of ratifications between the United States of America and the United States of Mexico, the President addressed Congress thus: "There has perhaps been no period since the warning so impressively given to his countrymen by Washington, to guard against geographical divisions and sectional parties, which appeals with greater force than the present to the patriotic, sober-minded and reflecting of all parties and of all sections of the country. As we extend the blessings of the Union over new regions, shall we be so unwise as to endanger its existence by geographical divisions and dissensions." These words of President Polk were written while Congress and the Nation were agitated by stormy discussions on the subject of slavery extension or slavery restriction in the new domain. All signs of the times indicated a serious division between the views of the North and those of the South on the slavery question, being a more menacing strife than the war with Mexico, which gave rise to it.

The Mormons and Their Settlement in the New Domain.

A spot in the new domain was settled by a new religious sect which had grown up in the United States—namely, the *Mormons*, or *Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints;* the circumstances of whose growth are among the most remarkable of modern times. This strange sect was founded in 1827 by a young man named Joseph Smith, of Central New York, a native of Vermont, who claimed to have found a

Bible whose leaves were of gold, near the village of Palmyra, where it was pretended to have lain hidden in the earth for centuries, and whither its finder had been directed by a vision. This Bible—named the *Book of Mormon*—was said to contain an account of the ancient inhabitants of America, with a new gospel for mankind. Smith claimed to have received repeated divine revelations, and he readily found followers. The Mormons emigrated from New York, and after forming a settlement at Kirtland, Ohio, in 1830, removed to Jackson county, Missouri, in 1831, where they remained eight years, suffering the most violent persecutions from the inhabitants, and being frequently mobbed and finally driven away in 1839. They then settled in Illinois and founded the town of Nauvoo, on the Mississippi river, where, to the number of fifteen thousand, they remained eight years, suffering the same persecution and mob violence which they had endured in Missouri; and in 1844 Joseph Smith was assassinated in jail at Carthage, Illinois, by a mob. Brigham Young became his successor as head of the Mormon Church and ruler of his people, and so remained thirty-three years, until his death in 1877. In 1847 the Mormons emigrated to what was then a part of the Territory of California, which had just been conquered from Mexico, and which in 1850 was erected into a new Territory of the United States and named *Utah*. They settled on the shores of Great Salt Lake in 1848 and founded Salt Lake City. They named their new country *Deseret*, or *Land of the Honey-Bee*. They called themselves *Latter-Day Saints*, and all the rest of mankind they designated as *Gentiles*. They have had missionaries in other parts of the world and have been constantly making new proselytes, and the Mormon community now numbers several hundred thousand. Their practice of polygamy for more than forty years prevented the admission of Utah as a State, and Congress passed repeated enactments to suppress a practice so antagonistic to the general sentiment of Christendom. The Mormon Church is a powerful hierarchy, and the head of the Church is an absolute despot as spiritual and temporal ruler.

Admission of Wisconsin.

Oregon and Minnesota Territories.

The old territorial domain of the United States was organized quickly. Wisconsin was quietly admitted into the Union as a State, May 29, 1848, its western boundary being the Mississippi and St. Croix rivers. During the same year, 1848, Oregon Territory was formally organized by act of Congress, after frequent debates respecting the extension or restriction of slavery within its limits, and an attempt to extend the Missouri Compromise to the Pacific Ocean, so that the territory south of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude might be assigned to slavery. Oregon Territory, as organized, extended from the forty-second to the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, or from the newly-acquired domain of Upper California north-

ward to the British possessions, and from the Rocky Mountains westward to the Pacific Ocean; thus embracing the present States of Oregon, Washington and Idaho and portions of Montana and Wyoming. In the same year, 1848, a serious danger disturbed the new Territory of Oregon; the Indians within its limits having made war on its white settlers, to their extreme peril. The next year, 1849, Minnesota Territory was organized peaceably, comprising the present State of that name and all of the two Dakotas east of the Missouri and White Earth Rivers.

Old Questions Subsiding.

Old questions were being set at rest. The tariff, as revised in 1842 and again in 1846, had been framed so as to indicate the relinquishment of the protective system. Old differences regarding the tenure and sale of the public lands were subsiding, for the time at least. The long-vexed subject of internal improvements was finally settled on general principles establishing the policy of National enterprises at the expense of the National government. Financial troubles were settled, the National government acquiescing in the renunciation of a United States Bank and in supporting a National currency. Though vastly increased by the war with Mexico, the National debt occasioned no public burdens and no altercations, there being no controversy as to its disposition and no doubt as to its ultimate payment. All these questions of a politico-economic nature had ceased to excite or even to interest the American people.

Organization of the New Domain.

The tranquillity of the Nation on the questions just alluded to contrasted strongly with its dissensions on the question of slavery in the newly-acquired territory. Questions relating to these new acquisitions demanded settlement, such as the organization of California and New Mexico, the disputed boundary between Texas and New Mexico, the relations with the Indian tribes in the new domain; but all these questions had to give precedence to the settlement of the slavery controversy.

Revived Slavery Agitation.

Thus the slavery question deeply overshadowed everything else and assumed proportions of the greatest magnitude. The annexation of Texas and the resultant war with Mexico had been regarded in every section of the Union as committing the Nation to the support of slavery more decisively than ever. Whether well or ill founded, the reasons for this view aroused public sentiment in the North to undo what had been done in the interest of the slaveholding South, while Southern feeling was fully resolved to carry out the pro-slavery measures which had been inaugurated. The North felt that by the annexation of Texas the South had gained an enormous increase of power, to which no new addition should be made, but rather from which something must be taken, if possible, either by the reduction of the area of Texas or by

preventing all of the Texan domain from being peopled by slaveholders. Especially did the North demand that slavery must be prohibited in New Mexico and California. On the other hand, the South insisted that all of Texas must be slave territory and that New Mexico and California must be allowed to choose for themselves whether or not they would have slavery within their limits, as these territories were acquired more by Southern than by Northern exertions. The prospect that both New Mexico and California were to be closed against slavery naturally disappointed the South, while greatly elating the North. This Southern disappointment and this corresponding Northern exaltation fomented the strife between the two sections.

Free Soil Party.

The increase of the anti-slavery sentiment in the North led to the formation of a new political party in opposition to the extension of slavery into the newly-acquired domain, called the *Free Soil Party*, which entered the Presidential campaign of 1848 as a new factor. In that campaign the Whig and Democratic parties showed a disposition to ignore the disturbing slavery question. The Free Soil party, however, in its National Convention at Buffalo, in August, 1848, declared it to be "the duty of the federal government to relieve itself from all responsibility for the existence or continuance of slavery," and "the only safe means of preventing the extension of slavery * * * to prohibit its extension by act of Congress." Public opinion being thus touched, the Northern leaders of the Whig party showed a disposition to take an anti-slavery stand. Notwithstanding all the aid of the patronage of the National administration, the Democratic party lost the election, through the appearance of the Free Soil party upon the scene of National politics.

Election of General Taylor as President.

Thus, in the Presidential election in the fall of 1848, the Whig candidate, General Zachary Taylor, of Louisiana, whose great military achievements in Mexico had made him a popular favorite, was elected President of the United States, with Millard Fillmore, of New York, as Vice President. Thus the Whig party, which had opposed the war with Mexico so bitterly, had won the election by nominating the great hero of the war, who, although he had been classed as a Whig, himself had never voted for any Presidential candidate in his life, according to his own statement at the time. The Democratic candidate for President was Lewis Cass, of Michigan, one of the great statesmen of the time, who was one of the great lights of the United States Senate when that body was adorned by such geniuses as Webster, Clay, Calhoun, Benton, Corwin, Buchanan, etc. The Democratic candidate for Vice President was General William Orlando Butler, of Kentucky, who had served with distinction in the war with Mexico. Ex-President Martin Van Buren was the candidate of the Free Soil party, in opposition to

the extension of slavery into the Territories, with Charles Francis Adams, of Massachusetts, son of ex-President John Quincy Adams, as candidate for Vice President.

Action against Slavery in Congress.

When Congress assembled in December, 1848, it seemed disposed to take more decided action against slavery than it had ever done before; and, on motion of Joseph M. Root, of Ohio, the House of Representatives instructed its Committee on Territories to report a bill or bills providing Territorial governments for New Mexico and California, "excluding slavery." The House passed a bill for the admission of California as a Free State, but the bill was defeated in the Senate because of the prohibition of slavery. Instead of confining themselves to the organization of the Territories against slavery, some members of Congress suggested the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia, while others favored the abolition of slavery itself in the District. But beyond extending the revenue laws to California, Congress did not take any decisive action on the question of slavery within its limits, though proposing and discussing the question extensively.

Southern Congressional Convention and Calhoun's Address to the South.

The anti-slavery demonstrations alarmed the Southern members of Congress; and they accordingly held a convention, December 23, 1848, at which a committee was appointed to report upon certain resolutions relating to the slavery question. John C. Calhoun, still a United States Senator from South Carolina, prepared an address of the Southern Congressmen at an adjourned meeting of the convention, January 15, 1849, inveighing against the aggressions of the North, especially its evasion of the Fugitive Slave Law and its abolitionism. In exact words, the language of this address was partly as follows: "We ask not, as the North alleges we do, for the extension of slavery. That would make a discrimination in our favor as unjust and unconstitutional as the discrimination they ask against us in their favor. * * * What, then, we do insist on is, not to extend slavery, but that we shall not be prohibited from immigrating with our property into the Territories of the United States because we are slaveholders." The address concluded with an earnest appeal to the South to be united. John McPherson Berrien, a United States Senator from Georgia, proposed an address to the people of the United States instead of one to the South alone; but the original address was adopted, January 22, 1849.

President Taylor, A. D. 1849–1850.

As the 4th of March, 1849, fell on the Sabbath, the inauguration of President Taylor did not take place until the 5th. He came into office at a critical time, when the Union was menaced with dismemberment on account of the agitation of the slavery question, which practically divided the Nation into two hostile sections. The new President instructed the United States officials in the newly-acquired territories to encourage the inhabitants to organize themselves.

The New Territories against Slavery.

The first people to adopt the new President's suggestions were the Mormons of Deseret, the territory soon afterward named Utah, who decided against the introduction of slavery into their territory. The next to adopt the same course by organizing and declaring against slavery were the settlers of Santa Fé county, New Mexico. But the only regular organization was that of the inhabitants of California, who, in a convention at San Francisco, in September and October, 1849, framed a State constitution expressly prohibiting slavery. The North was highly exultant and the South defiant at the approaching issue of the strife.

California's Constitution.

Slavery Agitation in Congress.

When Congress assembled in December, 1849, it was at once agitated by the slavery question, and three weeks passed before the House of Representatives was able to elect its Speaker, when Howell Cobb, of Georgia, was chosen. Very soon afterward Senator Henry Stuart Foote, of Mississippi, introduced a bill in the United States Senate for the organization of the new territorial acquisitions, January 16, 1850. Next came a series of resolutions in the United States Senate, proposed by Henry Clay, the author of the Missouri Compromise of 1820 and the Tariff Compromise of 1833, in favor of a new compromise on the existing slavery question. Though disappointed in his Presidential aspirations for a quarter of a century, his fervent ambition and his true patriotism shone forth as strongly as ever; and, in the interest of National harmony and for the preservation of the Union, he urged concessions on both sides. It was a serious crisis for the Republic, as the menaces of secession on the part of the Southern leaders were loud and alarming, and civil war was threatened.

Clay's Proposal of Compromise.

Clay's Compromise Resolutions.

Clay's resolutions provided for the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia, but for the maintenance of the institution of slavery in the District; for the restitution of all fugitive slaves escaping from the Slave States into the Free States; for the admission of California as a Free State, in accordance with the provisions of her anti-slavery State constitution; for the organization of New Mexico and Utah, the latter comprehending the Mormon settlement of Deseret, into Territories without mention of slavery; and the settlement of the disputed boundary between Texas and New Mexico, January 29, 1850. Weeks were absorbed in fruitless debates, as Clay's plan of compromise satisfied neither the adherents nor the opponents of slavery, and both stoutly maintained their hostile attitudes. While these slavery discussions were in progress in the Senate, President Taylor communicated California's anti-slavery State constitution to Congress in the usual form, February, 1850.

Calhoun's Defiance.

The threatening clouds of civil war became portentous, as the peril which confronted the Nation was of the gravest character. The ex-

treme views of the South were voiced loudly in Congress, especially in the Senate by John C. Calhoun, the leader of the Southern State Rights party for a quarter of a century. On the contrary, the extreme views of anti-slavery people of the North were championed very feebly, as the great Northern leader in the Senate, Daniel Webster, aspired to be the great leader of the whole Nation. Like Clay, as a warm friend of the Union, he labored to heal the dissensions which threatened the Nation's existence, and therefore warmly supported Clay's compromise measures. Indeed, Webster became so conciliatory in his attitude toward the slave-holding South that he was denounced mercilessly by the ardent anti-slavery people of the North as having gone over to the pro-slavery party in his famous 7th of March speech.

Webster's Support of Clay's Compromise.

Said Webster in his 7th of March speech: "I speak, not as a Massachusetts man nor as a Northern man, but as an American and a member of the Senate of the United States. I speak for the preservation of the Union." After alluding to the slavery question in general and deploring the vehemence of its Southern supporters, he adverted to the Territories, maintaining that slavery was already excluded from them by "the law of nature, of physical geography." He asserted that Texas was a Slave State by the terms of annexation, while New Mexico and California were to be Free States, both by the will of their inhabitants and by the nature of their climates and their soils. Said he: "The whole territory within the former United States or in the newly-acquired Mexican provinces has a fixed and settled character, now fixed and settled by law which cannot be repealed; in the case of Texas without a violation of the public faith, and by no human power in regard to California or New Mexico." He argued that therefore it was useless to wrangle about provisos of Congress for the toleration or prohibition of slavery. He deprecated the Northern denunciations of the fugitive slave measure and the maintenance of slavery in the District of Columbia. This speech of Webster's contributed to the adoption of Clay's compromise.

Webster's 7th of March Speech.

Still both Houses of Congress continued to be agitated by violent debates on the all-absorbing slavery question. In the Senate the able and distinguished anti-slavery leader, William Henry Seward, of New York, opposed Clay's compromise measures because, as he said, their principles were repudiated by "the law of nature written on the hearts and consciences of freemen."

Seward's Opposition.

The pro-slavery men in Congress violently opposed the admission of California into the Union as a Free State, boldly declaring that such a proceeding would be a valid reason for the Slave States to secede from the Union. These bold threats so alarmed the Northern friends of the Union that they became ready to acquiesce in any compromise measure;

Southern Threats of Secession.

Clay's Committee of Thirteen.

and finally a committee of thirteen was appointed in the United States Senate, with Clay as chairman and six other Senators from the Slave States and six from the Free States, to consider Clay's plan of compromise. This committee reported the compromise in three bills; the first admitting California as a Free State, organizing New Mexico and Utah as Territories without mention of slavery and arranging the disputed boundary between Texas and New Mexico by a large indemnity to Texas in payment of her claims; the second providing for the recovery of fugitive slaves, and the third abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, May 8, 1850. Angry debates followed, and a settlement seemed far off.

Clayton-Bulwer Treaty.

In 1850, during the short administration of President Zachary Taylor, his Secretary of State, John Middleton Clayton, on the part of the United States, and Minister Bulwer, the British diplomatic representative to the United States, on the part of Great Britain, negotiated the famous agreement named in their honor the *Clayton-Bulwer Treaty*, which was speedily ratified by both governments. This treaty provided that neither the United States nor Great Britain ever should obtain "exclusive control" over "any means of communication" between the Atlantic and the Pacific by a ship canal by way of the Nicarauguan route, nor fortify it; that in case of war between the United States and Great Britain war vessels of either power shall pass freely through it; that everything shall be done to further the construction of such a canal; that the canal, when constructed, shall be neutralized—that is, kept forever open and free by both governments so long as no unjust commercial discriminations are made; that the two powers shall invite every state in the civilized world to enter into similar stipulations; that the two governments, desiring not only to accomplish a "particular object," but also to "establish a general principle," will "extend their protection" to any other practicable communications across the isthmus, whether by canal or railway, including especially the Tehuantepec and Panama projects.

President Taylor's Death.

While the slavery question was absorbing the attention of Congress and the Nation, President Taylor was attacked by a sudden illness, of which he died on July 9, 1850. In accordance with the provisions of the National Constitution, the Vice President, Millard Fillmore, took the oath of office on the following day and immediately assumed the duties of President of the United States. He selected a new Cabinet, with Daniel Webster at its head as Secretary of State, and used the whole power and influence of his administration in favor of Clay's compromise measures.

President Fillmore, A. D. 1850–1853.

Compromise Act of 1850.

As one bill for all the compromise measures proposed by Clay, the compromise at first was rejected; but after separate bills had been sub-

stituted for each of the proposed measures these separate bills were passed successively by both Houses of Congress. The bill for the admission of California as a Free State, the erection of New Mexico and Utah into Territories without mention of slavery and the payment of ten million dollars from the National treasury to Texas in purchase of her claims to a large portion of New Mexico was passed on September 9, 1850. The bill for the arrest and return to their masters of all fugitive slaves who should escape into the Free States was adopted nine days later, September 18, 1850; and the bill for the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia was carried through two days afterward, September 20, 1850. Such was the famous *Compromise Act of 1850*, passed after four months' discussion, and which at the time was supposed to settle the slavery question forever.

Admission of California.

Upon receiving the signature of President Fillmore the Compromise Act of 1850 became a law; and California entered the Union as a Free State—the thirty-first star in the great American constellation and the first State admitted on the Pacific coast and west of the Rocky Mountains. Its first two United States Senators were Colonel John Charles Fremont and William McKendree Gwin. The new Territories of Utah and New Mexico at first were of vast extent. Utah extended from the Rocky Mountains westward to California, and included, in addition to the area of the present State of Utah, nearly all of the present Nevada, the western half of the present Colorado and the south-western part of the present Wyoming. New Mexico extended from Texas to California, embracing all of the present New Mexico and Arizona, with a large area in the southern part of the present Colorado and the southern portion of the present Nevada.

Continued Controversy.

Thus ended a domestic controversy on the slavery question precipitated by the annexation of Texas, the war with Mexico and the Wilmot Proviso, and which agitated and convulsed the Nation for six years, since the Presidential campaign of 1844; the questions thus supposed to be settled permanently occupying the attention of Congress and the American people during that entire period. But the supposed permanent settlement turned out to be a delusion; and the slavery discussion did not cease, notwithstanding the frantic efforts of the politicians of both the Whig and Democratic parties to keep the question out of National politics, and the denunciation of all who sought to continue the agitation as disturbers of the public peace. In his first annual message to Congress, in December, 1850, President Fillmore assured the Nation's Senators and Representatives that "we have been rescued from the wide and boundless agitation that surrounded us, and have a firm, distinct and legal ground to rest upon." Yet on the floors of Congress, in courts, in pulpits, in the press, in all public places and

AMERICAN POLITICAL LEADERS

in the private homes of the land the slavery discussion continued. Unlike the other two great compromises, that of 1850 did not bring peace.

Fugitive Slave Law.

One provision of the Compromise Act of 1850—the *Fugitive Slave Law*—was drawn up by United States Senator James Murray Mason, of Virginia, the Confederate commissioner to Great Britain during the Great Civil War eleven years afterward. Senator Mason was believed by the anti-slavery people to have made it as offensive to the North as possible and to have framed it in such terms as would render its enforcement impossible, both to humiliate the North and to exasperate the South by new illustrations of Northern unfaithfulness to Southern claims. Anti-slavery men contended that there was no necessity for a new law about fugitive slaves, as only about a thousand slaves, a thirtieth of one per cent. of the entire slave population of the South, escaped during the very year in which the act was passed. The National Constitution stated explicitly that a person bound to service or labor in one State, escaping into another State, should be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor might be due; but the Constitution stated explicitly also that no person should be deprived of liberty without due process of law. The Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 provided no process of law except the hearing of the claim, without admitting the testimony of the alleged fugitive slave or allowing him the benefit of jury trial.

Opposition to the Law in the North.

The Fugitive Slave Law was intensely offensive to the people of the Free States, and its character aroused them from Maine to Iowa. However the Northern people may have been divided on the question of freedom or slavery in the South and in the new Territories, they were, by a large majority, for freedom on their own soil; and now their own soil was no longer to be free to those who could be claimed as fugitive slaves. As experience proved, any negroes could be claimed as fugitive slaves. Free colored men and women could be claimed and carried off as slaves. In one year from the passage of this law more seizures of alleged fugitive slaves occurred in the Free States than in all the previous sixty years since 1790.

Riots and the "Underground Railroad."

The Fugitive Slave Law met with such opposition in the Free States that the execution and violation of the law in several instances led to serious results and much bitter sectional feeling. Among these may be mentioned the riot at Christiana, Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, in 1851, a serious affray which resulted in the killing of the Maryland slaveholder whose attempt to recover his fugitive slaves had caused the riot, and which ended in a mistrial in the United States Court in Philadelphia. Another instance was a riot in Boston, caused by an attempt to arrest a fugitive slave, and the killing of the United States marshal who attempted the arrest. Fugitive slaves were assisted in escaping

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to Canada by a sort of secret concert of action among their sympathizers in the Free States, known as the "underground railroad."

Last of Clay's Compromises.

A most distinguished American statesman characterized the Compromise of 1850 as "a proof of infatuation." It was the last of Clay's compromises designed to bring domestic peace to the American people, and in which his great fellow compeers, Calhoun and Webster also figured prominently, Calhoun dying while the measure was still under discussion, and Clay and Webster two years after its adoption; and with the disappearance of these great leaders their work in this instance soon vanished.

Deaths of the Great Trio of Statesmen.

Thus the great trio of statesmen and orators who for more than a quarter of a century had adorned the United States Senate with their eloquence and greatness—Calhoun, Clay and Webster—ended their earthly career during Taylor's and Fillmore's administrations. Calhoun, the Great Southern champion of "State Rights," slavery, nullification, secession, etc., died at Washington, March 3, 1850, at the age of sixty-eight. Clay died at Washington, June 29, 1852, at the age of seventy-five; and Webster died at his home at Marshfield, Massachusetts, October 24, 1852, at the age of seventy.

Popular Delusion.

Thus, as we have just observed, both the Whig and Democratic parties accepted the Compromise Act of 1850 as a final settlement of the slavery question, and both sections of the Union in the main considered the question at rest forever; but this delusion lasted only a few years, as we shall see presently.

Anti-Slavery and Abolitionists.

A large portion of the people of the Free States considered slavery morally wrong and a violation of the rights of man and therefore inconsistent with the principles and practices of the Christian religion and incompatible with a republican form of government. The abolitionists were very generally Quakers, a sect whose principles forbid the holding of slaves. Among these were Lucretia Mott, of Philadelphia, and the poet, John Greenleaf Whittier, of Massachusetts. But the great abolitionist leaders were William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips, of Massachusetts; Gerrit Smith and Samuel Joseph May, of New York; Joshua Reed Giddings, of Ohio; George Washington Julian, of Indiana; Cassius Marcellus Clay, of Kentucky, son of General Green Clay, of the War of 1812, and a relative of Henry Clay; and Owen Lovejoy, of Illinois, brother of the martyred Rev. Elijah Parish Lovejoy, who was murdered by a pro-slavery mob at Atlon, Illinois, in 1837, as we have already observed. In 1851 a sensation was

"Uncle Tom's Cabin."

produced by the publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, the celebrated work of Mrs. Harriet Elizabeth Beecher Stowe, of New York, daughter of the Rev. Lyman Beecher and sister of the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, which did much to strengthen the anti-slavery sentiment in the North.

As already observed, the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches of the United States were divided on the slavery question, into the Methodist Church North and the Methodist Church South, and the Presbyterian Church North and the Presbyterian Church South.

Ten Years' Struggle.

The ten years following the Compromise of 1850 were signalized by greater aggressions on the part of the slave power and greater resistance on the part of the anti-slavery elements than in any preceding period. The aspect of this ten years' struggle varied constantly, and it was characterized by uncertainty and many vicissitudes from beginning to end; and finally, as we shall see, the conflicting passions exploded in the most gigantic civil war on record.

Temporary Success of the Compromise.

At first the Compromise of 1850 appeared to be successful. Fugitive slaves were arrested and reënslaved. Slavery in the District of Columbia remained unmolested. The new Territories of New Mexico and Utah were opened to slaveholders and their human chattels. True, the South complained that her interests had been sacrificed; and South Carolina held a State convention in 1851 to consider the expediency of secession; while in the same year the question of secession was made an issue in the State election in Mississippi, in which the Union candidate for Governor, United States Senator Henry Stuart Foote, was elected over Jefferson Davis, the secessionist candidate. On the other hand, the anti-slavery people of the North considered themselves humiliated and the Nation disgraced by the concessions that had been made to the slave power, and they would have unmade them without delay if such a proceeding would have been possible. But the American people generally accepted the situation, and both the Whig and Democratic parties were pledged to the execution of the Compromise of 1850.

Filibustering Expeditions.

Connected with the slavery question and as a part of the aim of some of the pro-slavery men of the South for the extension of the area of slavery in the United States were filibustering expeditions and raids against Spain's island of Cuba and against the little republics of Central America at various times during the ten years from 1851 to 1861. These expeditions always were led by lawless men and adventurers.

Raids on Cuba and Diplomatic Correspondence.

In 1851 General Lopez, a native Cuban, and Colonel William L. Crittenden, of Kentucky, led filibustering expeditions from the United States against Cuba to free that island from the Spanish yoke; but they were captured and put to death. These filibustering expeditions led to a diplomatic correspondence between the United States and several European powers; and Great Britain and France proposed that the United States should enter into a treaty with them to discountenance all attempts to wrest Cuba from Spain by force or violence; but in December, 1852, Edward Everett, Daniel Webster's successor as Secre-

tary of State in President Fillmore's Cabinet, plainly informed Great Britain and France that the question was an American one and not a European one, and that the United States, while disclaiming any intentions of aggression, could not with indifference see Cuba fall into the possession of any other power than Spain.

Fisheries Dispute. In 1852 there was a dispute between the United States and Great Britain concerning the Newfoundland fisheries, and both nations sent armed vessels there; but the trouble was soon settled, and American fishermen were allowed the right to catch fish in the waters of the British possessions at a distance of three miles from the shore, in accordance with the Treaty of 1818.

Kossuth's Visit. In 1852 Louis Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot leader, visited the United States to plead the cause of his oppressed country, and he was welcomed everywhere by the American people. The Chevalier Hulseman, the Austrian Minister at Washington, protested against Kossuth's reception by Congress.

Arctic Explorations. The attention of the American people was directed to Arctic exploration. In 1845 Sir John Franklin, a brave English seaman and explorer, sailed on a voyage of discovery in the North Polar seas. After he had been gone five years without any tidings being received from him, and the various expeditions sent in search of him having failed to find him or his crew, Moses Hicks Grinnell, of New York, sent an expedition under Lieutenant De Haven in 1850; but this expedition also failed to find the missing navigator. In 1853 another expedition was sent by Grinnell and the United States government, under the command of Dr. Elisha Kent Kane. Sir John Franklin was not found; but a circumpolar sea was discovered, but useless for navigation; and Captain McClure, of the British navy, discovered a North-west passage from Baffin's Bay to Behring's Strait in 1852.

Perry's Expedition to Japan. In 1852 a United States naval expedition under Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry, a brother of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry, the hero of Lake Erie, was sent to Japan to open commercial intercourse between that eastern empire and the United States.

Election of Pierce. As both the Whig and Democratic parties accepted the Compromise of 1850, the Presidential election of 1852 was a remarkably quiet one. It resulted in the choice of the Democratic nominees, Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire, for President, and William Rufus King, of Alabama, for Vice President, by an overwhelming majority over the Whig candidates, General Winfield Scott, of New York, for President, and William Alexander Graham, of North Carolina, for Vice President. John Parker Hale, of New Hampshire, an able man, who had distinguished himself in Congress as an anti-slavery man, and George Washington Julian, of Indiana, were the Presidential and Vice Presidential

candidates respectively of the Free Soil, or Free Democratic party, which was opposed to the extension of slavery into the Territories of the United States, whose comparatively small vote was only one-half of what it had been four years previously. This was the last campaign of the Whig party, which was unable to rally from General Scott's overwhelming defeat, and whose great leaders, Henry Clay, Daniel Webster and John Quincy Adams, were now in their graves. General Scott carried but four States—Vermont, Massachusetts, Kentucky and Tennessee—two Free States and two Slave States; so the result of the election was in no wise sectional.

Washington Territory.

In 1853 the northern half of Oregon Territory was erected into a new Territory called Washington, then including the present State of that name, along with the northern part of Idaho and the western portion of Montana, thus extending from the Rocky Mountains westward to the Pacific Ocean.

President Pierce, A. D. 1853–1857.

Franklin Pierce was inaugurated President on March 4, 1853. For a time, during the earlier part of his administration, another war between the United States and Mexico seemed inevitable. The fertile Mesilla Valley was claimed by both the Territory of New Mexico and the Mexican State of Chihuahua; and Santa Anna, who had again become President of Mexico early in 1853, caused Chihuahua to take armed possession of the disputed territory. The dispute was settled in the summer of the same year, the United States purchasing the Mesilla Valley from Mexico by the payment of ten million dollars. As this treaty was negotiated with the Mexican government by General James Gadsden, the United States Minister to Mexico, this settlement is generally called the *Gadsden Purchase*.

Gadsden Purchase.

Captain Ingraham and Martin Koszta.

In the summer of 1853 an event occurred in the Eastern Mediterranean which increased the respect for the American flag abroad. Martin Koszta, a Hungarian refugee, who had become a naturalized American citizen, had been seized and taken on board an Austrian vessel in the harbor of Smyrna, in Asiatic Turkey. Captain Ingraham, in command of the United States sloop-of-war *St. Louis*, then in that harbor, demanded the release of the refugee, and when his demand was not complied with he cleared his vessel for action, whereupon Koszta was promptly released and came on board the *St. Louis*. Captain Ingraham said: "I cannot fail; my cause is just." He was sustained by his government, and his bold and decisive action was applauded in America and Europe. He was a South Carolinian and served in the Confederate navy during the Great Civil War of 1861–65. The Austrian government protested against Captain Ingraham's proceeding; and the Chevalier Hulseman, the Austrian Minister at Washington, demanded reparation.

Kansas-Nebraska Act and Repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

The agitation of the slavery question was revived suddenly, in the beginning of 1854, by a bill reported in the United States Senate by Stephen Arnold Douglas, of Illinois, an able Democratic statesman and Chairman of the Senate Committee on Territories, proposing the organization of the vast region between the Missouri river and the Rocky Mountains into two large Territories, one to be named Kansas and the other Nebraska, and leaving the people of those Territories to decide for themselves whether or not they would have slavery within their borders; as stated by the bill, the Territories being organized on "the principle established by the Compromise of 1850," namely, "that all questions relating to slavery in the Territories and in the new States to be formed therefrom are to be left to the decision of the people residing therein," or, as it was likewise called, "the principle of non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the States and Territories." Even in its original shape, the passage of this bill would, in effect, annul the Missouri Compromise; and for this reason it was opposed violently in the Free States, where the greatest excitement prevailed and where public meetings were held by men of all parties to protest against the measure. Still, in spite of anti-slavery opposition, Senator Douglas pressed his bill; and, to give free play to "the principle of non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the States and Territories," three weeks after the introduction of his bill he offered an amendment to the bill by which the Missouri Compromise, "being inconsistent with non-intervention," was "declared inoperative and void." In the face of all Northern opposition, the Kansas-Nebraska bill, with the amendment explicitly repealing the Missouri Compromise, was passed by the Senate in March, 1854, and by the House of Representatives two months later, May, 1854; thus opening up to the introduction of slavery the vast region that had been promised to freedom as compensation for the admission of Missouri as a Slave State a third of a century before, and thus again reviving the most bitter sectional feeling between the North and the South.

Kansas and Nebraska Territories.

As thus organized, the new Territory of Kansas embraced the region occupied by the present State of that name and the country west of that to the Rocky Mountains, thus including a great part of the eastern portion of the present State of Colorado, the fortieth parallel of north latitude separating the Territory from the other new Territory, Nebraska, which extended from the fortieth parallel northward to the forty-ninth parallel, thus comprising all the immense domain between Kansas Territory on the south and the British possessions on the north and between the Missouri and White Earth Rivers on the east and the Rocky Mountains on the west. By the erection of these two new Territories, the Indian Territory was reduced to the limits occupied by the

later Indian and Oklahoma Territories after the organization of Oklahoma Territory in 1890.

Immigration to Kansas Territory.

The pro-slavery men of the Slave States now determined to make Kansas slave territory by colonizing it with emigrants from their section of the Union, while the anti-slavery men of the Free States resolved to secure the Territory to freedom by peopling it with settlers holding their views. A heavy emigration to Kansas at once set in from both the Free and the Slave States, thus taking the question of slavery or freedom in the new Territory from the hands of politicians to those of the people. Immigrants from the neighboring State of Missouri, calling themselves *Sons of the South*, but called *Border Ruffians* by the anti-slavery people, entered Kansas, not so much to settle in the new Territory as to get possession of all the best land and to control the elections whenever such would be held. Where these Slave State men located, there the Free State men, mainly New Englanders, called *Abolitionists* by the pro-slaverites, came to colonize as well as to control Kansas, so that in the future the new Territory might be prepared to enter the Union as a Free State. As these New England immigrants had left their former homes over a thousand miles distant, and had to encounter many troubles from the Missourians, besides the usual inconveniences attending settlers in a new country, an association was organized to aid them, with its headquarters in Boston. Time soon showed the necessity for such aid, as a grave crisis had arrived for Kansas and for the entire Nation. It was felt that as the issue of slavery or freedom was decided in Kansas, so it would be decided in Nebraska and in any future Territories. The issue was: "No freedom outside the Free States; no slavery outside the Slave States." This issue involved the future peace and security of the Nation.

Grave Crisis

Ostend Manifesto.

While the slave power sought to strengthen itself by extending its area in the domestic domain of the United States, foreign territory was in quest for the same purpose, longing eyes being cast on Spain's valuable island of Cuba with that aim. The seizure of the United States steamer *Black Warrior* by the Spanish authorities in Cuba, in February, 1854, led to trouble with Spain; but the difficulty was settled amicably. As a sequel to this settlement, three United States Ministers in Europe—James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, in Great Britain; James Murray Mason, of Virginia, in France, and Pierre Soulé, of Louisiana, in Spain—held a conference at Ostend, in Belgium, in October, 1854, when they issued the celebrated *Ostend Manifesto*, in which they made a plea for the unrighteous doctrine that *might makes right*, in these words: "If Spain, actuated by stubborn pride and a false sense of honor, should refuse to sell Cuba to the United States, and Cuba, being in her possession, should seriously endanger our internal

peace, * * * then, by every law, human and divine, we shall be justified in wresting it from Spain, if we possess the power."

Exploring Expeditions. During Pierce's administration naval expeditions were sent by the United States government to explore the North Pacific Ocean, between the Pacific shores of America and Asia. Land expeditions were sent across the continent to explore routes for railroads to the Pacific Ocean.

Treaty with Japan. In the summer of 1854 a treaty of commerce and friendship was negotiated with the Emperor of Japan by Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry, on the part of the United States government.

With Great Britain. During the same year a *Reciprocity Treaty* was concluded between the United States and Great Britain, by which almost free commerce was established between the United States and the British North American provinces.

Hawaiian Islands. At the same time the government of the Sandwich, or Hawaiian Islands, under the influence of American missionaries, was seeking annexation to the United States; but the death of the old king, in December, 1854, put an end to the negotiations. In 1854 a World's Fair was held in the Crystal Palace in New York city.

American, or Know-Nothing Party. In 1854 a new political organization, called the *American*, or *Know-Nothing Party*, whose leading principle was "Americans shall govern America," sprung up very suddenly and carried some of the State elections of that year; but this party collapsed as suddenly as it had arisen, in consequence of the overshadowing importance of the slavery issue. This party was called American because of its opposition to foreigners and foreign influence in American politics. It was called Know-Nothing from the secret Know-Nothing lodges which secretly organized the party. The *Native American Party*, with the same principles, had existed ten years before.

Dismissal of British Officials. In 1855 the United States had disputes with foreign nations. Great Britain was offended because President Pierce dismissed the British Minister at Washington and the British consuls at New York, Philadelphia and Cincinnati for violating the United States neutrality laws by enlisting men in the United States for the British army in the Crimean War.

Walker's Raid in Nicaragua. Spain was offended because of the repeated filibustering expeditions of lawless men from the United States to seize her island of Cuba. The Central American states were offended because of the filibustering expedition under William Walker, of California, who invaded Nicaragua in the summer of 1855 and was allowed to open diplomatic relations with the United States government. Walker was driven out of Nicaragua in the spring of 1857, but he afterward returned, whereupon he was captured and shot.

The United States government did very little to suppress these aggressions against friendly neighbors, and United States naval officers

even afforded the filibusters encouragement and support. Thus Captain Hollins, with a United States war vessel, afforded aid to the filibusters by bombarding Greytown, a town of Nicaragua under British protection, in 1854. This outrageous and unprovoked attack by Captain Hollins threatened to involve the United States in trouble with Great Britain. Captain Hollins served in the Confederate navy during the Great Civil War of 1861–65.

Hollins's Attack on Greytown.

During the winter of 1855–56 the Indians of Oregon and Washington Territories, incensed at the bad conduct of government agents and speculators, made war on the white settlers, defeated the United States troops sent against them and massacred several white families. General Wood led troops against them, and the war ended in the summer of 1856.

Indian War in Oregon and Washington.

In the meantime the slavery agitation continued in all its intensity, and Kansas Territory was the scene of exciting occurrences. The first elections were carried by the pro-slavery people, as hundreds of lawless men from Missouri invaded the Territory, took possession of the polls, voted, carried the elections and then returned to their Missouri homes. Lawrence, the principal New England settlement, had only three hundred and sixty-nine legal voters; but in the election for members of the Territorial Legislature in March, 1855, seven hundred and eighty-one votes were cast for the pro-slavery candidates by a band of Missourians who had arrived the previous evening and encamped on the suburbs of the town, with arms and cannon. The elections resulted in the choice of a pro-slavery Territorial Legislature, but the anti-slavery settlers were not overwhelmed by their defeat. The Governor of the Territory —Andrew Horatio Reeder, of Pennsylvania—though appointed by President Pierce in the pro-slavery interest, sided with the anti-slavery settlers and declared himself strongly in favor of making Kansas a Free State.

The Slavery Struggle in Kansas.

In October, 1855, a Free State constitution for Kansas was framed at Topeka by the anti-slavery settlers, but with no hope of its going into operation at that time. In March, 1856, a special committee of the National House of Representatives, sent to Kansas to investigate the affairs of the Territory, reported that the elections had been carried by organized invasion; that the Territorial Legislature was constituted illegally, and that the Topeka, or Free State constitution expressed the sentiment of the majority of the people of the Territory. Thereupon the House of Representatives voted in favor of the admission of Kansas into the Union as a Free State, but the Senate refused to concur.

Congressional Report

In May, 1856, civil war broke out in Kansas between the opposing elements; and the struggle raged violently and destructively, though irregularly and intermittently, for four months, until September of the

Civil War in Kansas.

same year. On May 21st Lawrence was attacked by a body of Missourians, South Carolinians and Georgians, who sacked the printing offices and fired the Free State hotel. Other towns and villages suffered the same treatment, and a few skirmishes occurred. The Nation was alarmed by the very existence of this Territorial struggle, as it was feared that this miniature civil war might extend beyond the borders of Kansas.

Assault upon Senator Sumner.

Meanwhile the feeling between members of Congress from the Slave States and those from the Free States was most intense, and at various times between 1850 and 1860 duels and violent encounters were threatened. Finally, late in May, 1856, the whole North was aroused by an aggravated assault upon Senator Sumner. Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, was elected to the United States Senate in 1851 as a Free Soiler by the Legislature of his State. From the time of his entrance into the Senate he championed the principles of freedom for the Territories, often alone, sometimes with a few adherents. At the breaking out of the civil war in Kansas he delivered a speech which he entitled "The Crime against Kansas," and in which he mercilessly denounced the pro-slavery party in that Territory and its supporters, May 19-20, 1856. Two days later, May 22, 1856—the day after the attack on Lawrence, Kansas—as Mr. Sumner was sitting at his desk, after the adjournment of the Senate, he was assaulted from behind, beaten over the back and head and thrown on the floor in an insensible condition, by Preston S. Brooks, a Representative in Congress from South Carolina, who was abetted by another South Carolina Representative and a Representative from Virginia. The assailant was fined three hundred dollars by a Washington court and was censured by the House of Representatives, whereupon he resigned his seat and was reëlected by his constituents, but he died at Washington soon afterward, January 27, 1857. Senator Sumner's term soon expired, but he was reëlected for another term with little opposition, largely because of the assault upon him. He was seriously injured by the assault, and he never fully recovered from its effects.

New Republican Party.

The repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the growing determination in the Free States to prevent the extension of slavery led to the formation of a new political organization, called the *Republican Party*, whose leading principle was opposition to the extension of slavery into the Territories of the Republic. The Democratic party had become the great defender of the slave power, holding that Congress had no right to prohibit the extension of slavery. The Whig party had gone to pieces, partly on account of its overwhelming defeat in the Presidential campaign of 1852, and partly because it was afraid to take a decided stand for or against the extension of slavery. Parties were

thus completely reorganized on the new issue which the slavery question forced into American politics in spite of the efforts and the disgust of politicians. The tariff and other economic questions, which had been the issues between the Whig and Democratic parties, were cast into the shade by the overwhelming moral issue of the slavery question. The Democratic party was now composed of the pro-slavery Democrats and was joined by the pro-slavery Whigs. The old Free Soilers and the anti-slavery Whigs and Democrats constituted the new Republican party, which existed only in the Free States. It was simply the old Free Soil party with a new name and grown to immense proportions. The Liberty party of 1840 and 1844, with James Gillespie Birney as its Presidential candidate, was the first party with the same views against slavery extension.

Its Founders and Leaders.

The founders and leaders of the new Republican party were such able statesmen and United States Senators as William Henry Seward of New York, Charles Sumner and Henry Wilson of Massachusetts, Salmon Portland Chase and Benjamin Franklin Wade of Ohio and Lyman Trumbull of Illinois, and many able men in the House of Representatives; besides others out of Congress, among whom were Horace Greeley, editor and founder of the *New York Tribune*, Henry Jarvis Raymond, editor of the *New York Times*, and others. The great pulpit orator, the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, was a great champion of the anti-slavery sentiment which his distinguished sister, Mrs. Harriet Elizabeth Beecher Stowe, had done so much to create by her famous work, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which appeared in the early fifties and which painted the institution of slavery in the darkest colors. Among prominent anti-slavery men in the Slave States was Cassius Marcellus Clay, of Kentucky, son of General Green Clay, of the War of 1812, and a relative of Henry Clay.

Presidential Campaign of 1856 and Election of Buchanan.

The Republican party, which had its entire strength in the Free States, in its first National Convention in Philadelphia, June 17, 1856, nominated Colonel John Charles Fremont, of California—"the Pathfinder"—for President, and William Lewis Dayton, of New Jersey, for Vice President. But before this the other two parties had made their nominations, the American party first being in the field. The Democratic party, which had its chief strength in the Slave States, in its National Convention, in Cincinnati, June 5, 1856, nominated James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, for President, and John Cabell Breckinridge, of Kentucky, for Vice President. The American, or Know-Nothing party, which was opposed to foreign influence in American affairs, in a National Convention in Philadelphia, February 22, 1856, nominated ex-President Millard Fillmore, of New York, for President, and Andrew Jackson Donelson, of Tennessee, for Vice President. The

campaign was an exciting one; and the election resulted in the choice of Buchanan and Breckinridge, who carried all the Slave States but Maryland, with five Free States—New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Illinois and California. Fremont and Dayton carried the other eleven Free States, namely, the six New England States, and New York, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin and Iowa. Fillmore and Donelson carried but one State—Maryland. Slave States that formerly had been Whig were now Democratic, and Free States that formerly had been Democratic were now Republican. The Liberty party had polled but a small vote in 1840 and 1844. The Free Soil party polled about three hundred thousand votes in 1848, but only half that many in 1852. The new Republican party, the legitimate successor and heir of the principles of these two small parties, polled over thirteen hundred thousand votes in 1856.

President Buchanan, A. D. 1857–1861.

James Buchanan was inaugurated on March 4, 1857, fifteenth President of the United States. He was an able statesman and had been in public life since the War of 1812, the period when Clay, Webster and Calhoun first entered public life. He was first a Federalist, and as such he had been a member of the House of Representatives for a decade. He was afterward United States Senator for several terms as a Democrat. He was Minister to Russia in 1831; Secretary of State in President Polk's Cabinet, and Minister to England under President Pierce.

Dred Scott Decision.

Two days after President Buchanan's inauguration, March 6, 1857, the Supreme Court of the United States rendered the famous *Dred Scott Decision*, delivered by Chief Justice Roger Brooke Taney, all the Associate Justices concurring, excepting Justices McLean and Curtis, who gave dissenting opinions. The negro Dred Scott once had been a slave in Missouri and afterwards was taken by his master into the Free States of Illinois and Minnesota. After having married on free soil and having had one child born there, he was taken back to the Slave State of Missouri with his wife and child. Some time afterward he sued for freedom for himself and his family, on the ground of having been taken by his master into a Free State. The Missouri State Circuit Court decided in his favor, but his master appealed to the State Supreme Court, which decided in the master's favor. Dred Scott then appealed to the United States Circuit Court, which also decided in the master's favor. The negro next appealed to the United States Supreme Court, which decided that it had no jurisdiction in this case, because slaves, not being citizens of the United States, could not sue in the United States Courts, and that neither negro slaves nor freed negro slaves, nor their descendants, could become citizens of the United States, the Chief Justice reciting the status of the negro under the Articles of

Confederation, the National Constitution and the State Constitutions, maintaining that our Revolutionary fathers did not include the negro when they defined the rights of mankind; that they considered him far inferior to the white man, and that the negro "had no rights which the white man was bound to respect." Along with this decision was rendered an extra-judicial opinion that the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional, and that, under the Constitution of the United States, slaveholders have a right to take their slaves with them into the Territories of the United States and to own them there as their property. This decision aroused still further the anti-slavery sentiment in the North. The decision was sustained by the administration and the Democratic party, because it was the decision of the United States Supreme Court. The Republican party opposed the decision on the ground that it was intrinsically wrong and because it included points not properly before the Court. By this decision the Judicial Department of the National government was committed to slavery, as were the Executive and Legislative Departments already, excepting at times the House of Representatives.

Mormon Rebellion in Utah.

Early in 1857 the Mormons in the Territory of Utah threatened to rebel against the National government, because Congress refused to admit their Territory as a State of the Union. They destroyed the records of the United States District Court in their Territory and were guilty of other revolutionary proceedings, besides looking to Brigham Young for all laws. President Buchanan appointed Colonel Cumming to the office of Governor of the Territory and sent a body of United States troops under Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston to enforce the laws of the United States and to suppress any attempt at rebellion in Utah. When the troops arrived the Mormons concluded to obey the laws, and the difficulty was settled without bloodshed. An incident of this Mormon rebellion was the famous Mountain Meadow massacre of Gentiles under the direction of the Mormon leader, John D. Lee, who was not apprehended for twenty years, when finally he was tried, convicted and shot under military forms, in 1877.

Dispute with Paraguay.

The United States had slight difficulties with foreign nations in 1857 and 1858. The United States vessel *Waterwitch* was fired upon by the troops of Paraguay, in South America, while she was ascending the Paraguay river. A United States naval expedition under Commodore Shubrick obtained satisfaction from the Paraguayan government, and the matter was settled.

British War Vessels.

In the summer of 1858 the crews of British war vessels in the Gulf of Mexico engaged in the suppression of the African slave trade boarded about forty American merchantmen suspected of being slavers, but the British government itself put a stop to the actions of its crews, and all trouble passed away.

Panic of 1857.

During the fall of 1857—twenty years after the last general financial and business panic—another disastrous financial and commercial crisis swept over the United States, causing widespread business ruin and social distress. Like the panic of 1837, that of 1857 was caused by imprudent and not strictly honest speculation. Specie payments were again suspended, and all material interests were affected very seriously.

The Kansas Struggle.

The Dred Scott Decision aroused the agitation of the slavery question in all its intensity, and the greatest excitement prevailed in the Free States. During 1857 measures were taken for the admission of Kansas into the Union as a State. A State constitution which excluded slavery from Kansas was framed at Topeka by the anti-slavery party, while the pro-slavery party framed a constitution at Lecompton tolerating slavery within the Territory. Although the people of Kansas rejected the pro-slavery constitution, in January, 1858, by over ten thousand majority, President Buchanan, in a message to Congress, recommended its acceptance by that body. Congress, however, decided that it should be left to a vote of the people of the Territory, who again rejected it by almost ten thousand majority. In a message to Congress, in 1859, alluding to the question of slavery in the Territories, President Buchanan said: "Neither Congress nor a Territorial Legislature, nor any human power, has any authority to annul or impair this vested right." Finally, on January 29, 1861, Kansas was admitted into the Union as a Free State. Two other Free States were admitted into the Union during Buchanan's administration—Minnesota, May 14, 1858, and Oregon, in February, 1859. Minnesota embraced the eastern half of the original Minnesota Territory, the western half forming the eastern part of the subsequent Dakota Territory. Oregon comprised the western half of Oregon Territory, the eastern half being annexed to Washington Territory and afterward forming the southern part of Idaho. The Territories of Dakota, Colorado and Nevada were erected March 2, 1861, two days before the close of Buchanan's administration.

Kansas a Free State.

Minnesota and Oregon.

Growth of Anti-Slavery Sentiment.

While the President, the Supreme Court and the Senate of the United States were committed to the side of slavery, the anti-slavery sentiment was growing in the Free States, and many of these State governments had become anti-slavery. Northern public sentiment had been moved deeply by all phases of the irrepressible slavery question. The Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 was still obnoxious to the great body of the people of the Free States; and ever since the passage of the law, to guard against any abuses of the law by the kidnaping of free negroes, the Legislatures of all the New England States and of New York, Ohio, Michigan and Wisconsin passed what were called *Personal Liberty*

Personal Liberty Laws.

Laws, which forbade State officers to aid in arresting or imprisoning fugitive slaves. These State laws greatly offended the people of the Slave States, who regarded their enactment as showing a lack of good faith on the part of the people of the North in carrying out the Compromise Act of 1850.

Attempts to Revive the Slave Trade.

During Buchanan's administration efforts were made by a few influential individuals in the Slave States to reopen the African slave trade, and native Africans were landed on the coasts of the Southern States in defiance of the laws. In Louisiana attempts were made to legalize the trade under what was called the "African Apprentice System," and the Grand Jury of Savannah openly protested against the laws when obliged to find bills against some persons engaged in the illegal slave trade. These proceedings increased the slavery agitation and strengthened the Republican party, the great opponent of the extension of slavery into the Territories of the United States.

Southern Commercial Convention.

In May, 1858, a Southern commercial convention was held at Montgomery, the capital of Alabama, in which a committee reported in favor of reopening the African slave trade by the repeal of all laws, State and National, against the traffic; but the majority of the convention voted to lay the report on the table, as it did not then suit most slaveholders to depreciate the market value of their slave property by importing fresh slave material from Africa. Thus, in this instance slaveholding self-interest prevented the revival of a traffic in human beings which the enlightened sentiment of the civilized world and the laws of civilized nations had declared against.

Helper's "Impending Crisis."

In the meantime the anti-slavery sentiment of the North had received a powerful impetus by the publication and circulation of a book called *The Impending Crisis*, written by a young Southern man, Hinton Rowan Helper, of North Carolina—a book in which the evils, the debasing influences and the demoralizing effects of the institution of chattel slavery upon the Nation were depicted in the strongest colors. This book produced a sensation in the Nation in the late fifties similar to Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in the early fifties. Helper's *Impending Crisis* was circulated very extensively in the North, but was tabooed and banned in the South, and so bitter and vindictive was the spirit which it engendered in the Slave States that Southern members of the National House of Representatives gave vent to the most vehement opposition to the candidacy of John Sherman, of Ohio, for the Speakership of the House, in December, 1859, because he had subscribed for Helper's famous book.

Lincoln-Douglas Debates.

In the meantime Abraham Lincoln, a hitherto comparatively unknown lawyer of Springfield, Illinois, had attracted the attention of the Nation by his joint debates with Senator Douglas in a canvass of

Illinois for the United States Senatorship in 1858, a canvass which resulted in the election of a Douglas Democratic Legislature. Though Mr. Lincoln was defeated in his Senatorial aspirations, his position as the competitor of the author of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise brought him prominently before the American people as a great anti-slavery leader. In his speech at his home city in June, 1858, he said prophetically: "I believe this government cannot permanently endure half slave and half free." His friends entreated him to suppress his prediction, but he refused to do so, and in later times he pronounced it one of his wisest actions. Shortly afterward—October, 1858—William Henry Seward, one of New York's United States Senators and the great leader of the Republican party, in a speech at Rochester, in his own State, made a similar prediction in these words: "It is an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces, and it means that the United States must and will, sooner or later, become either entirely a slaveholding nation or entirely a free-labor nation."

Lincoln's and Seward's Predictions.

John Brown and His Raid in Missouri.

One of the leading anti-slavery men of Kansas was John Brown, a descendant of Peter Brown, one of the Pilgrim Fathers who came from England in the *Mayflower*, and a grandson of John Brown, a Revolutionary soldier. He had figured in the civil wars in Kansas Territory, and from the part he bore in the "battle of Osawatomie" he was called "Brown of Osawatomie." Early in 1858 he told his friends in New England that he intended to make raids in Slave States to liberate slaves. At the end of the same year—December, 1858—he made a raid on the borders of Missouri, in which he liberated eleven slaves by taking them to Canada, accomplishing this feat, as he said, "without the snapping of a gun on either side." Although his act was disapproved even by his neighbors in Kansas, his success in this instance encouraged him to make a similar attempt in Virginia a year later.

His Raid in Virginia and His Execution.

Brown had declared: "Twenty men in the Alleghenies could break slavery to pieces in two years." Accordingly, he made his foolish raid in Virginia in the fall of 1859, to liberate the slaves of that State. On Sunday night, October 16, 1859, at the head of twenty-one followers, three of them his own sons and five colored men, Brown seized the United States arsenal at Harper's Ferry, intending to arm such slaves as approached. He failed in inciting a slave insurrection, and was overpowered and made prisoner by Virginia militia, sent by Governor Henry Alexander Wise, and by United States troops, under Colonel Robert Edward Lee, sent by President Buchanan. Two of Brown's sons were killed in the fight. Brown was tried and convicted on the charges of treason, murder and inciting slaves to insurrection. Governor Wise signed the death-warrant, and Brown was hanged December 2, 1859, under the laws of Virginia. During his imprisonment he

said: "I never did intend murder, or treason, or the destruction of property, or to excite slaves to rebellion or insurrection." He insisted that his design was "to free the slaves." His act would have been condemned well-nigh universally even in the Free States a few years before, but now it was excused by many anti-slavery people, and it was even admired by some.

Southern Alarm and Congressional Investigation.

John Brown's raid produced intense alarm in Virginia; and Governor Wise informed President Buchanan and the Governors of Maryland, Ohio and Pennsylvania that if another invasion assailed his State he would pursue the invaders into any State and punish them wherever arms could reach them. It was believed in the Slave States that Brown was only the agent of a large party in the Free States who had formed a plot to free all the slaves. During the next session of Congress a committee, with James Murray Mason, of Virginia, the author of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, as chairman, was appointed in the United States Senate to investigate the matter; and Clement Laird Vallandigham, a Democratic Representative in Congress from Ohio, volunteered to prove the charge against the Northern people; but the investigation proved that Brown had no other accomplices than his twenty-one immediate followers.

Northern and Southern Democracy.

The elections of 1858 and 1859 showed a remarkable and growing strength of the Republican party; and the slave power feared that its political control of the Nation would soon end, as the Northern wing of the Democratic, or ruling party, which thus far had sided with the slavery interest, now showed signs of breaking away from that interest, under the leadership of Senator Stephen Arnold Douglas, of Illinois. The Southern leaders were then fully prepared for a rupture with their Democratic brethren in the North, which rupture came about in the Democratic National Convention in Charleston, South Carolina, in the spring of 1860, as we shall now see.

Rupture in the Democratic National Convention of 1860.

The Democratic National Convention assembled in the hall of the South Carolina Institute, at Charleston, April 23, 1860. Caleb Cushing, of Massachusetts, was chairman of the Convention. He, and Benjamin Franklin Butler, also of Massachusetts, were friendly to the Southern interest; and Butler was a great personal and political friend of Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi. The Northern, or Free States wing of the party were the stronger in the Convention; and their choice for President was Senator Douglas, on a platform of the Douglas principle of "Popular Sovereignty," as enunciated in the Democratic National Convention which nominated Buchanan and Breckinridge at Cincinnati in 1856. The Southern, or Slave States wing of the party, the weaker in the Convention, wanted a platform recognizing slavery as a National institution and the right of slave-

holders to carry all their property with them into the Territories. When the Convention, by a large majority, reaffirmed the Douglas doctrine of "Popular Sovereignty," the delegations from the Slave States seceded from the Convention, thus splitting the Democratic party by the wedge of slavery.

The Southern Democracy.

The Democratic delegates from the Slave States met in convention in June, first in Richmond, Virginia, and afterward in Baltimore, where they nominated Vice President John Cabell Breckinridge, of Kentucky, for President, and Joseph Lane, of Oregon, for Vice President, on a platform asserting that neither Congress nor the Legislature or people of a Territory had a right to exclude slavery from such Territory, and that slaveholders had a constitutional right to take their slaves into any Territory of the United States as well as their other property, regardless of the wishes of the people of that Territory.

The Northern Democracy.

The Democratic delegates from the Free States also met in convention in Baltimore in June, and nominated Senator Stephen Arnold Douglas, of Illinois, for President, and James A. Fitzpatrick, of Alabama, for Vice President, on a platform declaring that Congress had no power over slavery in the Territories, but that the people of a Territory had the right to adopt or exclude slavery, as they chose. As the nominee for Vice President declined, Herschell Vespasian Johnson, of Georgia, was substituted instead.

Constitutional Union Party.

A new party, called the *Constitutional Union Party*, in a National Convention in Baltimore, May 10th, nominated John Bell, of Tennessee, for President, and Edward Everett, the great Massachusetts orator and statesman, for Vice President, on a platform ignoring the questions then agitating the public mind, but declaring for "the Constitution, the Union and the enforcement of the laws."

Republican Party.

The Republicans, in their National Convention in Chicago, May 16th, nominated Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, for President, and Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, for Vice President, on a platform maintaining that Congress had the right to exclude slavery from the Territories.

Election of Lincoln.

Thus there were four candidates for the Presidency in 1860—the most exciting Presidential campaign in the Nation's history. The election resulted in favor of Lincoln and Hamlin, who carried all the Free States, excepting New Jersey, and received all but three of the Electoral votes of that State. Douglas and Johnson carried Missouri and also received three Electoral votes from New Jersey. Breckinridge and Lane carried all the Slave States, except Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee, which were carried by Bell and Everett. Though Mr. Lincoln had a majority of the Electors, he was in minority of nearly a million of the popular vote.

Southern Secession Schemes.

Having caused the election of a Republican President by splitting the Democratic party, the Southern Democratic politicians next proceeded to carry out plans to split the Union. No sooner was the election of Mr. Lincoln known throughout the United States than the politicians of the Slave States began to carry out plans which they had long considered, for the secession of their States from the Union, and the establishment, in their section, of an independent confederacy of Slave States. The Southern leaders pleaded the right of revolution and the law of self-preservation in justification of their action, claiming that Mr. Lincoln would be a sectional President, as his entire support came from the Free States; that he was the representative of the abolitionists, who for years had demanded the abolition of slavery, which would have deprived the slaveholders of their rights and their property; and that he would interfere with the domestic institutions of their respective States. The great leaders in the secession movement were Jefferson Davis and Albert Gallatin Brown, of Mississippi; Louis T. Wigfall, of Texas; John Slidell and Judah Philip Benjamin, of Louisiana; William Lowndes Yancey, of Alabama; Howell Cobb and Robert Toombs, of Georgia; James Lawrence Orr, Robert Barnwell Rhett and William Barnwell Rhett, of South Carolina; Thomas L. Clingman, of North Carolina; James Murray Mason and Robert Mercer Taliaferro Hunter, of Virginia. The secession movement was aided by a secret organization called the *Knights of the Golden Circle*, which had existed in the South for several years. The North regarded secession as rebellion, but the South considered it a just movement for Southern independence.

Secession Movement in South Carolina.

As in 1832, South Carolina took the lead in the hostile attitude toward the National government. Never before the Civil War did the people of that State vote for Presidential Electors, as in other States; but the Electors of that State were chosen by its Legislature. The State Legislature met the day before the Presidential election—November 5, 1860—on which day it received a message from Governor Gist recommending the immediate call of a State convention to adopt the only alternative left to them—the secession of the Palmetto State from the Union. Speeches in the Legislature and outside of it echoed the Governor's sentiments. On the day after the Presidential election—November 7, 1860—the news of Mr. Lincoln's election was hailed with wild rejoicing in South Carolina, as it opened the way for that State and the other Slave States to secede from the Union. Five days later—November 12, 1860—the South Carolina Legislature called a State convention to meet in the middle of December.

The Georgia Legislature assembled on November 8, 1860—two days after the Presidential election. Many of its members exhibited im-

Anti-Secession Speech of Stephens in Georgia.

patience to follow the example set by South Carolina in secession from the Union; but others hesitated, and some refused. Nevertheless, a bill was adopted appropriating a million dollars to arm the State, November 13, 1860; and everything seemed to indicate secession. At this point Alexander Hamilton Stephens, an able statesman who had been for many years a Representative in Congress from Georgia, first as a Whig and afterward as a Democrat, appeared before the Legislature, and in a long anti-secession speech he warned the members against proceeding any farther. Said he: "In my judgment, the election of no man, constitutionally chosen to the Presidency, is sufficient cause for any State to separate from the Union. * * * The President can do nothing unless he is backed by power in Congress. The House of Representatives is largely in the majority against Mr. Lincoln. In the Senate he will also be powerless. * * * Why, then, I say, should we disrupt the bonds of this Union when his hands are tied? * * * Let the fanatics of the North break the Constitution if such is their fell purpose; * * * but let not the South, let not us, be the ones to commit the aggression." However, contrary to his own warning, Mr. Stephens proposed a State convention; and four days later—November 18, 1860—the Legislature passed a bill calling for such a convention.

President Buchanan's Message.

Other Slave States were preparing to follow in the footsteps of South Carolina and Georgia; and the whole Nation was in suspense over the menacing situation when Congress convened in regular session and received the last annual message of President Buchanan, December 3, 1860. As few expected relief from it, few were disappointed at its tone, as the popular impression in the North was that the President was powerless in the hands of the Southern politicians. He argued that the election which just had taken place was no adequate cause for the action of South Carolina and other Southern States. But he intimated that such action might be considered as justified by the Personal Liberty Laws of many of the Northern States, and surely could be accounted for by the popular agitation against slavery which for many years had been in progress in the Free States. As for the means to confront the forthcoming crisis, the President thought that Congress had no power to coerce a State, no authority to prevent its secession or to force it to return to the Union. But he believed that Congress could adopt some amendments of the National Constitution and recommend their adoption by the States, securing slavery in the Slave States, likewise in the Territories, and even in the Free States so far as the return of fugitive slaves was concerned. The President's message fell dead as soon as it had been delivered.

Congress at once discussed the situation. The Southern members approved of the action of their constituents, unequivocally and with

pride; while the Northern members faltered, being uncertain of the course of their constituents, either in the immediate present or in the near future; so that the Nation's fate seemed to be hanging in suspense. On December 17, 1860, after the opposing elements had been wrangling in Congress for two full weeks, John Jordan Crittenden, an able United States Senator from Kentucky, laid a joint resolution before the Senate, proposing an amendment of the National Constitution restoring the line of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude as the boundary between the Free States and the Slave States and extending the line to the Pacific coast, and, further, securing the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law and providing that when the law could not be executed the value of the fugitive slave should be paid to the claimant from the United States treasury. This proposed measure was called the *Crittenden Compromise.*

Crittenden Compromise.

On the very day of the proposal of the Crittenden Compromise in the United States Senate—December 17, 1860—the South Carolina State convention assembled at Columbia, the capital of the State, but proceeded to and met at Charleston the next day. Visitors from almost every Slave State and commissioners from Alabama and Mississippi were present to urge haste, only an address from fifty-two members of the Georgia Legislature advising delay, and this address was not made public. Every one felt sure of the result. Said a member of the convention: "The secession of South Carolina is not an event of a day. It is not anything produced by Mr. Lincoln's election or by the non-execution of the Fugitive Slave Law. It has been a matter which has been gathering head for thirty years." Four days later—December 20, 1860—a committee reported and the convention unanimously adopted an ordinance of secession worded thus: "An ordinance to dissolve the Union between the State of South Carolina and the other States united with her under the compact entitled the Constitution of the United States of America." In the evening of the same day Governor Gist and the State Legislature, by invitation, witnessed the signing of the ordinance by every delegate to the convention; and after all had signed the document the president of the convention proclaimed its adoption, declaring that "the State of South Carolina is now and henceforth a free and independent commonwealth." This action of the Palmetto State occasioned the wildest rejoicing within the State and throughout the entire South.

Secession of South Carolina.

The same secession spirit prevailed throughout the entire South, the action of South Carolina being highly applauded and warmly sustained by her sister Slave States. This spirit was left undisturbed by the National administration, which apparently seemed less concerned about the secession of an old State than it had been about the admission

The Secession Spirit and the National Administration.

of a new one. Most of the National officeholders and clerks at Washington from the Southern States were bold and outspoken secessionists, and consequently more was said in the public offices and through the National capital in approval of South Carolina's action than was said against it. As there were several secessionists in the President's Cabinet, the administration seemed to be powerless to stem the tide of secession and the President's hands seemed to be tied. The Secretary of War—John Buchanan Floyd, of Virginia—had been transferring the arms and war material from the forts and arsenals of the Free States to those of the Slave States. The Secretary of the Treasury—Howell Cobb, of Georgia—had been trying to bankrupt the National treasury and destroy the public credit. The Secretary of the Interior—Jacob Thompson, of Mississippi—was also plotting against the Nation.

Major Anderson at Fort Sumter.

The spot where the greatest opposition was displayed against the secession movement was on the coast of the State which led in that movement, where a gallant United States military representative made a stand to protect and defend the National government's property. This army officer was Major Robert Anderson, of Kentucky, who, for two months, had been in command of a garrison of less than ninety United States troops, including a band, at Fort Moultrie, less than four miles from Charleston. After the calling of the secession State convention he asked the War Department at Washington to be allowed to occupy Castle Pinckney, near Charleston, and Fort Sumter, on an island in the harbor, three and a half miles from the city. Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott, as commander-in-chief of the United States army, advised compliance with Major Anderson's request, but the majority of the President's Cabinet refused; whereupon the Secretary of State—Lewis Cass, of Michigan—resigned in indignation and disgust. After the adoption of the secession ordinance Major Anderson wrote to the Secretary of War suggesting Fort Sumter as a stronger position than the one he held at Fort Moultrie. As he received no reply from the War Department, he acted on his own responsibility by moving his garrison, with the women and children belonging to them, to Fort Sumter on the evening of December 26, 1860.

Effect of His Action.

Major Anderson's occupation of Fort Sumter aroused the indignation of the South Carolinians. Said one of the Charleston newspapers: "He has opened war." Said another: "His holding Fort Sumter is an invasion of South Carolina." South Carolina troops immediately took possession of Fort Moultrie and Castle Pinckney, strengthened these posts and erected batteries to reduce Fort Sumter. The seceded State also seized the National government's property there, such as the postoffice, the custom house and the revenue cutter. President

Buchanan said that South Carolina's action in the matter relieved him of the necessity of ordering Major Anderson to retire from Fort Sumter, as he at first had intended to do. The President's refusal to issue such order caused Secretary of War Floyd to resign from the Cabinet; whereupon Joseph Holt, of Kentucky—a Breckinridge Democrat in the recent Presidential campaign, but a staunch Union man—was appointed in his place. On the last day of the year 1860 the new Secretary of War sent a dispatch to Major Anderson approving his occupation of Fort Sumter as "every way admirable, alike for its humanity and patriotism, as for its soldiership." A week later the National House of Representatives passed a resolution approving Major Anderson's course. The major had taken a step towards preserving the Union.

Star of the West.

Inspired by the action of Major Anderson and under the direction of the new Secretary of War, Buchanan's administration manifested some energy in checking the course of the secessionists of South Carolina. The new Secretary of War resolved upon sending reinforcements to the garrison of Fort Sumter; and, to avoid publicity, these reinforcements were embarked at New York upon a passenger steamer, the *Star of the West*. This steamer arrived off Charleston harbor on January 9, 1861, with its soldiers on board and with the Stars and Stripes waving from its masthead, and endeavored to pass the bar under hatches; but, its mission having been betrayed to the secessionists, the vessel was fired upon from Fort Moultrie and Morris Island and from an armed vessel in the harbor. Being under orders not to fire unless attacked, Major Anderson was unable to interfere; and, as the *Star of the West* could not return fire or pass the batteries, it was obliged to return back to sea the same day.

South Carolina Commissioners.

Immediately after her secession from the Union, South Carolina sent commissioners to Washington to negotiate with the National government for a recognition of the independence of the seceded State. After having many communications with President Buchanan and his Cabinet officials, in which they made certain requests and demands, and in which they scored the President for not having ordered Major Anderson to evacuate Fort Sumter, accusing him of violating certain promises, they finally subsided, the President having refused to honor their last communication with an answer.

Secession of Six Other Slave States.

On the very day of the attack on the *Star of the West* in Charleston harbor—January 9, 1861—Mississippi seceded from the Union, as did four other Slave States during the same month in the following order: Alabama, January 11, 1861; Florida, January 12, 1861; Georgia, January 19, 1861, and Louisiana, January 28, 1861; followed by the secession of Texas, February 1, 1861; thus making seven seceded

States. In all these States the ordinances of secession had been passed by State conventions, but in none of them were the votes of the delegates unanimous, as had been the case in South Carolina. Out of the one hundred delegates in the Alabama convention thirty-nine were cast against secession.

New York Democratic State Convention.

The day before the secession of Texas—January 31, 1861—the New York Democratic State convention assembled at Albany, other parties being represented in the convention. Said the president of the convention, Judge Parker: "We meet here as conservative men. * * * The people of this State demand the peaceful settlement of the questions that have led to disunion. They have a right to insist that there shall be conciliation, concession, compromise." Said Governor Horatio Seymour: "We are advised that if force is to be used it must be exerted against the united South. * * * Let us see if successful coercion by the North is less revolutionary than successful secession by the South." Such was the sentiment of conservative men throughout the country. Though condemning secession, they also condemned every measure designed to resist secession.

Confederate States of America.

On the 4th of February, 1861, delegates from the seceded States met in a Congress at Montgomery, the capital of Alabama, and formed a Southern Confederacy, with the title of the *Confederate States of America*. The flag adopted by this Congress for the new Confederacy consisted of three bars, the upper and lower red, the middle one white, with a blue field containing a circle of seven stars, to represent the seven Confederate States, afterward increased to eleven stars when four more States seceded from the Union and joined the Confederacy. This flag —often spoken of as the "Stars and Bars"—had its colors of red, white and blue borrowed from the "Stars and Stripes," just as the Constitution of the Confederacy was borrowed from the Constitution of the United States.

"Stars and Bars."

Jefferson Davis and Alexander Hamilton Stephens.

On the 9th of February, 1861, the Confederate Congress elected Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, President of the Confederacy, with Alexander Hamilton Stephens, of Georgia, as Vice President. Jefferson Davis was the son-in-law of President Zachary Taylor, under whom he served in the battle of Buena Vista, and had been Secretary of War in President Pierce's Cabinet and United States Senator from Mississippi, and was one of the ablest statesmen of the South. Mr. Davis always had been a secessionist, being a strict disciple of Calhoun; but Mr. Stephens, as we have seen, made a stirring speech against secession in the Georgia Legislature a few months before. His acceptance of the Vice Presidency of the new Confederacy shows how utterly the Union sentiment had been extinguished in the seceded States. The Confederate Cabinet was headed by Judah Philip Benjamin, of Loui-

siana, an able man and a Jew by birth, as Secretary of State. The provisional constitution at first adopted by the Confederate Congress was succeeded by a permanent one, March 11, 1861, which provided for a Congress consisting of a Senate and a House of Representatives, elected in the same manner as the two Houses of the Congress of the United States.

The Confederate Government.

Another fort in the South was saved from falling into the secessionists' hands by the bravery of its commandant. Lieutenant Adam J. Slemmer, at Pensacola, Florida, first occupied Fort McRae; but, fearing an attack by Florida and Alabama troops, he transferred his garrison to Fort Pickens, one of the strongest fortresses on the Gulf coast, which he gallantly held, defying the Confederate troops sent against him.

Slemmer at Fort Pickens.

But another military officer in the South was not so faithful to the National government, and this was the general next in command to Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott. On February 18, 1861, General David Emanuel Twiggs, United States commander in Texas, surrendered his whole force of twenty-five hundred men, and all the military posts and munitions of war in his department, to the authorities of that State. As those troops from the North could not be seduced from their allegiance to the National government, they were permitted to return to their homes.

General Twiggs's Surrender in Texas.

Most of the property of the National government in the seceded States—forts, arsenals, mints, ships and custom houses—were seized by the secessionists, who raised armies to fight for their independence and to defend their States against invasion by United States troops. The only forts remaining in possession of the National government were Fortress Monroe, in South-eastern Virginia; the forts at Key West and the Tortugas, off the southern coast of Florida; Fort Sumter, near Charleston, South Carolina, bravely occupied by Major Robert Anderson; and Fort Pickens, near Pensacola, Florida, gallantly held by Lieutenant Adam J. Slemmer.

Seizure of National Property.

As we have seen, President Buchanan at first was hampered in this emergency, as several of his Cabinet officers who were among the secessionists were doing all in their power to deprive the National government of all means to maintain its authority in the seceded States. John Buchanan Floyd, of Virginia, Secretary of War, transferred the arms from the forts and arsenals in the Free States to those in the Slave States; and Howell Cobb, of Georgia, Secretary of the Treasury, tried to injure the public credit and bankrupt the National treasury. The public offices and even the National army were full of men in sympathy with the secession movement, so that the National government was hampered greatly in resisting this alarming movement.

Secessionist Cabinet Officers.

Secessionist Resignations.

As already observed, the venerable Lewis Cass, of Michigan, Secretary of State, resigned because of disgust at the imbecility of the administration; and Secretaries Floyd and Cobb resigned because of sympathy with the secession movement, as did also Jacob Thompson, of Mississippi, Secretary of the Interior. Most members of both Houses of Congress from the seceded States resigned their offices to take part in the secession movement, as did also most of the United States army and navy officers from the same States.

Reorganization of President Buchanan's Cabinet.

President Buchanan's Cabinet was now reorganized. Jeremiah Sullivan Black, of Pennsylvania, the former Attorney-General, became Secretary of State; Joseph Holt, of Kentucky, the former Postmaster-General, became Secretary of War; John Adams Dix, of New York, became Secretary of the Treasury; Edwin McMasters Stanton, of Pennsylvania, became Attorney-General. Holt, Dix, Stanton—though they had supported Vice President Breckinridge, the candidate of the Slave States for President—were strong Union men and did all in their power to stem the secession movement and infuse vigor into the adminstration. The new Secretary of the Treasury telegraphed to the lieutenant of a revenue cutter at New Orleans to arrest the captain of the cutter, who was a Disunion man, and to assume command of the cutter, and added the words: "If any one attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot."

Concessions in Congress.

For the purpose of averting civil war Congress seemed disposed to make concessions. With the aid of Republican votes, governments tolerating slavery were arranged for the new Territories, thus placing the question at issue in Mr. Lincoln's election beyond his control. Both Houses of Congress adopted a resolution proposing an amendment of the National Constitution prohibiting Congress forever from interfering with slavery in the States in which it existed, and prominent Republicans expressed themselves as willing to bring about a repeal or modification of the Personal Liberty Laws, but without avail.

Peace Convention.

On the 4th of February, 1861, the very day on which the Southern Confederacy was formed at Montgomery, Alabama, an assemblage, known as the *Peace Convention*, met at Washington for the professed purpose of preserving peace and saving the Union. This convention was called on the recommendation of the Virginia Legislature and was presided over by ex-President John Tyler, of Virginia. Twenty-one States were represented; the States not represented being the seven seceded States and Arkansas, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Oregon and California. The Peace Convention had no practical result and its action was not approved by Congress, because it proposed to nationalize slavery by amendments of the National Constitution, as suggested by the *Crittenden Compromise*, offered by John Jordan Critten-

den, of Kentucky, in the United States Senate. The convention was in session during almost the whole of February, adjourning *sine die* on the 27th. Ex-President Tyler afterwards went over to the secessionists.

Siege of Fort Sumter.

Fort Sumter was still bravely held by Major Anderson, who sent away all the women and children near the end of January, 1861. The fort was menaced on all sides by the batteries of the South Carolinians and the Confederate troops from the other seceded States. Thousands of armed foes threatened the gallant little garrison of eighty men inside the besieged fort, to whom no succor had been sent since the *Star of the West* had been driven back. At the close of February, Major Anderson wrote to the War Department that twenty thousand men would be required to reinforce him before his provisions were exhausted.

Jefferson Davis's Remarks.

On his journey to Montgomery—the capital of the Confederate States as well as of Alabama—the President of the Confederacy addressed enthusiastic multitudes, dwelling on their brilliant prospects. Said he: "If war must come it must be upon Northern and not upon Southern soil. * * * We will carry war where it is easy to advance, where food for the sword and torch awaits our armies in the densely-populated cities." But he said that he did not believe the North would fight, while he was sure that all the slaveholding states would join the Confederacy and that their independence would be recognized by Great Britain and France. In his inaugural address he admitted the probability of war, saying: "We have entered upon a career of independence, and it must be inflexibly pursued through many years of controversy with our late associates of the Northern States."

Mr. Stephens's Remark at Savannah.

On March 21, 1861, after returning from Montgonery, Vice President Stephens addressed a large multitude at Savannah, speaking thus of the new Confederate government: "Its foundations are laid; its corner-stone rests upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery is his natural and normal condition. Thus our new government is the first in the history of the world based upon this great physical, philosophical and moral truth. * * * May we not look with confidence to the ultimate universal acknowledgment of the truths upon which our system rests?"

Lincoln's Journey to Washington.

While the President of the so-called Confederate States of America was on his journey to Montgomery the President-elect of the United States was on his way to Washington. Before leaving his home at Springfield, Illinois, Mr. Lincoln made a very affecting speech to his neighbors, saying that he was assuming a burden greater than had been borne by any man before him except Washington and that he must rely upon Divine guidance. As he was traveling on his journey he spoke of the perilous situation, sometimes gayly, but more frequently

gravely, insisting that "nobody is suffering anything" and that "the people on both sides must keep their self-possession."

His Remarks at Independence Hall.

As the President-elect raised the Stars and Stripes over Independence Hall, in Philadelphia, on Washington's Birthday, 1861, he said: "I have often inquired of myself what great principle or idea it was that kept this confederacy so long together. It was not the mere matter of the separation of the colonies from the Mother Country, but that sentiment in the Declaration of Independence which gave liberty not alone to the people of this country, but I hope to the world for all future time. * * * If this country cannot be saved without giving up that principle I was about to say that I would rather be assassinated on this spot than surrender it."

Precautions against Assassination.

It was feared that President-elect Lincoln would be assassinated in Baltimore, no his way to Washington to be inaugurated; but the President-elect took an earlier train than the one he had been expected to take, thus making the journey by night, and he arrived at the National capital unmolested. Fears were entertained that the new President could not be inaugurated without bloodshed. Washington swarmed with secessionists and was surrounded by a population in sympathy with secession. But the public peace was preserved by means of the military collected by the timely precaution of Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott, and the new administration was inaugurated peacefully.

President Lincoln, A. D. 1861–1865.

On the 4th of March, 1861, Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated sixteenth President of the United States. While he was delivering his inaugural address his hat was held by his old Democratic competitor, Senator Douglas, leader of the Northern Democracy, who promised the new President his warmest support in upholding the Union. In his inaugural Mr. Lincoln declared that he had neither the right nor the inclination to interfere with the institution of slavery in any State, that no State could secede from the Union, that ordinances of secession were void and that he would faithfully execute the laws of the Union in all the States; the most striking passage in the address being the following:

Passage from His Inaugural Address.

"We find the proposition that in legal contemplation the Union is perpetual, confirmed by the history of the Union itself. The Union is much older than the Constitution. It was formed, in fact, by the Articles of Association in 1774. It was matured and continued in the Declaration of Independence in 1776. It was further matured, and the faith of all the then thirteen States expressly plighted and engaged that it should be perpetual, by the Articles of Confederation in 1777; and finally in 1787 one of the declared objects for ordaining and establishing the Constitution was to form a more perfect union. But if the destruction of the Union, by one or by a part only of the States, be

LINCOLN AND HIS CABINET

From the Painting by F. B. Carpenter

lawfully possible the Union is less than before. * * * I therefore consider that, in view of the Constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken; and, to the extent of my ability, I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union shall be faithfully executed in all the States. * * * In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you. * * * We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies."

President Lincoln and His Cabinet.

The new President appointed an able Cabinet, with such distinguished statesmen and Republican leaders as William Henry Seward, of New York, for Secretary of State; Salmon Portland Chase, of Ohio, for Secretary of the Treasury, and Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, for Secretary of War. President Lincoln was confronted with difficulties greater than any that ever before beset any Chief Magistrate of the Nation. The National Treasury was embarrassed. The little army of the United States—sixteen thousand men—was on the remote Western frontiers to check the Indians, and the little navy was in distant seas.

Confederate Attempt at Negotiation.

A week after the accession of the new administration two commissioners from the so-called Confederate States of America informed Secretary of State Seward that they were instructed by their government to make overtures for opening negotiations with the United States government. To their letter the Secretary of State replied in a memorandum in which the main point was that he "cannot act upon the assumption, or in any way admit, that the so-called Confederate States constitute a foreign power with whom diplomatic relations ought to be established," March 15, 1861.

Relief of Fort Sumter.

The day after his inauguration President Lincoln and his Cabinet considered the question of furnishing relief to the brave little garrison under Major Anderson at Fort Sumter. General Scott concurred in the major's opinion that twenty thousand men were needed to relieve the garrison, and he stated that the National government had no such force at its control and that it could have none in time to relieve the garrison. The President appeared to have acquiesced for the time, but afterwards he declared that by giving up Fort Sumter was "our national destruction commenced." He sent an officer directly to Major Anderson, who said that he could hold out till the 15th of April. On receiving this assurance, the President resolved to relieve the gallant major. A few days afterward—April 4, 1861—a written order was given, and a message was sent to inform Governor Pickens, of South Carolina, that if provisions were allowed to reach the fort no United States troops would be sent. Several vessels, with both troops and provisions on board, sailed from New York and from Norfolk, Virginia, within the

War Certain.

next few days, not knowing whether they were bringing peace or war; but when they arrived they found war before them, as we shall now see.

SECTION VIII.—THE CIVIL WAR (A. D. 1861-1865).

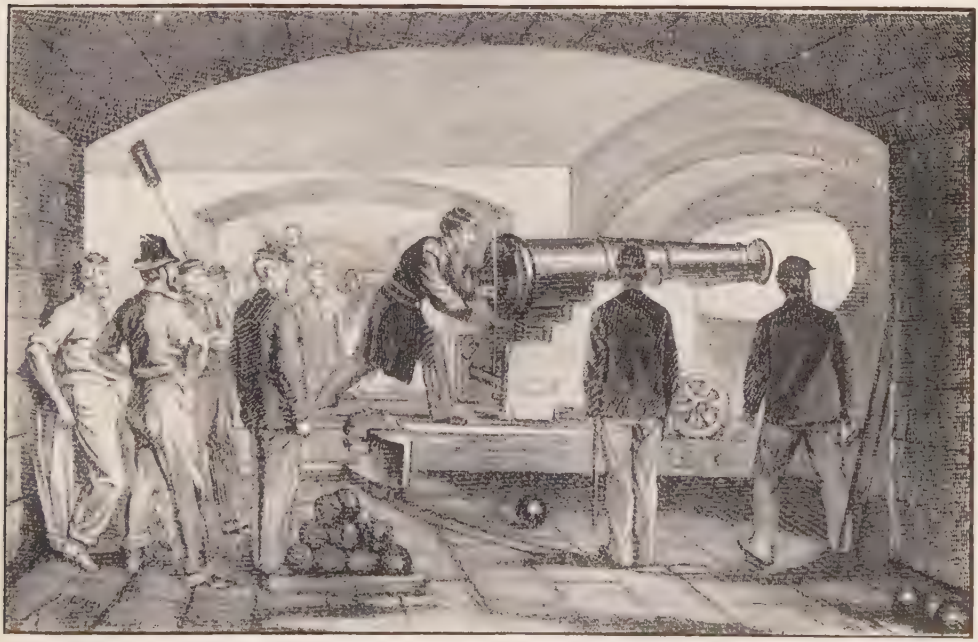
Confederate Army.

The Confederate government at Montgomery had organized an army, officered largely by men who just had resigned their positions in the United States Army. One of these officers, Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard, of Louisiana, was commissioned brigadier-general and was in command of several thousand Confederate troops at Charleston, South Carolina. Beauregard, unmolested by Anderson, had been for weeks fortifying points on the harbor to prevent the entrance of ships, as well as with a view to attacking Fort Sumter if not surrendered. Beauregard telegraphed to President Davis, at Montgomery, the information received from President Lincoln. The Confederate Cabinet was deeply agitated; should they take the awful responsibility of beginning civil war? After two days came a telegram directing Beauregard to demand the surrender of the fort as soon as possible. The demand was made with the promise of facilities for transporting the troops and their private property. Major Anderson courteously refused to surrender his trust, incidentally remarking to the messengers—Beauregard's aids—that his provisions would last only for a few days. This reply was telegraphed to President Davis, who answered: "If Major Anderson will state the time at which, as indicated by him, he will evacuate, and agree that in the meantime he will not use his guns against us, unless ours should be employed against Fort Sumter, you are thus to avoid the effusion of blood." "If this or its equivalent be refused, reduce the fort as your judgment deems to be most practicable." This was in substance communicated to Major Anderson, who replied that unless he had either orders from his government or supplies he would evacuate by noon on the 15th inst. To this the aids answered, that fire would be opened upon Sumter in one hour from that time; the surrender was not wanted, except as inaugurating war —thus "to fire the Southern heart."

Fort Sumter.

Attack on Sumter.

Promptly at the time indicated, April 12th, 4.20 A. M., a mortar on Sullivan's Island gave the signal. This was followed by one gun from each of five batteries and a floating ironclad. After a pause of a few moments fifty guns in concert threw forth their solid shot and shell upon the devoted Sumter and its garrison. No reply was made; the men were ordered out of danger; at six o'clock breakfast was



FORT SUMTER

Upper: The Bombardment Lower: Firing the First Gun from the Fort

served; the men were then detailed under their respective officers, with the intention of relieving each other from time to time. The first detail, under Captain Abner Doubleday, fired the first gun at 7 A. M., when for nearly three hours solid shot had been pouring in, and shells were bursting every minute within the inclosure. The parapet guns, after a few rounds, were left, as the exposure was too great to man them. The men of the second and third details or reliefs refused to wait their turns, but insisted on joining in the fight; and so vigorous were the discharges from Sumter that the enemy thought the fort must have been reinforced. All were inspired with patriotic zeal; even some Irish laborers joined in with their native ardor for a fight. Presently one of the officers heard the report of a gun on the parapet; going to inquire, he found a company of the laborers amusing themselves in that exposed place by firing at the enemy. One of them exclaimed with great glee that he had hit the floating ironclad in the center. The soldiers characterized them as the "Irish Irregulars."

The Fort Replies.

"Irish Irregulars."

During Friday night the mortar batteries kept up their fire to prevent the garrison making repairs, and at dawn all the guns opened. Now were fired red-hot balls, which set the barracks on fire, blew up one magazine, and endangered another. To avoid further danger, ninety barrels of powder were rolled into the sea. The heat and smoke became stifling, yet the brave fellows fought on, breathing through wet cloths. For thirty-four hours had the bombardment lasted, when a boat was seen approaching from Fort Moultrie bearing a white flag. Negotiations began, and Anderson agreed to evacuate the fort. The troops were transferred to the United States steamer *Baltic*, which brought them to New York. Not one of the Union soldiers nor of the enemy was killed in the conflict. From the steamer Major Anderson sent his report to Washington. After describing the ruin of the fort, he says, in conclusion: "The troops marched out with colors flying and drums beating, bringing away company and private property, and saluting their flag with fifty guns."

Surrender of Fort Sumter.

The firing on Fort Sumter fired the Northern as well as the Southern heart. The attack upon the flag and the nation had marvelous effect upon the minds of the people. By this act the secessionists had alienated more or less their most influential friends in the non-slaveholding States. Could they have foreseen the outburst of mingled sorrow and indignation that arose from so many sides they might not have fired upon Fort Sumter when they did. Many former sympathizers with the demands of the slaveholders now were as outspoken in condemnation of the act as those who had for years opposed those demands.

North and South Aroused.

An indescribable emotion pervaded the Northern mind; one impulse seemed to move millions as one man; a quiet determination of purpose took possession of the people more powerful than if it had been demonstrative. At the South excitement ran equally high. The news of the attack and surrender had been sent wherever the telegraph reached, and on the day of evacuation—Sunday, April 14th—the solemnity of the worshipers, North and South, was deep and all-absorbing. Earnest prayers went up from Northern pulpits, and were earnestly responded to from the congregations, prayers for the nation, and for direction in this momentous crisis. This single act in a few short hours had made rival political partisans a band of brothers; prejudices melted away before the heat of an overwhelming love of country, as if men had never reflected upon the blessings of the nation until the attempt was made to destroy its unity. In Charleston hymns and sermons of victory marked the day.

A Solemn Sunday.

On Monday morning came President Lincoln's proclamation calling for seventy-five thousand men to serve for three months to enforce the laws that had been opposed "and their execution obstructed in the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas." An appeal was made to all loyal citizens to maintain the existence, the integrity, and the honor of the Union. Responses to this appeal came at once from the loyal States; volunteers were reported by thousands; especially prompt were the States of Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, New York, and Ohio. These States, anticipating the emergency, by legislative enactment had placed their militia in a condition for prompt action.

President Lincoln's Call for Troops.

From the governors of the Slave States—Kentucky, Missouri, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas—came replies within a few days, all refusing to send their quotas of men; Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee threatening to resist any attempt at "coercion" on the part of the National government. This was believed to be more the sentiment of the individual governors of these States than of the majority of the people. With one exception, the governors of the border States were in favor of the secessionists. So deep-laid were the secessionist plans that at first the National authorities were taken at great disadvantage; the Southern leaders were prepared, and therefore at first were successful. Soon the North and the South both were desperately engaged in the struggle.

Government Unprepared.

Never before in the Free States was there such an exhibition of love of country. The majority of the people were intelligent and familiar with the merits of the question at issue—union or disunion—and acted accordingly. The flag—the symbol of a united nation—became

almost an idol; it floated from church steeples, from public buildings, from private houses, from mastheads; it decorated the shops and offices along the streets; the drayman put it on his horse, and the engineer on his locomotive; while its beautiful colors were blended in rosettes and ribbons worn by matrons and maidens. Such were the manifestations that told how truly the hearts of the people were with their government. The National Flag.

Pennsylvania, being near, was the first State to place men in Washington; six hundred of whom arrived there in four days after the call was issued. Massachusetts was really the first in the field in respect to readiness; her men were finely drilled and armed, and within twenty-four hours after the telegraph brought the call for troops nearly every company of the four regiments called for was in Boston ready to march. The men left their workshops, stores, and farms at a minute's warning. First in the Field.

Brigadier-General Benjamin F. Butler was ordered to Washington with two Massachusetts regiments, the Sixth and Eighth; the Third and Fourth were sent by sea in steamers to Fortress Monroe, securing that important work to the nation. The Sixth, in passing through Baltimore, was attacked by a mob in the interest of secession, and three of the troops were killed—the first blood shed in the Civil War. This occurred on the anniversary of the battle of Lexington, fought April 19th, 1775, and the nation entered upon a second struggle that was to prelude a new epoch in its career. Troops Mobbed in Baltimore.

The spirit of loyalty in the Free States continued to furnish men and means to sustain the cause. In less than a month more than twenty-three million dollars were given as a free offering to the government, and volunteers far beyond the number called for offered their services.

Lieutenant Jones, in command at Harper's Ferry, learned that a force of about two thousand Virginians were on their way to pillage the armory. As he had but fifty men, on April 18th he prudently destroyed all the war material, blew up the magazine, and withdrew to Carlisle, Pa. The following day the United States navy-yard at Gosport, near Norfolk, was destroyed. No satisfactory reasons for the deliberate destruction of this property, worth many millions, have ever been given. The yard could have been defended with prompt action. About two thousand cannon came into the possession of the Confederates through the evacuation of these posts. Harper's Ferry and U. S. Navy-Yard.

Threats were frequently made by newspapers and public men in the interest of the Slave States that Washington would soon be in the hands of the insurgents. Their authorities made the most strenuous

President Davis Calls for Troops.

exertion to increase and organize their forces. President Davis first called for twenty-two thousand men, and soon for twenty thousand more. The Confederate Congress met in special session, and resolved to remove the seat of government from Montgomery to Richmond. Already Virginia was becoming the chief scene of the conflict, for thousands of Confederate troops had hurried thither from all parts of the South, for the purpose of making a decisive move against Washington. Governor Pickens, of South Carolina, had said to his people, "You may plant your seed in peace, for Old Virginia will have to bear the brunt of the battle." And so indeed it proved. Virginia held a convention that adopted an ordinance of secession April 17th, 1861, and ex-President Tyler headed a committee that concluded a treaty with Alexander H. Stephens placing the State under the military control of the Southern Confederacy. Governor Letcher proclaimed the independence of Virginia, and her accession to the Confederacy was hailed with delight by the other seceded States.

Pickens's Prophecy.

Robert E. Lee.

Among the United States Army officers who resigned their commissions and entered the Confederate service were several distinguished Virginians, most eminent of whom was Robert E. Lee, son of "Light Horse Harry" of Revolutionary fame. Robert E. Lee possessed the Arlington estate on the Potomac, opposite the National capital, through his wife, the great-granddaughter of Martha Washington. In the Civil War the Washingtons—descendants of the brothers and other relatives of the first President—were on the Confederate side.

Butler's Effective Move.

The well-known Seventh Regiment of New York and some Massachusetts troops under General Benjamin Franklin Butler embarked at Havre de Grace, Maryland, and sailed down the Chesapeake bay to Annapolis and seized the Annapolis and the Baltimore and Ohio railways. Butler, with a thousand troops, then marched through Baltimore on May 13th, under cover of intense darkness and a thunderstorm, and quietly seized Federal Hill, commanding the city. The citizens were first made aware of his presence by his proclamation published in the newspapers the next morning. By this move Butler throttled secession in Maryland, whose Governor, Thomas Holliday Hicks, was a Union man. National troops then quietly passed through Baltimore to Washington, and by the middle of May the National capital was safe.

Lincoln Calls for More Men.

On May 3, 1861, President Lincoln called for sixty-four thousand more men for the National army and eighteen thousand men for the navy. The aged veteran, Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott, the hero of Lundy's Lane and Mexico, was general-in-chief of the National forces, and massed troops at Washington, on the Upper Potomac

and at Fortress Monroe, to defend the National capital and the line of the Potomac and to invade Virginia from that quarter.

Secession of Three More Slave States.

In May, 1861, Arkansas, Tennessee and North Carolina seceded from the Union and joined the Southern Confederacy, which now consisted of eleven States. Only four Slave States still remained in the Union—Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri. Delaware and Maryland promptly decided in favor of the Union. Kentucky at first declared herself neutral, but finally took a firm stand in favor of the Union. Missouri was saved to the Union by the vigilance of Captain Nathaniel Lyon, who commanded the United States arsenal at St. Louis. The border Slave States which remained in the Union—Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri—had soldiers in both the Union and the Confederate armies. John Cabell Breckinridge, of Kentucky, and John Bell, of Tennessee, late candidates for President, went into the secession movement. Stephen Arnold Douglas, of Illinois, the Northern Democratic candidate, warmly sustained President Lincoln in prosecuting the war for the Union, but died at Chicago, June 3, 1861.

Loyalty of the Border Slave States.

Secessionist Governors.

The Governors of all but two of the Slave States at the beginning of the Civil War were secessionists. These were Burton of Delaware, Letcher of Virginia, Magoffin of Kentucky, Jackson of Missouri, Ellis of North Carolina, Pickens of South Carolina, Brown of Georgia, Perry of Florida, Moore of Alabama, Pettis of Mississippi, Moore of Louisiana, Rector of Arkansas and Harris of Tennessee. The two Unionist Governors were Hicks of Maryland and Houston of Texas. Hicks remained a Union man until his death; but Houston, the liberator of Texas from Mexican rule and the first President of the independent Republic of Texas, became a secessionist in the course of a few months.

Two Loyal Southern Governors.

The Belligerency Question

From the beginning of the struggle a question arose as to the character of the conflict. If the National government could treat it as a rebellion pure and simple, not as a war, the secessionists would be likely to be considered by foreign nations as rebels without the rights accorded to belligerents by international law. But President Lincoln allowed them belligerent rights without intending it when he proclaimed the blockade of the Southern ports, as, under international law, a government is considered as empowered to close its own ports, but to blockade only the ports of a foreign enemy in time of war. Foreign powers therefore considered the President's proclamation of the blockade of the Southern ports as practically involving the recognition of the belligerency of the Confederate States on the part of the United States government and as justifying other nations in likewise recognizing such belligerency. Great Britain soon took advantage of the President's unintended action by recognizing the Confederates as belligerents; the queen's proclamation of neutrality giving them the same

belligerent rights as the National side in the struggle, May 13, 1861, without waiting for the arrival of the newly-appointed United States Minister to Great Britain—Charles Francis Adams—though it was known that he was on his way to London. France soon followed the example of Great Britain by also recognizing Confederate belligerency, June 11, 1861. The Emperor Napoleon III. was even ready to recognize the Confederate States as an independent nation, but Great Britain refused to join him in such decided action. Spain also recognized the Confederates as belligerents. Russia was the only European power that sympathized with the National government.

Extreme Measures.

Almost from the very beginning the pressure of the war became severe very unexpectedly. Large numbers of vessels were taken to transport volunteers and to enforce the blockade of the Southern ports, and plans were prepared quickly for the creation of a new navy. Large quantities of arms, munitions, clothing and stores were ordered, and unprecedented demands were made upon the resources of the Nation. But greater sacrifices were considered necessary, and the National government invaded some of the most precious rights of American citizens. At one and the same moment, in all the leading cities in the loyal States, the telegraphic messages received at the different offices during the previous year were seized by United States marshals, April 20, 1861, in order to alarm such as had been accomplices in secession, if not actually to punish them. A week later—April 27, 1861—President Lincoln authorized General Scott to suspend the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus on the military line between Philadelphia and Washington.

Suspension of Habeas Corpus and Action of Chief Justice Taney.

Under this suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, the commandant of Fort McHenry, near Baltimore, refused to obey a writ directing him to produce the person of a Maryland militia-man, May 14, 1861. General Cadwallader, commanding the Maryland department, resorted to still more resolute action, refusing to obey the writ of Chief Justice Roger Brooke Taney, of the United States Supreme Court, in favor of John Merryman, a member of the Maryland Legislature. When the Chief Justice issued a second writ, directing the United States marshal to arrest the general for contempt of court, the marshal was not permitted to enter Fort McHenry, May 25, 1861. These were the first instances in a policy which many loyal men regretted. The National Constitution provides that the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus may be suspended in case of rebellion or invasion, but it does not state by whom it may be suspended. The President continued to exercise this questionable power, and ultimately Congress sustained him.

The first invasion of the Confederate States by the National forces occurred on May 24, 1861, when National troops crossed the Potomac

river from Washington and took possession of Alexandria and Arlington Heights, on the opposite side of the river. This move was made to forestall the contemplated move of the Confederates under Colonel Robert Edward Lee to seize Arlington Heights, which, being directly opposite Washington, commanded the National capital, thus rendering its possession desirable by the National forces.

Occupation of Alexandria and Arlington Heights.

A part of the New York Fire Zouaves were the first to enter Alexandria; and their gallant young commander, Colonel Ephraim Elmer Ellsworth, took a Confederate flag from the top of the Marshall House; but, as he was descending the stairs, he was shot dead by Jackson, the proprietor of the house. Jackson was immediately killed by one of Ellsworth's troops. The death of Colonel Ellsworth was deeply lamented throughout the North, and the most impressive funeral obsequies were held over his body. A regiment called the *Ellsworth Avengers* was raised in the State of New York.

Death of Colonel Ellsworth.

The National troops fortified Arlington Heights, upon which Fort Corcoran was built by the Sixty-ninth New York regiment and named in honor of its commander, Colonel Corcoran, while Fort Runyon was built at the Long Bridge by New Jersey troops. A few days later a National flotilla under Captain Ward, after encountering a Confederate battery at Sewell's Point, near Norfolk, Virginia, moved up the Chesapeake and the Potomac, and had an unsuccessful engagement with Confederate batteries at Aquia Creek, sixty miles below Washington, May 31 and June 1, 1861. Captain Ward was repulsed and killed in an attack on Confederate batteries at Matthias Point, farther down the Potomac, June 27th. There the Confederate batteries defied National vessels and effectually blocked the Potomac for many months. A skirmish occurred between Ohio troops under Colonel Alexander McDowell McCook and South Carolina troops under Colonel Maxey Gregg, at Vienna, on the Alexandria and Leesburg Railway, a few miles from Washington, June 17, 1861, the anniversary of Bunker Hill.

Fortification of Arlington Heights.

Engagements along the Potomac.

In South-eastern Virginia, General Benjamin Franklin Butler took command of the National troops at Fortress Monroe, which the Confederates under Colonel Magruder intended to seize. Some of Butler's troops went up the James river several miles and fortified Newport News. Butler suggested that slaves who had escaped from secessionist owners be regarded as contraband of war, for which reason fugitive slaves during the war were called *contrabands.* Some of Butler's troops under General Pearce were repulsed in an attack upon the Confederate works at Big Bethel, with the loss of about fifty men, June 10, 1861; Major Theodore Winthrop, of Massachusetts, and Lieutenant John T. Greble being among the killed.

General Butler and the "Contrabands."

Battle of Big Bethel.

Union Invasion of the Shenandoah Valley.

The Confederate force under General Joseph Eccleston Johnston, twelve thousand strong, evacuated Harper's Ferry, June 15, 1861, and retreated up the Shenandoah Valley to Winchester. The next day General Robert Patterson, with nine thousand Pennsylvania troops, crossed the Potomac into Virginia, at Williamsport, Maryland, but recrossed into Maryland. On July 2d he again crossed the river into Virginia, at the head of eleven thousand troops and occupied Martinsburg, in the Shenandoah Valley, thus securing control of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. His advance under General Abercrombie defeated a Confederate detachment under General Thomas Jonathan Jackson, afterward the famous "Stonewall" Jackson, at Falling Waters.

National and Confederate Troops.

At the beginning of July there were about three hundred thousand National troops in the field, confronting the Confederate forces at various points on a line extending from the Potomac westward beyond the Mississippi. More than one hundred thousand Confederate troops were stationed at various points in Virginia from Winchester to Norfolk. Their chief force was under the command of General Beauregard, at Manassas Junction, about thirty miles from the National capital, in which region it was evident that the first great shock of arms would be felt.

Action of Congress.

Agreeably to President Lincoln's call of April 15th, the National Congress assembled on July 4, 1861. Twenty-three States were represented in the Senate, twenty-two in the House of Representatives. The President's message recommended "the legal means for making this contest a short and decisive one, * * * at least four hundred thousand men and four hundred million dollars." The message stated: "This is essentially a people's contest. On the side of the Union it is a struggle for maintaining that form and substance of government whose leading object is to elevate the condition of men. * * * It is worthy of note that, while large numbers of those in the army and navy favored with offices have resigned, not one common soldier or common sailor is known to have deserted his flag. * * * Our popular government has often been called an experiment. Two points in it our people have already settled—the successful establishing and the successful administering of it. One still remains—its successful maintenance against a formidable internal attempt to overthrow it. * * * And having thus chosen our course, without guile and with pure purpose, let us renew our trust in God and go forward without fear and with manly hearts." Congress authorized the President to raise five hundred thousand volunteers and to contract a loan of two hundred and fifty million dollars and also passed a bill providing that slaveholders forfeited all claim to such slaves as were employed in aiding insurrection or resisting the laws of the United States.

General McDowell's Advance on Richmond.

There was a great demand in the North that an advance be made on Richmond, Virginia, which in the meantime had become the Confederate capital; and the *New York Tribune* raised the cry of "On to Richmond!" Accordingly, about the middle of July, General Irwin McDowell, with thirty-five thousand National troops, marched from Arlington Heights to attack the main body of the Confederates under General Beauregard at Manassas Junction. McDowell occupied Fairfax Court House and Centreville, the Confederates falling back on his approach. General Tyler's division of McDowell's army was repulsed in a severe fight at Blackburn's Ford, on Bull Run, near Centreville, on the 18th, each side losing about sixty men.

First Battle of Bull Run.

Three days afterward—at two o'clock on Sunday morning, July 21, 1861—McDowell's army resumed its advance, moving in three divisions, commanded respectively by Generals Tyler, Hunter and Heintzelman; and on the same day was fought the first battle of Bull Run, near Manassas Junction. In this sanguinary and memorable battle Beauregard had about thirty thousand men. General Patterson, commanding the Pennsylvania troops at Martinsburg, in the Shenandoah Valley, had been ordered by the National authorities to menace the Confederate army under General Joseph Eccleston Johnston at Winchester, so as to prevent Johnston from reinforcing Beauregard; while the Confederate government had ordered Johnston to immediately reinforce Beauregard, who was now obliged to act on the defensive.

Progress of the Battle.

The battle was begun at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, when the Union division under General David Hunter, who had crossed at Sudley Spring, attacked the Confederates. Soon the cannonade extended to Blackburn's Ford, about five miles down the stream. The main fight was between Tyler's division and the Confederates, near the Stone Bridge, over Bull Run, on the Warrenton road, about two miles south of Sudley Spring. As the Union army was turning the Confederate left about noon, the Confederate General Bee exclaimed: "They're beating us back!" Said General Thomas Jonathan Jackson, who held a ridge toward which the Union troops were advancing: "We'll give them the bayonet." Bee cried out to his disordered line: "Form, form, there's Jackson standing like a stone wall." Jackson was ever afterward called "Stonewall" Jackson, and his brigade was called the "Stonewall Brigade." After four hours' dreadful fighting, the Confederates were about to lose the field and flee in disorder, when at three o'clock in the afternoon Beauregard was reinforced by General Joseph Eccleston Johnston with six thousand fresh troops from the Shenandoah Valley, thus turning the tide of battle. Johnston had eluded Patterson, who awaited information from General Scott, which he failed to receive.

"Stonewall" Jackson.

Disastrous Union Defeat.

The result was a complete Confederate victory; and the National army, suddenly seized by a panic, fled toward Washington in the greatest consternation, with the loss of about three thousand men in killed, wounded and prisoners, besides twenty-seven cannon and a large amount of small arms, ammunition, tents and supplies, either captured or abandoned in the retreat. The Confederates lost about two thousand men and were in no condition to pursue their demoralized enemy.

Confederate Rejoicings.

This great Confederate victory caused unbounded rejoicings throughout the South; and many Confederate soldiers in the battle, believing the war over, returned home. Said General Joseph Eccleston Johnston: "Our troops believed the war ended and left the army in crowds to return to their homes." The Confederates made little use of the victory of which they boasted so loudly. Jefferson Davis was present at the battle and dispatched an exultant telegram to the Confederate officials at Richmond.

Dismay in the North.

The intelligence of the National misfortune at Bull Run struck the people of the Northern States with dismay; but, instead of discouraging them, it caused them to exert themselves more vigorously for the great struggle, and large numbers of volunteers joined the army. On the day after the battle General George Brinton McClellan, who had just distinguished himself by a brilliant campaign in West Virginia, was appointed to command the *Army of the Potomac*, as the forces around the National capital were named.

General McClellan.

Union Recovery of Lost Ground.

Very soon the National army was assuming formidable strength through the enlistment of fresh volunteers; and in September the Confederates, whose flag for a long time had flaunted in sight of the National capital, were gradually pushed back from Munson's Hill, on the Virginia side of the Potomac, until the National troops occupied the positions they had held before the battle of Bull Run. In this department, as all the other military departments during the remainder of the year, there was much skirmishing between the outposts of the two armies; and almost every day there was somewhere on the extended line of operations one or more encounters resulting in considerable loss—a feature which characterized the war during its whole continuance. Only the more important conflicts can be mentioned in this volume.

Continual Skirmishing.

Battles along the Potomac.

On the Potomac, above Washington, a National force under General Charles P. Stone was stationed at Poolesville, Maryland, near Point of Rocks and the mouth of the Monocacy. National troops under General William Farrar Smith defeated the Confederates under General James Ewell Brown Stuart, near Lewinsville, Virginia, September 12, 1861. Confederate troops crossed the Potomac into Maryland, but were repulsed by National troops under Colonel John White Geary, near Darnestown, Maryland, September 15th, and were driven back.

Colonel Geary crossed into Virginia and defeated the Confederates near Harper's Ferry, October 16th.

Battle of Ball's Bluff.

Finally, on October 21, 1861, General Stone sent two thousand men under Colonel Edward Dickinson Baker, late a United States Senator from Oregon, across the Potomac to attack the Confederates at Leesburg, Virginia; but this force had no soonor crossed the river than they were overpowered and utterly defeated and routed by the Confederates under General Evans, at Ball's Bluff, on the Virginia side of the Potomac, on the same day, October 21, 1861. As the Union troops did not have sufficient means to recross the river they lost half their number; the gallant Colonel Baker, the commander of the expedition, being among the killed, and his death being sincerely lamented. The Confederate loss was less than a third of that of the Union troops.

Death of Colonel Baker.

Battle of Drainsville.

For two months after the battle of Ball's Bluff the public was daily informed that "All is quiet on the Potomac!" The National troops under General Edward Otho Cresap Ord routed the Confederates under General James Ewell Brown Stuart at Drainsville, Virginia, about half way between Leesburg and Washington, December 20, 1861, Ord having moved in that direction both to obtain forage for his horses and to press back the Confederates.

Loyalty of West Virginia.

The people of West Virginia from the beginning of the Civil War had been opposed to secession, and they persisted in refusing to place themselves under the rule of the Confederate government and the secession State government of Virginia. Representatives from about forty of the western counties of Virginia met in a convention at Wheeling on June 11, 1861, and on the 17th they declared West Virginia independent of the rest of the State and elected Francis Harrison Pierpont for their Governor, at the same time taking steps to bring about the admission of West Virginia into the Union as a separate State.

Battles of Philippi and Romney.

The soil of West Virginia was early stained by the blood of civil war. Colonel Benjamin Franklin Kelley occupied Grafton May 30, 1861, the Confederates having evacuated the town on his approach. Four days afterward, June 3, 1861, Colonel Kelley routed almost a thousand Confederates at Philippi, the first regular battle of the Civil War. Eight days later, June 11, 1861, Colonel Lewis Wallace, with a few Indiana troops, dispersed five hundred Confederates at Romney. Late in June General George Brinton McClellan took command of the National forces in West Virginia and at once planned a vigorous campaign.

Battles of Rich Mountain and Carrick's Ford.

On July 11, 1861, Colonel William Stark Rosecrans, at the head of a part of McClellan's troops, defeated and routed three thousand Confederates under Colonel William Johnson Pegram at Rich Mountain, near Beverly, after a spirited action. McClellan directed a hot pur-

suit; and the fleeing Confederates were overtaken and defeated at Carrick's Ford two days later, July 13, 1861, their general, Robert Selden Garnett, being killed. The Union troops under General Jacob Dolson Cox drove the Confederates under ex-Governor Henry Alexander Wise out of the Kanawha Valley. In this short campaign, under General McClellan's direction, the Union forces drove ten thousand Confederates from their intrenchments, killed two hundred and fifty of them, took a thousand prisoners and a large quantity of spoils, and left the West Virginians free to organize for the Union. McClellan was soon succeeded in command in West Virginia by General William Stark Rosecrans.

General McClellan's Campaign in West Virginia.

Confederate Invasion of West Virginia.

The Confederates of Virginia, being resolved to compel the Union people of West Virginia to submit to the authority of the secession State government of Virginia and that of the Confederate government, sent large bodies of troops into that region under the command of Robert Edward Lee, late a colonel in the United States army; Henry Alexander Wise, ex-Governor of Virginia, and John Buchanan Floyd, ex-Secretary of War. Floyd was defeated by the National troops under General Rosecrans at Carnifax Ferry, on the Gauley river, September 10, 1861, and fled during the night across the Gauley river, leaving his camp equipage, baggage and a quantity of small arms to the victorious Unionists. General Lee, who recently had been appointed to the chief command of the Confederate forces in West Virginia, was repulsed in his attack upon the National troops under General Joseph J. Reynolds at Cheat Mountain, about the middle of September, after which he joined with Floyd and Wise in the Kanawha Valley, their united forces amounting to twenty thousand men. Early in October, Reynolds defeated a Confederate detachment on Greenbriar river, and late in the same month General Benjamin Franklin Kelley routed a Confederate force near Romney. Near the close of 1861 the Confederate troops retired from West Virginia, and Floyd was transferred to Tennessee.

Battles of Carnifax Ferry, Cheat Mountain and Greenbriar River.

Secessionist Designs in Missouri.

In the meantime the war raged violently in Missouri, between the adherents of the Union and the supporters of the Southern Confederacy. The Governor of that State, Claiborne Fox Jackson, was resolved to take the State out of the Union; but a majority of the people of the State were for the Union. For the purpose of carrying out his designs, Governor Jackson established camps of instruction in different parts of the State. Camp Jackson at St. Louis had twelve hundred men armed by the Confederate government. On May 10, 1861, Captain Nathaniel Lyon, with a body of home-guards, suddenly surrounded Camp Jackson and took the whole force prisoners. A mob which followed Lyon and made a hostile demonstration against his men was

Lyon's Capture of Camp Jackson.

fired upon, and many were killed and wounded. To the widow of one of his officers who was killed in this affray, Lyon said: "Since my boyhood it has been my highest wish to die as your husband has." His wish was gratified a few months later, as we shall see presently. Lyon was promoted to be a general. Governor Jackson then sought to carry out his designs from Jefferson City, the capital of Missouri. He issued a proclamation calling out the State militia to repel National invasion, and a Confederate force was marching into the State from Arkansas to his assistance.

Battles of Booneville and Carthage.

The vigilance and pomptitude of Lyon foiled Jackson's purpose. Lyon at once started for Jefferson City with three thousand troops. Jackson fled to Booneville, where he was defeated and put to flight by the pursuing Lyon, June 18, 1861. Jackson then fled to the south-western part of the State, where his adherents were gathering in large numbers. Lyon sent Colonel Franz Sigel with fifteen hundred Unionists to oppose Jackson in that quarter. After gaining some advantages Sigel encountered a largely-superior force under Jackson at Carthage, July 5, 1861, and after a gallant fight he retreated and rejoined Lyon, who was marching to his assistance. Late in July, General John Charles Fremont assumed the chief command of the Union forces in Missouri and set about the organization of a fleet of gunboats and mortar boats on the Mississippi and its tributaries. Governor Jackson's friends were forming marauding parties throughout the State. General John Pope, with Union troops, soon restored order in Northern Missouri.

General Fremont's Activity.

Battles of Dug Spring and Wilson's Creek.

In the meantime General Lyon had marched into South-western Missouri to oppose Governor Jackson and the Confederate invaders from Arkansas under Generals Sterling Price and Ben McCullough. On August 2, 1861, Lyon defeated the Confederates under Ben McCullough, the famous Texas Ranger, at Dug Spring, near the border of Arkansas. On the 10th of the same month, August, 1861, Lyon, at the head of only five thousand National troops, fought with twenty thousand Confederates, under Price and McCullough, the battle of Wilson's Creek, near Springfield, Missouri. The attack was made by Lyon, although he was outnumbered four to one. After the battle had raged for some time Lyon ordered a bayonet charge. He placed himself at the head of a body of men who had just lost their leader, and exclaimed: "Come on, brave men! I will lead you." The charge was made and the Confederates were routed, but Lyon was killed while fighting gallantly at the head of his troops. He left all his property to the government in whose service he lost his life. The slaughter on both sides was terrific. After the Confederates had been repeatedly driven from the field, the National troops were obliged to fall back,

Death of General Lyon.

thus leaving South-western Missouri open to the Confederates. The battle of Wilson's Creek was, next to the first battle of Bull Run, the greatest battle of the year 1861.

Fremont's Action.

On the last day of August, Fremont proclaimed martial law in Missouri and declared the slaves of Disunionists to be free—a declaration which President Lincoln modified so as to restrict its operation to slaves actually assisting the Confederate army.

Colonel Mulligan's Short but Gallant Defense of Lexington, Missouri.

One of the most memorable events of the war in Missouri in 1861 was the capture of Lexington, on the Missouri river, by the Confederates under Price, after a gallant defense by Colonel James A. Mulligan, who, with little more than twenty-five hundred Union troops behind intrenchments, held out four days against an enemy ten times as numerous, and only surrendered after he had exhausted his ammunition and the supply of water had been cut off for three days from the brave garrison, who had only vinegar to drink. Lexington was retaken by a National cavalry force under Major White on October 16, 1861.

Major Zagonyi's Dashing Charge.

In October, 1861, General Fremont, with an army of thirty thousand men, marched toward Springfield, in pursuit of the Confederates. One of the most brilliant exploits of the war was a dashing charge of one hundred and sixty cavalrymen of Fremont's body-guard, under Major Zagonyi, a Hungarian refugee, against two thousand Confederates, near Springfield, October 21, 1861, the day of the battle of Ball's Bluff, on the Potomac. Notwithstanding the immense superiority of the Confederates drawn up to receive Fremont's body-guard, Major Zagonyi sounded the charge, and his men rushed on their foes in the midst of a deadly fire, with irrepressible enthusiasm, shouting: "Fremont and the Union!" The Confederates were routed and they fled in all directions. Early in November, 1861, Fremont was superseded in his command by General David Hunter, who was succeeded during the same month by General Henry Wager Halleck. Before the close of 1861 the Confederates were in full retreat toward Arkansas. Confederate detachments were defeated by Union troops in various parts of Missouri, and Jeff. Thompson's guerrilla band was defeated and dispersed in October by Missouri, Illinois and Indiana troops.

Confederates Driven from Missouri.

Battle of Belmont.

In the meantime the Confederates under General Benjamin Franklin Cheatham had established a fortified camp at Belmont, in South-eastern Missouri, on the Mississippi river, opposite Columbus, Kentucky. Three thousand National troops under General Ulysses Simpson Grant were transported from Cairo, Illinois, to the Missouri shore of the Mississippi; and they attacked the Confederates at Belmont, November 7, 1861, driving them from their intrenched camp and destroying their camp equipage; but when the Confederates received reinforcements from Columbus the Union troops withdrew to their

transports, and they returned to Cairo under the protection of their gunboats.

Fall of Fort Fillmore, in New Mexico.

In the Territory of New Mexico, Major Isaac Lynde surrendered Fort Fillmore, with its garrison of about seven hundred men, to the Confederates, thus following the example of General David Emanuel Twiggs in Texas early in the year. The Confederate leaders had enlisted the Indians on the South-western frontier in their cause.

Kentucky Unionists and Secessionists.

The majority of the people of Kentucky were on the side of the Union; but the secessionists within her borders, among whom was Governor Beriah Magoffin, succeeded in keeping the State neutral for a time. Like the other border Slave States—Maryland and Missouri—Kentucky had soldiers in both the National and Confederate armies. Prominent Kentuckians in the Confederate army were ex-Vice President John Cabell Breckinridge, Simon Bolivar Buckner and George Bibb Crittenden, son of the Unionist United States Senator, John Jordan Crittenden. Among eminent Kentuckians in the Union army were Generals William Nelson, Lovell Harrison Rousseau and Thomas Leonidas Crittenden, also a son of John Jordan Crittenden. The National troops in Kentucky were at first commanded by General (formerly Major) Robert Anderson, the hero of Fort Sumter, himself a Kentuckian. He was obliged to retire on account of ill-health, and General William Tecumseh Sherman was appointed to his place. Sherman was soon succeeded by General Don Carlos Buell.

Confederate Invasion of Kentucky

In the meantime Confederate troops had invaded Kentucky from Tennessee. Thus General Felix Kirk Zollicoffer, formerly a member of the National Congress, entered Eastern Kentucky by way of Cumberland Gap, and attacked the National troops under General Schoepf at Camp Wildcat, October 21, 1861—the day of the battle of Ball's Bluff, on the Potomac—but was repulsed with heavy loss. Early in November a National force under General William Nelson attacked and routed the Confederates at Piketon, thus frustrating their designs on Eastern Kentucky. In Central Kentucky there was a large Confederate army commanded by General Simon Bolivar Buckner. In Western Kentucky the Confederates under General Leonidas Polk, a bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, occupied Hickman and Columbus in September; and General Grant, with National troops from the camp at Cairo, Illinois, took possession of Paducah. Kentucky then openly declared for the Union.

Battles of Camp Wildcat and Piketon.

Loyalty of East Tennessee.

Though Tennessee had seceded from the Union and joined the Southern Confederacy, the people of East Tennessee were ardently for the Union; and the harsh measures of the Confederate authorities could not shake the attachment of these people to the National cause. Confederate troops occupied this region, destroyed crops and other property

and arrested many of the Union sympathizers. Four prominent men of Tennessee were for the Union from the beginning—Andrew Johnson, United States Senator; Rev. William Gannaway Brownlow, editor of the Knoxville *Whig* and formerly a Methodist preacher; Judge Horace Maynard and Emerson Etheridge.

Confederate Control of the Mississippi.

The Confederates had obtained control of the Mississippi river, from Columbus, Kentucky, to its mouth, by seizing the forts and erecting batteries at commanding points. In September, 1861, a National force was landed on Ship Island, along the Gulf coast of Mississippi. In October a Confederate iron-clad ram, attended by gunboats and fire-ships, came down from New Orleans one night to destroy the National blockading vessels at the mouth of the Mississippi; but the Confederate vessels, under Captain Hollins, formerly of the United States navy, were beaten off by the Union ships.

Fights between Forts Pickens and McRae, Florida.

On the Gulf coast of Western Florida, in October, 1861, the Confederates surprised, plundered and destroyed a Union camp on Santa Rosa Island; but, with the aid of a part of the garrison of Fort Pickens, they were driven off with much loss. Late in November the Union garrison in Fort Pickens opened fire upon Fort McRae and other forts and batteries and the navy-yard, then in the possession of the Confederates. Fort Pickens continued the bombardment the next day, silencing Fort McRae, seriously damaging the navy-yard and almost destroying the neighboring village of Warrington.

Capture of Hatteras Inlet.

Late in the summer and during the fall of 1861 the National army and navy gained important advantages on the Atlantic coast of the Southern States. On August 26, 1861, Forts Clarke and Hatteras, on Hatteras Inlet, on the coast of North Carolina, were captured with their garrisons and munitions of war by a National land and naval expedition under General Benjamin Franklin Butler and Commodore Silas Horton Stringham. This victory gave the National forces a permanent foothold in North Carolina. Union citizens held two conventions, October 12 and November 18, 1861, and declared their independence of the secessionist government of North Carolina, and soon elected a member of the National Congress, November 27, 1861, but were reduced to submission by the Confederate authorities.

North Carolina Unionists.

Capture of Port Royal.

On the 7th of November, 1861—the day of Grant's defeat at Belmont, Missouri—Forts Walker and Beauregard, at Port Royal Entrance, on the coast of South Carolina, below Charleston, were captured by a National naval and military expedition under Commodore Samuel Francis Dupont and General Thomas West Sherman. The town of Beaufort thus fell into the possession of the National forces. A few days later Commodore Dupont took possession of Tybee Island, at the mouth of the Savannah river. The capture of Port Royal gave

the National forces possession of the Sea Islands of South Carolina, so celebrated for the production of fine cotton, thus causing a serious loss to the Confederates. **Occupation of the Sea Islands.**

On the 1st of November, 1861, General McClellan was made commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States; General Winfield Scott having resigned that post in October, on account of his extreme age and infirmities. Only the most important military events of 1861 have been related. **General McClellan.**

The National navy, which at the beginning of the war consisted of but twelve vessels available for service at home, had become sufficiently powerful to guard the entire Gulf and Atlantic coasts of the seceded States, three thousand miles in length, and to render rather efficient aid toward restoring the authority of the National government. Nevertheless vessels loaded with valuable cargoes frequently eluded the vigilance of the blockade and ran into Confederate ports. Several Confederate vessels got to sea and as privateers did great injury to the commerce of the United States and found protection in foreign ports. The first of these privateers was the schooner *Savannah*, which escaped from Charleston, South Carolina, June 2, 1861, and which was captured in a few days after she had taken one prize. Another from the same port was the *Petrel*, which was sunk by a broadside from the United States frigate *St. Lawrence*. The steamer *Sumter*, which escaped from New Orleans, on June 30, 1861, captured and burned American merchantmen; but early in 1862 she was closely blockaded in the Bay of Gibraltar by the National gunboat *Tuscarora* and was sold in port. **Blockade of the Confederate Coasts.** **Confederate Privateers.**

In the meantime the Confederate government had appointed James Murray Mason, of Virginia, as its commissioner to Great Britain, and John Slidell, of Louisiana, as its commissioner to France. One of the successful blockade runners carried these two Confederate commissioners to Havana, in Cuba, where they embarked for Europe on board the British mail steamer *Trent*. The next day—November 8, 1861—the United States sloop-of-war *San Jacinto*, commanded by Captain Charles Wilkes, intercepted the *Trent* in the Bahama Channel, took the two Confederate commissioners and their secretaries from her and brought them as prisoners to the United States. Though Captain Wilkes had acted on his own responsibility, he received congratulations from the Secretary of the Navy, thanks from the House of Representatives on the first day of its session, in December, 1861, and honors from almost every form of public and private gratitude; but the United States government, under the direction of President Lincoln and Secretary of State Seward, disavowed the act of Captain Wilkes. Said the President: "We must stick to American principles concerning the **The Trent Affair.**

rights of neutrals. * * * If Great Britain demands, we must give up the traitors."

Great Britain's Indignation and Demand.

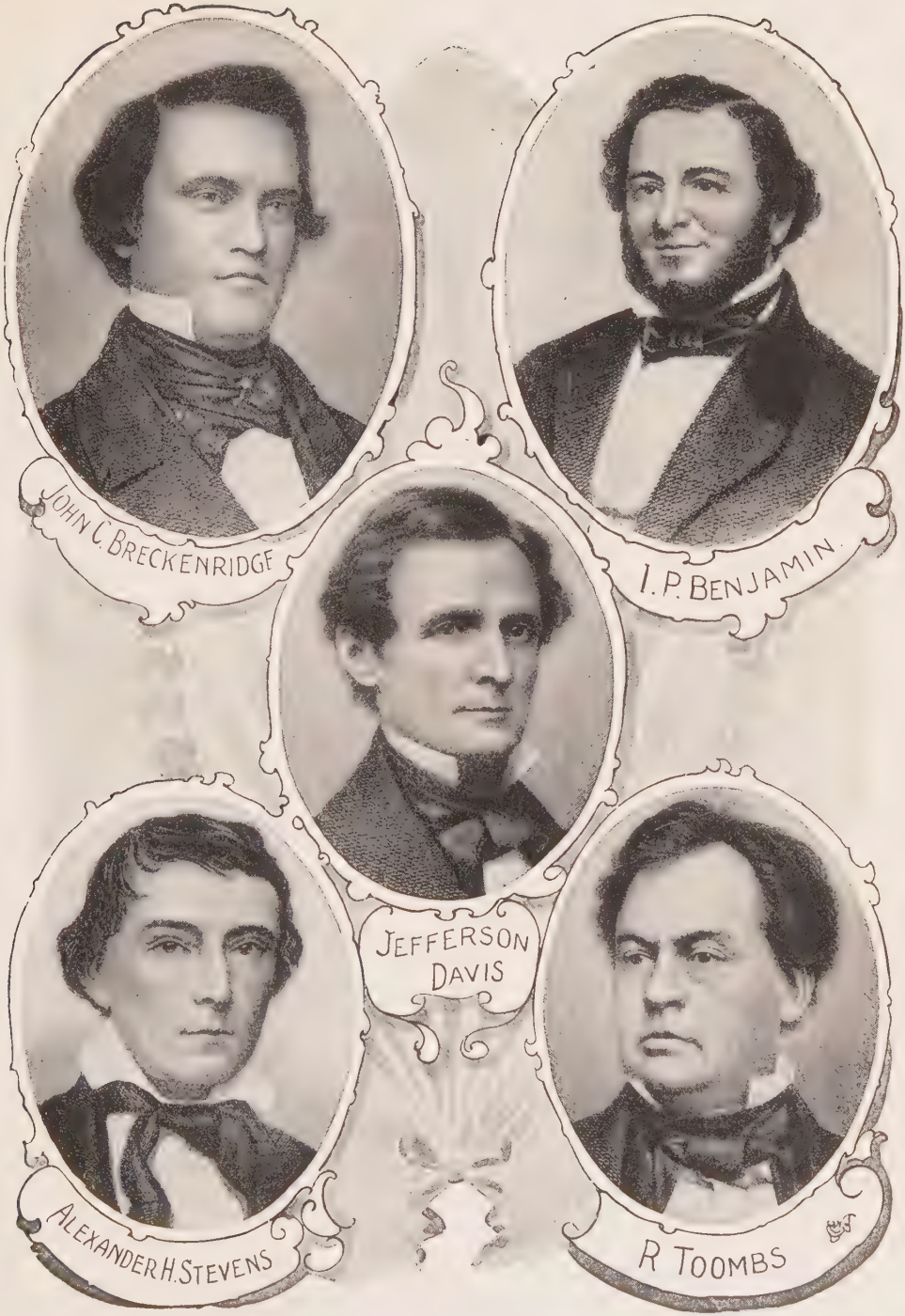
Great Britain demanded that the two Confederate commissioners be given up immediately, in a dispatch to Lord Lyons, the British Minister at Washington; and, without waiting for a reply, she ordered troops and arms to Canada, ships and munitions to the British North American and West India squadrons, while English journals raved and Englishmen appeared to have lost their reason for the time being. The prince-consort insisted on moderation; and the Liberal party, under the leadership of Richard Cobden and John Bright, assumed a rational position; to which the great majority of their countrymen were attracted when the first flash of passion had passed.

American Backdown.

In the meantime Secretary of State Seward had written to Charles Francis Adams, the United States Minister in London, that, as Captain Wilkes had not acted under instructions, the United States government awaited suggestions from the British government, November 30, 1861. Late in December, 1861, Mr. Seward communicated to Lord Lyons, the British Minister at Washington, a letter addressed to Minister Adams, in which he argued that if Captain Wilkes had brought the *Trent* itself into port, to be adjudged a prize or liberated by a court of admiralty, he would have acted in strict accordance with British principles concerning neutrals; but that, as he had not done so and as he had no warrant in American principles to interfere with a neutral vessel as he had, his prisoners must be released by the United States. Said the Secretary of State: "We are asked to do to the British nation just what we have always insisted all nations ought to do unto us." On New Year's Day, 1862, the Confederate commissioners and their secretaries were delivered to a British gunboat at Provincetown, Massachusetts. The London *Times*, which had led in the British newspaper denunciation of Captain Wilkes and the United States government, now said that Great Britain would have done just as much for two negroes. Although Messrs. Mason and Slidell reached London and Paris respectively as the Confederate agents, the British and French governments refused to recognize them in their official capacity.

British Sympathy Divided.

Though Great Britain had declared her neutrality and though she steadily refused to recognize the independence of the Confederate States, her aristocracy and many of her leading statesmen openly sympathized with the Confederates; and her government failed to carry out her proclaimed policy of neutrality, as many British-built Confederate privateers got to sea and did great injury to American commerce. Earl Russell—formerly called Lord John Russell—Secretary of Foreign Affairs in Lord Palmerston's Liberal Ministry, was a known sympathizer with the Confederates, as was also the Rt. Hon. William



CONFEDERATE STATESMEN AND LEADERS

Ewart Gladstone, another prominent Liberal statesman, who remarked: "In my opinion Jefferson Davis has created a nation." Lord Derby, a great leader of the Tory, or Conservative opposition, was likewise an avowed pro-Confederate sympathizer. Among the great Liberal statesmen in England who were true friends of the Union were Richard Cobden and John Bright, whose influence over the Cabinet was of immense value to the Union cause. From his place in the Ministry, John Bright at times seemed to be the arbiter of the fate of the Union, as he held the British government firmly to its professed policy of neutrality and exerted himself to his utmost with success to prevent a recognition of the Southern Confederacy. Another British statesman whose sympathies were openly with the Union cause was the Rt. Hon. Benjamin Disraeli, the Tory, or Conservative opposition leader in the House of Commons—afterward so famous as Lord Beaconsfield—who remarked that "the triumph of the Confederate States would be a misfortune to the cause of civilization." The royal family of Great Britain—Queen Victoria herself and her husband, Prince Albert, and their son, Albert Edward, Prince of Wales—were outspoken friends of the Union; but the lamented prince-consort died at the close of 1861, after exerting his influence to preserve peace with the United States.

Difficult Posts of Ministers Adams and Dayton.

Difficult was the post of the United States Minister to Great Britain during the Civil War—Charles Francis Adams, of Massachusetts, son of John Quincy Adams and Free Soil candidate for Vice President in 1848, on the same ticket with ex-President Martin Van Buren. Equally difficult was the post of the United States Minister to France during the same period—William Lewis Dayton, of New Jersey, the Republican candidate for Vice President on the same ticket with Fremont in 1856—as the Emperor Napoleon III. showed himself to be not only a pro-Confederate sympathizer, but an undisguised enemy of the Union cause, by his repeated endeavors to induce Great Britain to join him in recognizing the independence of the Confederate States, and by his attack on the Monroe Doctrine by attempting to establish a Latin empire in Mexico when the United States was unable to resist his hostile designs on account of her hands being tied by her great Civil War, as the struggle for the preservation of the Union taxed all the energies and resources of the United States government.

Confederate Constitution.

Early in 1862 Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, was succeeded as Secretary of War by Edwin McMasters Stanton, War Democrat, from the same State. The Confederate government, at first only provisional, was organized permanently February 22, 1862, under a constitution adopted in 1861 and modeled after that of the United States; the legislative power being vested in a Congress composed of a Senate and House of Representatives, and the executive power in a President

and Vice President to serve for a term of six years. Under this constitution Jefferson Davis and Alexander Hamilton Stephens were continued as President and Vice President respectively.

The National Armies at the Beginning of 1862.

At the beginning of 1862 the National armies in the field numbered more than half a million men and confronted the Confederate forces, numbering three hundred and fifty thousand men, on a line extending from the Potomac to Kansas. The National armies were constantly recruited under repeated calls of the President for volunteers. Almost two hundred thousand Union troops, chiefly in the vicinity of Washington, were under the immediate command of General George Brinton McClellan. General Don Carlos Buell had about one hundred thousand in Central and Eastern Kentucky. General Ulysses Simpson Grant had about thirty thousand in Western Kentucky and at Cairo, Illinois. General Henry Wager Halleck had about seventy thousand in Missouri. The remaining one hundred thousand were scattered at various places as follows: In South Carolina, under General Thomas West Sherman; at Fortress Monroe, Virginia, under General John Ellis Wool; on the Lower Potomac, under General Joseph Hooker; on the Upper Potomac, under General Benjamin Franklin Kelley; in West Virginia, under General William Stark Rosecrans, and in garrisons organizing for expeditions on the Atlantic coast and on the Western frontier. The Confederates held nearly all Virginia, part of West Virginia, half of Kentucky, part of Missouri, and the rest of the Southern States, except Fort Pickens, the Tortugas, Key West, Hatteras Inlet and Port Royal. The fiercest of the Confederate troops were the Louisiana Tigers and the Texas Rangers.

Confederate Armies in Kentucky

The first military operations in 1862 opened in Kentucky, and after a series of brilliant Union victories the Confederates were driven from that State. At the beginning of the year the Confederates occupied Paintville and held strong positions on a line of defense extending from Mill Spring, through Bowling Green, to Columbus. On January 7th a few thousand Union troops under General James Abram Garfield defeated the Confederates under Humphrey Marshall at Prestonburg, thus driving the Confederates from Paintville and Eastern Kentucky. On January 19, 1862, an advance division of General Buell's army, under General George Henry Thomas, defeated a Confederate force under General George Bibb Crittenden at Mill Spring, near Somerset, Kentucky, the Confederate General Felix Kirk Zollicoffer being among the killed.

Battles of Prestonburg and Mill Spring.

Capture of Forts Henry and Donelson.

On the 6th of February, 1862, Fort Henry, on the Tennessee River, in Tennessee, was captured by a National fleet of gunboats under Commodore Andrew Hull Foote. The commander of the garrison, Lloyd Tilghman, his staff and about sixty men were made prisoners; but the

greater part of the garrison fled to Fort Donelson, on the Cumberland River, in the same State, twelve miles distant. On February 16, 1862, ten days after the fall of Fort Henry, Fort Donelson, after an assault and bombardment of three days, was surrendered with its garrison of thirteen thousand Confederate troops by its commander, General Simon Bolivar Buckner, to General Grant, who commanded the National army which had invested and besieged the fortress. The night before the surrender five thousand Confederate troops under Generals Gideon Johnson Pillow and John Buchanan Floyd made their escape. In reply to Buchner's note proposing an armistice to agree upon terms of surrender, Grant said: "No terms other than an unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works." By this reply U. S. Grant received the popular sobriquet of "Unconditional Surrender Grant."

Unionist Gains.

The Confederates evacuated Bowling Green, Kentucky, during the siege of Fort Donelson, and Columbus, in the western part of the same State, soon afterwards. After the fall of Fort Henry, National gunboats sailed up the Tennessee River to Florence, Alabama, seizing or destroying steamers and other property. A few days after the capture of Fort Donelson a Union detachment under General William Nelson took possession of Nashville, Tennessee's capital. Soon afterward President Lincoln appointed Andrew Johnson, United States Senator from Tennessee, who was the only Southern Senator who remained a friend of the Union, to the office of Military Governor of that State.

Andrew Johnson, Military Governor of Tennessee.

Battle of Shiloh.

Grant's victorious army, almost forty thousand strong, was conveyed on board steamers upon the Tennessee river to Pittsburg Landing, in Tennessee, near the Mississippi State line. On April 6, 1862, Grant's army was attacked by over forty thousand Confederates under Generals Beauregard and Albert Sidney Johnston, while encamped at Shiloh Church, near Pittsburg Landing. The Confederates were victorious on that day and drove Grant's troops back to the river with great slaughter, capturing many prisoners and much war material; and the Union army was only saved by the National gunboats, with whose assistance the victorious Confederates were held at bay. During the night Grant was reinforced by a strong force under General Buell from Nashville; and the next day, April 7, 1862, the battle was renewed, and after a sanguinary struggle the Confederates were defeated and compelled to flee to Corinth, in North-eastern Mississippi. The Union loss was nearly fourteen thousand men in killed, wounded and prisoners, and the Confederate loss was about the same. General William Harvey Lamb Wallace, of the Union army, and General Albert Sidney Johnston, the Confederate commander-in-chief in the West, were killed. Johnston's

Deaths of Generals Wm. H. L. Wallace and Albert Sidney Johnston.

death was greatly lamented throughout the South. This important engagement is known as the *battle of Shiloh*. In the meantime General Ormsby McKnight Mitchel marched southward from Nashville with a detachment of Buell's army, occupied Huntsville, Alabama, April 11, 1862, and took possession of many miles of the Memphis and Charleston Railroad.

Siege and Fall of Corinth.

Soon after the battle of Shiloh, General Halleck took command of Grant's army; and, after receiving reinforcements which increased this army to more than a hundred thousand men, he marched against the Confederates, who were strongly intrenched at Corinth, Mississippi. On May 29, 1862, after having suffered a heavy bombardment, Corinth was evacuated by the Confederates, and was taken possession of by General Halleck's army the next day (May 30, 1862). In July, General Halleck was called to Washington as commander-in-chief of the National armies, leaving his army at Corinth under the command of General Grant.

Battles of Iuka, Corinth and Hatchie.

In September, 1862, the Confederates under Generals Earl Van Dorn and Sterling Price made a vigorous effort to retake Corinth, but were defeated by a part of Grant's army under General Rosecrans at Iuka, Mississippi, on September 19th. On October 3d and 4th Van Dorn and Price attacked Rosecrans in the strong defenses of Corinth, but were defeated and routed with terrible slaughter, Rosecrans having a force only half as large. The Confederates were pursued and defeated on October 5, 1862, in the battle of the Hatchie, by the National troops under Generals Ord and Hurlburt. In the battles of Iuka, Corinth and the Hatchie the Confederates lost more than ten thousand men, while the Union loss was only about three thousand.

Capture of New Madrid and Island Number Ten.

In the spring of 1862 the Confederate posts on the Mississippi river successively fell into the possession of the National army and navy. The fall of Forts Henry and Donelson and the approach of National gunboats caused the Confederates to evacuate Columbus and Hickman, Kentucky, and to fortify Island Number Ten, in the Mississippi, and New Madrid, Missouri. The garrisons were aided by the Confederate gunboats under Captain Hollins. After one day's bombardment by Ohio and Illinois troops under General John Pope, the Confederate garrison evacuated New Madrid on the night of March 13, 1862, and fled across the Mississippi. Two days later Commodore Foote approached Island Number Ten from the north with his flotilla, and bombarded the island for three weeks; and when General Pope cut off the retreat of the Confederate garrison by crossing the Mississippi from the Missouri to the Tennessee side, Island Number Ten was surrendered to Commodore Foote, on the very day of Grant's victory at Shiloh, April 7, 1862. Most of the garrison attempted to escape, but were

pursued and captured the next day by General Pope's army. By this important victory the Union forces obtained five thousand prisoners, several steamboats and a vast quantity of military stores. The spoils of war were the greatest won by the Unionists in any conflict of the war thus far.

Capture of Forts Pillow and Randolph and of Memphis.

After the capture of Island Number Ten, General Pope hastened with most of his troops to assist General Halleck in the siege of Corinth. Commodore Foote's flotilla immediately sailed down the Mississippi and besieged Fort Pillow, on the Tennessee side of the river. Fort Pillow was garrisoned by three thousand Confederate troops under Jeff Thompson, assisted by a Confederate flotilla under Captain Hollins. Foote's flotilla repulsed both Hollins's flotilla and the garrison, May 10, 1862, and was afterward reinforced by a ram squadron under Charles Ellet, Jr. On the night of June 4th Forts Pillow and Randolph were both evacuated by their Confederate garrisons, in consequence of the evacuation of Corinth. Commodore Foote had been obliged to leave the service on account of a wound which he had received at Fort Donelson, and from the effects of which he died at the Astor House, in New York City, in June, 1863. The command of his flotilla devolved on Commodore Charles Henry Davis, who captured Memphis, Tennessee, June 6, 1862, after a severe naval engagement, in which all but two gunboats of the Confederate flotilla defending the city were either captured or destroyed. The Confederate garrison under Jeff Thompson evacuated the city and fled, and National troops under General Lewis Wallace occupied the city.

Bombardment of Forts Jackson and St. Philip.

In the meantime an expedition had been organized in the South-west for the capture of New Orleans. This expedition consisted of a gunboat and mortar fleet, under Commodores David Glasgow Farragut and David Dixon Porter, and an army under General Benjamin Franklin Butler. After bombarding Forts Jackson and St. Philip, on opposite sides of the Mississippi river, seventy-five miles below New Orleans, for six days, Farragut and Porter ran by the forts, which poured a continuous stream of shot and shell upon the passing vessels; and a terrific naval engagement ensued, which ended in the destruction of the Confederate squadron of rams, gunboats and floating batteries, commanded by Captain Hollins, April 24, 1862. The landing of some of Butler's troops in the rear of Fort St. Philip and a mutiny of the garrison of Fort Jackson caused the surrender of both forts to Commodore Porter in a few days.

Capture of New Orleans.

In the meantime Farragut had passed up the river with his fleet and appeared before New Orleans, April 25, 1862. A terrible panic seized the city. Many citizens fled, and four millions of specie and much private property were carried away. Women in the streets cried:

"Burn the city!" Ships, steamboats, storehouses and a vast amount of cotton and other property were burned at the levees. The Confederate garrison, numbering ten thousand men, under General Mansfield Lovell, formerly a New York politician, hastily evacuated the city and fled. General Butler, with fourteen thousand National troops, who had rendezvoused on Ship Island, in the Gulf of Mexico, south of Mississippi, took possession of the city, May 1, 1862, the general establishing his headquarters in the St. Charles Hotel. The capture of New Orleans was the severest blow thus far inflicted upon the Confederates.

General Butler's Course at New Orleans.

Butler's conduct in New Orleans aroused the most intense hatred against him in the South, and he was called "Beast Butler." Mayor John T. Monroe and the leading politicians were disposed to be defiant at first. When a demand was made for the surrender of the city and the lowering of the Confederate flag from the custom house and the mint it was refused, and after the National flag was raised over the mint by the troops it was torn down by a mob and carried through the streets in derision. A gambler named Mumford, who led this mob and afterward incited mob violence, was arrested, tried and convicted of treason by court-martial and hanged. Several women having shown disrespect to Butler's officers, Butler issued an order threatening to treat all women guilty of similar offenses in the future as "women of the town." This order aroused great indignation in the South, and Jefferson Davis issued a proclamation of outlawry against Butler.

Capture of Baton Rouge and Natchez.

After the fall of New Orleans, Farragut's gunboat fleet sailed up the Mississippi and took Baton Rogue, the capital of Louisiana, May 7, 1862, and Natchez, Mississippi, May 12th. Farragut proceeded up the river and attacked Vicksburg, June 26th, ran past the Confederate batteries there and joined the Union fleet above. The Confederate ram *Arkansas* sailed from out of the Yazoo river, inflicted considerable damage upon the Union fleet and took refuge under the guns of Vicksburg. Finding Vicksburg too strong to take without the cooperation of an army, Farragut returned to New Orleans.

Confederate Ram Arkansas.

Battle of Baton Rouge.

On the 5th of August, 1862, the Confederates under General John Cabell Breckinridge, ex-Vice President of the United States, attacked a small National force under General Thomas Williams at Baton Rouge. The National troops were victorious, but the gallant General Williams was killed in the moment of triumph. The Confederate ram *Arkansas* came down to take part in the conflict, but her engines gave out and her crew set her on fire and abandoned her. Soon afterward the Union troops evacuated Baton Rogue. Commodore Porter sailed up the Mississippi and had a fight with the Confederate batteries at Port Hudson, September 7th. Late in October, 1862, General God-

Destruction of the Ram Arkansas.

frey Weitzel led an expedition into the Lafourche district of Louisiana, to the south-west of New Orleans, defeated the Confederates near Lebadieville, October 27th, and took possession of the district.

Occupation of the Lafourche District.

The Mississippi river was open from the north as far south as Vicksburg, Mississippi; and south of Vicksburg it had already been opened by the capture of New Orleans and Natchez. On December 29, 1862, General William Tecumseh Sherman attacked the Confederate works at Chickasaw Bayou, near Vicksburg, but was repulsed after severe fighting. Grant was marching down from the north to coöperate with Sherman, but was obliged to fall back on account of the disgraceful surrender of the Union garrison at Holly Springs, Mississippi, left there to protect his supplies.

Attack on Vicksburg Repulsed.

West of the Mississippi the war raged in Arkansas and Missouri early and late in the year 1862. About the middle of February the National army under General Samuel Ryan Curtis drove the Confederate army under General Sterling Price, from South-western Missouri, across the border into North-western Arkansas. Price was soon reinforced by Generals Earl Van Dorn, Ben McCullough and James McQueen McIntosh, and by Albert Pike with a force of Indians from Indian Territory; and the united Confederate forces, twenty thousand strong, assumed the offensive against Curtis, whose army did not number much over ten thousand men. Curtis selected a strong position on Pea Ridge, where a severe battle of three days was fought, March 6, 7 and 8, 1862. The Confederates began the battle by attacking General Franz Sigel's six hundred men, but were repulsed by Sigel's artillery, and the battle ended in a disastrous Confederate defeat. The victorious Union army lost over thirteen hundred men. The Confederate loss was much greater, and among their killed were Generals McCullough and McIntosh. After the battle of Pea Ridge, General Curtis led his army to Helena, on the Mississippi river.

The War in Arkansas and Missouri.

Battle of Pea Ridge.

During the spring and summer of 1862 there were about a hundred battles and skirmishes in Missouri, and Confederate invaders from Arkansas were driven back. General John McAllister Schofield, who commanded twenty thousand Union troops scattered over Missouri, defeated the guerrilla bands late in the summer of 1862. Generals Schofield and James G. Blunt, with ten thousand Union troops, marched against the Confederates under General Thomas Carmichael Hindman, in North-western Arkansas, routed a Confederate force at Maysville, October 22d, and drove it into Indian Territory. General Francis J. Herron routed another Confederate detachment, October 28th, and drove it to the mountains. Hindman, who was formerly a member of the National Congress from Arkansas, now raised a Confederate army of twenty thousand men to recover his State. His ad-

Other Union Victories in Arkansas and Missouri.

Battle of Prairie Grove.

vance was routed by Blunt, on the Ozark mountains, November 26th, and was driven toward Van Buren. Hindman, with eleven thousand men, was overwhelmingly defeated by Blunt and Herron at Prairie Grove, on Illinois Creek, near Fayetteville, Arkansas, December 7, 1862. The battles of Pea Ridge and Prairie Grove decided the fate of Arkansas and Missouri, though these States were long harassed by guerrilla warfare.

Battle of Valverde and Capture of Santa Fe.

Early in 1862 the war extended as far west as the Territory of New Mexico. A Confederate force, consisting of twenty-three hundred Texas Rangers, under Major H. H. Sibley, of Louisiana, invaded New Mexico, defeated the National troops under General Edward Richard Spriggs Canby, in the battle of Valverde, near Fort Craig, February 21, 1862, and soon afterward captured Santa Fé, the capital of the Territory; but they were driven out of the Territory in April.

Capture of Pensacola and Galveston.

On the coast of the Gulf of Mexico few events occurred during 1862. The Confederates evacuated Pensacola, Florida, May 9th, after setting fire to the navy-yard and all public and private property within their reach. Commander Renshaw, with four steamers, took Galveston, Texas, in October; but the Confederates retook the city, January 1, 1863

Capture of Roanoke Island, Newbern and Fort Macon.

On the Atlantic Coast, during the earlier part of 1862, the National army and navy conquered from Virginia to Florida. A National land and naval expedition, under General Ambrose Everett Burnside and Commodore Louis Malesherbes Goldsborough, sailed from Fortress Monroe, Virginia, entered Hatteras Inlet, North Carolina, dispersed the Confederate fleet in Pamlico Sound, and captured Roanoke Island, on February 8, 1862, after a hot conflict of two days; after which the victorious Union fleet pursued and captured or destroyed the Confederate flotilla, and the fleet and army took many settlements on the Sound. Burnside, with twelve thousand men, captured Newbern on March 14th, after a severe fight. Beaufort surrendered without resistance, March 25th, and Fort Macon a month later, April 25th, after a severe bombardment by General John Gray Foster; and almost the whole coast of North Carolina lay at the mercy of the Union forces.

Capture of Fernandina, Jacksonville and Fort Pulaski.

A National expedition fitted out at Port Royal, South Carolina, took Fernandina, Jacksonville and other places in North-eastern Florida, in March, 1862. On April 11, 1862, Fort Pulaski, at the mouth of the Savannah river, in Georgia, after withstanding a heavy bombardment of two days from the batteries erected on Tybee Island by Captain (afterward Major-General) Quincy Adams Gillmore, surrendered with its immense stores to General David Hunter, who had command of the National troops in that department. In May, Hunter issued a proclamation declaring South Carolina, Georgia and Florida under martial

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law and also declaring the freedom of the slaves in those States. As in the case of Fremont's proclamation in Missouri, President Lincoln overruled Hunter's proclamation.

General Hunter's Action.

The 9th of March, 1862, was signalized by a Union naval victory at the mouth of the James river, in Virginia—the victory of the *Monitor* over the *Merrimac*—the first battle that ever occurred between iron-clad vessels. The *Merrimac* was an iron-clad ram, named *Virginia* by the Confederates, who had constructed her out of the United States frigate *Merrimac*, which had been scuttled and sunk by the Union forces when they abandoned the navy-yard at Norfolk in the spring of 1861. On March 8, 1862—the day of the National victory in the battle of Pea Ridge, Arkansas—the *Merrimac*, commanded by Franklin Buchanan, formerly of the United States navy, steamed out from Norfolk, pounced upon the National fleet in Hampton Roads, sunk the sloop-of-war *Cumberland* and compelled the frigate *Congress* to surrender. As the *Merrimac* approached, the Union fleet fired upon her, but their shots glanced harmless from her iron roof. The greatest consternation prevailed within the Union garrison in Fortress Monroe and in the Union fleet. The whole National fleet was in a most perilous situation, being threatened with entire destruction; but during the night a newly-invented iron-clad floating battery, called the *Monitor* and invented by Captain John Ericsson, a Swedish American, sailed into Hampton Roads, and attacked the *Merrimac* the next morning, March 9, 1862, disabled her after a severe action and compelled her to return to Norfolk. By this victory the *Monitor* saved the whole Union fleet; but her gallant commander, Lieutenant John Lorimer Worden, was severely injured in the eyes by the concussion of a shot which struck the pilot house. This great Union naval victory caused unbounded rejoicings in the North.

Fight between the Merrimac and the Monitor.

Two months later, when the Confederates evacuated Norfolk, they destroyed the *Merrimac* to prevent her from falling into Union hands. At the close of the year the *Monitor* foundered in a storm off the coast of North Carolina and went to the bottom of the sea, most of her brave crew perishing with her.

Fate of these Vessels.

In Virginia events of the greatest magnitude and importance occurred during 1862. Early in February General Frederick William Lander expelled the Confederates from the Upper Potomac, and later in the same month General Nathaniel Prentiss Banks crossed the Potomac from Maryland into Virginia and drove the Confederates under Stonewall Jackson up the Shenandoah Valley. General James Shields, who commanded the advance of Banks's army, enticed Jackson back to Winchester and attacked and defeated him at Kernstown, near that city, with considerable loss, on March 23, 1862. Banks followed up

The War in Virginia

Battle of Winchester.

this victory of General Shields by pursuing Jackson's defeated and shattered hosts in their retreat up the Shenandoah Valley.

General McClellan and the Army of the Potomac.

The greater portion of the Army of the Potomac, under General McClellan, for several months had remained inactive on the Virginia side of the Potomac, opposite Washington, to be disciplined, armed and instructed. Early in March, 1862, McClellan advanced and on the 10th he took possession of Manassas, which the Confederates had evacuated. The next day he was relieved of the office of commander-in-chief of all the United States armies and was allowed to give his undivided attention to the Army of the Potomac. General Fremont was assigned to the command of the Union troops in West Virginia and East Tennessee; General Banks to the command of those in the Shenandoah Valley, and General McDowell to the command of those on the Rappahannock. A portion of McDowell's forces under General Christopher Colon Augur drove the Confederates out of Fredericksburg, Virginia, April 18, 1862, and took possession of that city.

Armies of Fremont, Banks and McDowell.

McClellan on the Virginia Peninsula.

After compelling the Confederates to retreat from Manassas toward Richmond, General McClellan embarked the Army of the Potomac at Alexandria for Fortress Monroe, preparing to approach the Confederate capital by way of the peninsula formed by the York and James rivers. On April 4, 1862, McClellan commenced his march up the peninsula from Fortress Monroe, his army numbering considerably more than a hundred thousand men. For a month he besieged the Confederates under General John Bankhead Magruder at Yorktown, but on May 3d the Confederates evacuated Yorktown and fled toward Richmond. The retreating Confederates were hotly pursued, and two days after the evacuation of Yorktown, May 5, 1862, they were overtaken at Williamsburg, where a terrible battle was fought, which resulted in a National victory. The Confederates resumed their retreat and were again pursued by the National forces.

Siege and Evacuation of Yorktown.

Battle of Williamsburg.

Capture of Norfolk.

On May 10, 1862, five days after the battle of Williamsburg, Norfolk was evacuated by the Confederates, after they had destroyed the *Merrimac;* and the town was entered on the same day by National troops under the command of General John Ellis Wool, a hero of the War of 1812 and the war with Mexico. Soon afterward National gunboats attempted to approach Richmond by way of the James river, but were repulsed at Fort Darling.

Battles of Hanover Court House, Seven Pines and Fair Oaks.

McClellan continued his march on Richmond. On May 29, 1862, Hanover Court House was captured by a portion of the National army, under General Fitz-John Porter, after a spirited conflict. McClellan established his base of supplies at White House, on the Pamunky river, and threw the left wing of his army across the Chickahominy. This portion of his army was attacked by the Confederates near Seven Pines

and Fair Oaks, May 31st, where a terrible but indecisive battle was fought during that and the following day, June 1st. The Union troops in this battle numbered thirty thousand and belonged to the corps of Generals Erasmus Darwin Keyes and Samuel Peter Heintzelman, and were attacked after they had crossed the Chickahominy by fifty thousand Confederates under General Joseph Eccleston Johnston, near Seven Pines. The Union troops fought bravely, but were compelled to fall back by the overpowering force of the enemy. McClellan's left seemed doomed, but the Union troops were saved from defeat by the promptitude of General Edwin Vose Sumner, who threw General John Sedgwick's division across the north side of the Chickahominy just in time to hurl back a fresh column of Confederates coming down upon the hard-pressed forces of Heintzelman and Keyes, near Fair Oaks Station. The battle closed at night, but was renewed the next day, June 1, 1862, when a Confederate division engaged a part of Sumner's line, but was repulsed, whereupon the entire Confederate army withdrew. The Union loss was more than five thousand, and the Confederate loss was about eight thousand. General Joseph Eccleston Johnston was wounded so severely that he was relieved from active duty, and General Robert Edward Lee was assigned to the command of the Confederate army before Richmond.

Strength of the Opposing Forces.

Strenuous efforts throughout the revolted States had added immensely to the numerical strength of the Confederate army; while McClellan's effective force had been diminished considerably by the necessity of keeping open his communications, by sickness, by continual skirmishing and by the battles of Williamsburg, Hanover Court House, Seven Pines and Fair Oaks.

Stonewall Jackson in the Shenandoah Valley.

McClellan's great reliance was on being reinforced by McDowell from Fredericksburg, but the Confederate general had taken measures to prevent McDowell from reinforcing McClellan. Stonewall Jackson, who was still in the Shenandoah Valley, had been reinforced so that his army now numbered twenty thousand men; and he was ordered to attack the Union force under General Banks, then reduced to less than six thousand men, at Strasburg, after which he was to threaten Washington and force McDowell to turn his attention northward. Jackson carried out the plan assigned him with masterly skill, and his campaign may be regarded as the most brilliant and successful of the war thus far.

Banks's Disastrous Retreat.

By attempting to get into Banks's rear and cut off his retreat, and by overwhelming a small Union force at Front Royal, May 23d, Jackson compelled Banks to retreat in hot haste down the Shenandoah Valley. Banks marched fifty-three miles in two days, continually skirmishing with his pursuers. After a severe defeat at Winchester,

May 25th, Banks resumed his retreat, and crossed the Potomac into Maryland, at Williamsport, the next day, his wearied army having lost less than a thousand men and but a few wagons of an immense train. The retreat of Banks's army caused great alarm throughout the North. Fears were entertained for the safety of Washington, and McDowell was drawn away from reinforcing McClellan. By compelling Banks to retreat across the Potomac, Jackson so skillfully maneuvered his force that he completely neutralized the three Union armies under the respective commands of Fremont, Banks and McDowell, which together amounted to more than sixty thousand men.

Jackson's Skillful Maneuvering.

Jackson's Skillful Retreat.

After giving his wearied army but a single day's rest, Jackson hastily retreated up the Shenandoah Valley and was hotly pursued by the Union forces now concentrating against him. Fremont from the west, and Shields, then under McDowell, from the east, set out to intercept Jackson at Strasburg; but the nimble Confederate general slipped between his foes and fled up the valley, hotly pursued and harassed by superior forces. Banks joined Fremont and Shields in the pursuit.

Battles of Cross Keys and Port Republic.

Jackson turned upon Fremont's army at Cross Keys, June 8th, and held it in check while he crossed the Shenandoah river and burned the bridge. The next day, June 9th, Jackson defeated Shields at Port Republic. The pursuit of Jackson was then abandoned by the Union generals, and he escaped with his prisoners and booty and joined Lee before Richmond.

The Seven Days near Richmond.

Almost a month after the battle of Fair Oaks, McClellan prepared to advance upon Richmond. But on the very day on which this movement was to begin, Lee, who had already been reinforced by Stonewall Jackson from the Shenandoah Valley, attacked that portion of McClellan's army on the north side of the Chickahominy, thus beginning a series of sanguinary battles near Richmond which lasted seven days, beginning on June 25th and ending on July 1, 1862, and known as the *Seven Days' Battles.*

Battles of Oak Grove, Mechanicsville and Gaines's Mill.

General Joseph Hooker led the advance against Richmond by advancing his line in front of Fair Oaks, whereupon a desperate struggle known as the battle of Oak Grove ensued, June 25th. The next day, June 26th, the Confederates attacked General George Archibald McCall's division north of the Chickahominy, thus bringing about the battle of Mechanicsville, in which the Confederates were repulsed with heavy loss. During the night the Union troops withdrew from their position; and on the following day, June 27th, occurred the battle of Gaines's Mill, where thirty-five thousand of McClellan's troops, under General Fitz-John Porter, resisted the assaults of almost twice as many Confederates. McClellan now changed the base of his supplies from the York to the James river, and his trains were transferred across the

Chickahominy while the battle of Gaines's Mill was in progress. On the same day another part of the Confederate army, under General Magruder, engaged the Union troops south of the Chickahominy, thus preventing them from properly aiding Porter. Porter resisted the Confederate assaults until night, when he crossed the Chickahominy and joined the main body of McClellan's army. The next day McClellan transferred most of his army across White Oak Swamp.

McClellan's Change of Base.

On the morning of June 29th Lee crossed the Chickahominy in pursuit of McClellan, and the fierce battles of Peach Orchard Station and Savage Station occurred on that day. Magruder attacked the Union rear-guard under General Sumner at Savage Station, Sumner resisting his foe until dark, when he withdrew across White Oak Swamp, having secured a safe passage for the Union artillery and trains. Stonewall Jackson pursued the National troops in their retreat, while General James Longstreet passed around to the south of White Oak Swamp to attack them on their flank. On June 30th was fought the desperate battle of White Oak Swamp, or Glendale. General William Buel Franklin held Stonewall Jackson at bay at White Oak Swamp, while Generals McCall, Sumner, Hooker and Philip Kearny repelled Longstreet's impetuous assaults at Charles City Cross Roads. During the night the troops that had checked the advance of Jackson and Longstreet joined the main body of McClellan's army at Malvern Hill. The next day, July 1, 1862, occurred the dreadful battle of Malvern Hill, in which the Confederates charged upon McClellan's strong position, but were mowed down by the Union artillery and were repulsed disastrously.

Battles of Peach Orchard Station, Savage Station, White Oak Swamp and Malvern Hill.

Thus ended the great Seven Days' Battles before Richmond in the failure of McClellan's advance upon the Confederate capital. Each army numbered about one hundred thousand men. The National army lost sixteen thousand men, and the Confederates lost almost twenty thousand. Lee had raised the siege of Richmond at a heavy cost. McClellan took position at Harrison's Landing, while Lee led this army back to Richmond.

McClellan's Utter Failure.

On the 1st of July, 1862, President Lincoln called for three hundred thousand more men for the National army; and on the 11th of the same month General Henry Wager Halleck was appointed commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States, establishing his headquarters in Washington.

General Halleck.

On the very day that the Seven Days' Battle before Richmond commenced—June 25, 1862—the forces under Generals Banks, Fremont and McDowell were consolidated into one army named the *Army of Virginia*, the command of which was assigned to General John Pope. This army soon found sufficient employment, as the Confederates, under

Army of Virginia under General Pope.

Confederate Advance.

General Lee and Stonewall Jackson, flushed with their successes over McClellan's army near Richmond, marched northward for the purpose of taking Washington. Fremont resigned and was succeeded by General Franz Sigel.

Battle of Cedar Mountain.

Lee commenced his operations against Pope by sending Stonewall Jackson with a strong column against this new foe. Jackson met that portion of the Army of Virginia under General Banks at Cedar Mountain, in Culpepper county, Virginia, where a spirited but indecisive action was fought on August 9, 1862. Though Jackson's force was twice the size of that of Banks, the Confederate general failed to gain any decisive advantage, and the result of the day's fighting was a drawn battle.

Pope's Retreat and His Peril.

After the battle of Cedar Mountain, Pope marched his whole army to the Rapidan. Jackson fell back across that stream to await the approach of Lee, who was hurrying forward the main body of his army to overwhelm Pope before he could be reinforced. Perceiving his danger Pope fell back to the north bank of the Rappahannock, where he successfully resisted every effort of the Confederate army to cross until August 24, 1862. In the meantime the Confederates under General Stuart made a dash upon Catlett's Station, thirteen miles in Pope's rear, and seized prisoners, horses and the baggage of General Pope and his staff.

Battles of Kettle Run, Groveton, Second Bull Run and Chantilly.

At length the Confederates flanked the Army of Virginia; and a succession of sanguinary battles were fought at and near the old Bull Run battle-ground, beginning on August 24th and ending on September 1, 1862. On August 26th Jackson crossed the Rappahannock at a point farther up the river than the Union army could guard, marched through Thoroughfare Gap and cut off Pope's railroad communications with Washington. Pope thereupon fell back from the Rappahannock. The next day, August 27th, General Hooker's division routed the Confederate corps under General Richard Stoddard Ewell in an action known as the battle of Kettle Run. Heavy battles followed on the plains of Manassas, such as the battle of Groveton, August 29th, and the second battle of Bull Run, August 30th, when Pope was compelled to fall back. Two days later, September 1st, occurred the battle of Chantilly, in which the brave Generals Isaac Ingalls Stevens and Philip Kearny were among the killed on the National side, and which was the last conflict of this campaign. The Confederate loss in this series of battles was fifteen thousand men, while the National loss was twenty thousand men. Pope's army was so badly defeated that, to escape total destruction, it was compelled to seek safety behind the fortifications of Washington. General Fitz-John Porter was accused of disobeying orders and was dismissed from the army in 1863. He was

Pope's Terrible Defeats.

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McCLELLAN AT ANTIETAM, SEPTEMBER 17, 1862

persistent for over twenty years in seeking vindication and reinstatement in the army and finally succeeded in 1886.

Consolidation of Armies under McClellan.

McClellan in the meantime had come up from the Virginia peninsula, but too late to aid Pope. Soon after his disastrous defeats Pope resigned his command; and early in September, 1862, the Armies of Virginia and the Potomac were consolidated, and were thereafter known as the *Army of the Potomac*, the command of which was entrusted to General McClellan for the defense of Washington. This consolidated army at once had its hands full in beating back a formidable invasion of Maryland by the triumphant Confederate forces.

Lee's Invasion of Maryland.

Flushed with their successes over Pope, the Confederates, under the command of General Robert Edward Lee, their commander-in-chief, now crossed the Potomac into Maryland, at Point of Rocks, and entered Frederick. McClellan followed on their right flank, to cover Washington and Baltimore. Lee's invasion of Maryland caused intense excitement and alarm throughout Pennsylvania, especially in the southern counties of the Cumberland and Susquehanna Valleys. The men sent their wives and children and movable property farther north, while they themselves hastened to take up arms to repel the invaders. Lee expected to find the people of Maryland ready to sustain the Confederate cause, but in this he was disappointed, and his proclamation to them was not well received.

Alarm in Pennsylvania.

Battle of South Mountain.

On the 14th of September, 1862, the advance of McClellan's army under General Jesse Lee Reno and others overtook Lee's rear and defeated it in a fierce engagement known as the battle of South Mountain, driving the Confederates across the mountain; but the victory of the National army was dearly purchased, as the gallant General Reno was killed. The next day, September 15, 1862, after a slight skirmish, Harper's Ferry, with its garrison of twelve thousand National troops, was shamefully surrendered to Stonewall Jackson by its commander, Colonel D. H. Miles, a Marylander. Over two thousand Union cavalry broke through the Confederate lines before the surrender and escaped. Jackson immediately joined Lee, who, after the battle of South Mountain, had posted his army west of Antietam creek, near Sharpsburg.

Surrender of Harper's Ferry.

Battle of Antietam.

On the 17th of September, 1862, was fought the great battle of Antietam between the armies of McClellan and Lee, the former having almost ninety thousand men and the latter about sixty thousand. The battle raged all day from dawn till dark, and the Confederates were defeated with the loss of twenty thousand men, while the National loss was about fifteen thousand men. Among the mortally wounded on the National side were the heroic Generals Mansfield, Richardson and Rodman. The deaths of Generals Joseph King Fenno Mansfield and Isaac Peace Rodman were very much lamented. Immediately after the

Lee's Retreat to Virginia.

battle Lee's army fell back to the Potomac, which it crossed into Virginia, and retreated in the direction of Richmond, without being pursued by McClellan's victorious army.

Confederate Cavalry Raid.

About three weeks after the battle of Antietam a Confederate force under General Stuart made a destructive raid as far north as Chambersburg, in Pennsylvania, and, sweeping entirely around the Army of the Potomac, Stuart returned to Virginia. McClellan remained in Maryland more than a month after the battle of Antietam, and it was late in October when he crossed the Potomac into Virginia. On November 5, 1862, while stationed near Front Royal, he was relieved of the command of the Army of the Potomac, by order of the War Department; and General Ambrose Everett Burnside was appointed to take his place.

McClellan Superseded by Burnside.

Battle of Fredericksburg.

Lee, in the meantime, had led his army from the Shenandoah Valley across the Blue Ridge and taken post on the Rappahannock at Fredericksburg. About the middle of November, Burnside led the Army of the Potomac from the Shenandoah Valley across the Blue Ridge in pursuit of Lee and crossed the Rappahannock at Fredericksburg. On December 13, 1862, occurred the great battle of Fredericksburg, in which Burnside attempted to carry by storm that city and the Confederate works in the rear, but was repulsed after hard fighting, with the loss of fourteen thousand men; the gallant General Bayard, of Delaware, a descendant of the famous French knight, the Chevalier Bayard, being killed. Lee's loss was only about five thousand men. The earth was shaken terribly by the thunders of three hundred Confederate cannon and half as many Union guns. The Army of the Potomac then recrossed to the north side of the Rappahannock, where it remained until May, 1863.

Confederate Invasion of Kentucky

Late in the summer and during the fall of 1862, while the Confederates under General Lee and Stonewall Jackson invaded Maryland, two Confederate armies under the respective commands of Generals Edmund Kirby Smith and Braxton Bragg invaded Kentucky from Tennessee and threatened to carry the war north of the Ohio River, as Lee prepared to do north of Mason and Dixon's line; these simultaneous Confederate invasions causing intense alarm in the North.

Battle of Richmond, Kentucky

General Edmund Kirby Smith invaded Eastern Kentuky from East Tennessee in the latter part of August, 1862, and defeated a part of the National army commanded by General William Nelson at Richmond, Kentucky, on August 29th and 30th, the very days of General Pope's defeats in Virginia by Lee and Stonewall Jackson in the battle of Groveton and the second battle of Bull Run. After this victory Smith occupied Lexington and also Frankfort, the capital of Kentucky, and threatened Cincinnati, the affrighted Legislature of Ken-

tucky fleeing to Louisville. Energetic preparations were made for the defense of Cincinnati, and that city was placed under martial law.

Bragg's Advance on Louisville.

About the same time General Bragg invaded the more western portion of Kentucky and advanced in the direction of Louisville, sending out foraging parties to ravage the country and collect supplies. A part of his army under General Simon Bolivar Buckner was repulsed in an attack upon four thousand Union troops under Colonel John T. Wilder, at Mumfordsville, September 14th, the day of the battle of South Mountain, in Maryland; but two days later, September 16th, General Leonidas Polk, with twenty-five thousand of Bragg's troops, defeated Wilder and compelled him to surrender. In addition to the invasions of Kentucky by Bragg and Kirby Smith, guerilla bands, under Generals John Hunt Morgan and Nathan Bedford Forrest and others, made destructive raids through Central and Eastern Kentucky, sacking towns and seizing or destroying property, and even crossed the Ohio River and plundered Newburg, Indiana. An unfortunate incident during this campaign was the fatal quarrel between two Union generals; General William Nelson, of Kentucky, being shot and killed by General Jefferson C. Davis, of Indiana, in a hotel in Louisville, September 29, 1862.

Attack on Mumfordsville.

Guerrilla Bands.

Battle of Perryville.

The Confederate invaders had expected to find the people of Kentucky in sympathy with their cause, but they were disappointed in this, and consequently they soon retreated southward toward Tennessee, closely pursued by the National forces under the general command of General Don Carlos Buell. In the battle of Perryville, October 8, 1862, Bragg made a stand against the pursuing Union army and hurled his army against the troops under Generals McCook and Rousseau, but was defeated and compelled to resume his retreat, carrying his immense booty with him. Each army lost almost four thousand men in this bloody battle. Both Bragg and Kirby Smith abandoned Kentucky and fled into Tennessee about the same time, October, 1862. The Confederate invasion of Kentucky compelled the Union troops to evacuate the important post of Cumberland Gap, in the Cumberland Mountains, at a point where the State lines of Kentucky, Tennessee and Virginia meet.

Confederate Retreat from Kentucky

Battle of Murfreesboro.

General Buell pursued the Confederates in their retreat from Kentucky into Tennessee; and late in October, 1862, he was superseded in his command by General Rosecrans, who closed the campaign this year by his dearly-bought victory over Bragg in the battle of Stone River, or Murfreesboro', Tennessee, which commenced on December 31, 1862, and ended on January 2, 1863. Rosecrans had about forty-five thousand men, and Bragg had somewhat more. The Union loss was twelve thousand men, while the Confederate loss was somewhat less. Rose-

crans's subordinate generals were McCook, Thomas, Rousseau, Palmer, Hazen, Negley, Sheridan, Crittenden, Jefferson C. Davis and others. Bragg's subordinate generals were Kirby Smith, Breckinridge, Hardee, Polk, Cheatham and others.

Confederate Privateers.

In 1862 the blockade of the Southern ports by the National navy was made still more effective. The Confederates made great exertions to prepare a navy, and they procured vessels in Europe to prey upon National ships; and the commerce of the United States was almost driven from the seas, except where it was under the protection of armed vessels. The *Oreto* (afterward the *Florida*) and the *Alabama*, both built in England, were permitted by the British government to pass into Confederate hands. As they were unable to enter any Confederate port and were not permitted to take their prizes into any foreign port, they usually burned their captured ships and their cargoes.

War with the Sioux Indians in Minnesota.

During the summer of 1862, while the Great Civil War was devastating half the Union, the Sioux Indians in Minnesota, led by Little Crow and other chiefs, began a murderous war on the white people of that State and perpetrated many atrocious massacres, killing more than seven hundred whites and driving about twenty-five thousand from their homes.

Sioux Massacre of White People.

The Indians had been dissatisfied for a long time, especially complaining of the course pursued by the white traders and of the delay of the National government in making the annual payments due them by treaty. The Indians began their outrages on August 17, 1862, when a party of Sioux murdered some whites near the town of Acton; and the next day they indulged in a general massacre of the white settlers on the upper Minnesota river. After defeating the few United States troops sent against them, the Indians perpetrated fiendish massacres throughout the whole western part of Minnesota and also in Iowa and the Territory of Dakota. The savages inflicted every kind of atrocity upon their victims. A fierce attack which the Indians made upon New Ulm, an isolated town of about fifteen hundred inhabitants, was repulsed with difficulty, after which the inhabitants fled from the town. Colonel (afterward General) Henry Hastings Sibley relieved Fort Ridgely after a siege of several days, led an expedition up the Minnesota Valley, defeated Little Crow and his warriors and drove them into Dakota, September, 1862. Several hundred of the savages were captured, and thirty-eight were hanged for their murders.

Attack on New Ulm.

Defeat of the Indians.

End of the Sioux War.

In the meantime General John Pope was assigned to the command of this department. The next summer (1863) the savages renewed their outrages; but they were hunted down and their chief, Little Crow, was killed; and General Sibley led an expedition in pursuit of the hostile tribes, and drove them across the Missouri river in September, after

considerable fighting during a tedious campaign. This was one of the greatest Indian wars in the history of the United States; but it did not attract the attention it deserved from the people, on account of the overshadowing magnitude of the Great Civil War.

The Question of Emancipation.

Though the National administration refused to adopt the extreme demands of the radical anti-slavery people who cried for the abolition of slavery at the beginning of the struggle, holding that such a policy at that time was premature, yet there were some blows struck against slavery from the very beginning for military reasons.

General Butler and the "Contrabands."

General Butler refused to restore slaves who had escaped from secessionist owners and had come into his lines, and at another's suggestion he said: "They are contraband of war. Set them at work within our lines." This was the origin of the term *contrabands*, as applied to fugitive slaves who entered the Union lines during the Civil War. By a very remarkable coincidence, this first step toward emancipation was taken where slaves first had been brought into what is now the United States of America. General Butler asked the advice of the Secretary of War as to his course in such a matter, and that Cabinet officer directed the general to continue to pursue the policy which he had adopted in this matter. This heroic measure met with very general approval on the part of the loyal people.

Action of Congress in 1861.

Soon afterward—in this same summer of 1861—Congress passed an act declaring that slaveholders forfeited all claim to slaves employed in aiding insurrection or resistance to the laws of the United States, when a certain Congressman said that "the things to be done are to tax, fight and emancipate."

Action of Generals Fremont and Hunter.

The logic of events was certain eventually to bring about more decisive action, all this occurring early in the summer of 1861. On August 30, 1861, General Fremont, while in command of the department of Missouri, issued a general order freeing the slaves of "all persons in the State of Missouri who shall take up arms against the United States." President Lincoln directed that this must be "so construed as to conform with, and not to transcend, the provisions on the same subject contained in the act of Congress," a few weeks earlier, by which only such slaves were freed as were themselves employed in aiding insurrection. On May 9, 1862, General David Hunter, while in command of the department of the South, embracing South Carolina, Georgia and Florida, issued an order that "the persons in these States heretofore held as slaves are declared forever free." Hunter's order in this case, like Fremont's the previous year, was also modified by President Lincoln, who asserted: "The supposed proclamation now in question, whether genuine or false, is altogether void. * * * I further make known that whether it be competent for me, as com-

President Lincoln's Conservative Policy.

mander-in-chief of the army and navy, to declare the slaves of any State or States free, and whether at any time or in any case it shall have become a necessity indispensable to the maintenance of the government to exercise such supposed power, are questions which, under my responsibility, I reserve to myself, and which I cannot feel justified in leaving to the decision of commanders in the field." The President went on to state that he had recommended Congress to adopt a joint resolution in March, 1862, and that it had been adopted by large majorities in both branches in April, 1862, declaring it to be the duty of the United States to coöperate, by pecuniary aid, with any State undertaking the gradual abolition of slavery. Here Mr. Lincoln took the early anti-slavery ground in favor of a gradual and compensated emancipation. He asserted that this "now stands as an authentic, definite and solemn proposal of the Nation to the States and people most interested in the subject-matter. To the people of those States, now, I mostly appeal. * * * You cannot, if you would, be blind to the signs of the times."

Blows at Slavery by Congress.

As the President observed, these signs of the doom of slavery were very plain. Already had Congress abolished slavery in the District of Columbia on the principle of compensation to the slaveholders, April 16, 1862. The bill received the President's signature, and it became a law on June 16, 1862. Congress soon afterward abolished slavery in the Territories of the United States without compensation, June 19, 1862. This bill was signed by the President the next day. A month later—July 17, 1862—Congress passed an act to seize and confiscate the slaves of persons engaged in rebellion against the United States government, what General Fremont had sought to do in Missouri the year before. The President signed this act also.

President Lincoln's Warning to the Confederates.

But President Lincoln now had in contemplation a greater anti-slavery measure than any of the preceding acts. Early in the summer of 1862 he read to his Cabinet the draft of a proclamation for the emancipation of all the slaves in the seceded States. Secretary of State Seward objected to the time of doing the act, not to the act itself, saying that it should be done after a Union victory. Time went on without bringing victory, but instead a series of disastrous and disheartening defeats, and finally the leading Confederate army had invaded Maryland. Said the President afterwards: "I made a solemn vow before God that if General Lee was driven back from Maryland I would crown the result by the declaration of freedom to the slaves." To a deputation from Chicago, which waited on him on September 13, 1862, to urge immediate emancipation, as if it were their measure, not his, he modestly remarked: "The subject is on my mind by day and by night more than any other. Whatever shall appear to be God's

will that will I do." Five days after General Lee's defeat at Antietam the President issued his proclamation, September 22, 1862, warning the Confederates that if they did not lay down their arms and return to their allegiance to the National government within a hundred days he would proclaim the freedom of the slaves in the rebellious States, except in certain designated sections; the following being the President's warning words: "That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State, or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward and forever free; and the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons."

Effects of this Preliminary Proclamation.

This preliminary proclamation was very significant. The slaves in the seceded States would be free at the beginning of the next year, and it could not be long before the slaves in the Slave States which had not seceded would be free also. People could see that the day was not far distant when there would be no slave on the soil of the United States. This proclamation did not please all of the President's fellow-citizens. Indeed, for the time being it displeased most of them. It displeased the element who wanted the Union restored with slavery as before, while it also displeased the radical element who wanted immediate emancipation without any grace shown to the revolted slaveholders. In the elections in the loyal States in the fall of 1862 the Republican majorities of the Presidential year 1860 gave place to Democratic majorities against the administration; and there is no doubt that the President's emancipation policy was the most effective agency in bringing about these Democratic victories, though various other causes were assigned, such as the condition of trade and the currency, increasing taxation, the arrests on political charges, the military reverses of the year, etc. Lord Lyons, the British Minister at Washington, wrote home of "a change in public feeling among the most rapid and complete that have ever been witnessed even in this country." In fact, the Union army and navy, or many of the officers and their men, complained that the war for the restoration of the Union should be converted into a war for the abolition of slavery.

Democratic Victories in 1862

Emancipation Proclamation.

As President Lincoln remarked afterward, the good results of emancipation were not so immediate as was expected; but he remained firm, and as the Confederates spurned his warning of September 22, 1862, and in spite of many predictions that the promised proclamation of freedom would not be issued, the memorable New Year's Day, 1863, was signalized by the following *Emancipation Proclamation*, declaring forever free all the slaves in Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina,

Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas and Arkansas, excepting West Virginia and other specified sections. The President's words proclaiming the liberation of the slaves were as follows: "I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States and parts of States are and henceforward shall be free. * * * And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free to abstain from all violence unless in necessary self-defense. * * * And I further declare and make known that such persons, of suitable condition, will be received into the armed service of the United States. * * * And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God."

Effects of this Proclamation.

This decisive step destroyed the last hope of foreign aid to the Confederates, as the public sentiment of the civilized world was against chattel slavery; the great Republic of the United States, which always had boasted of its civil and political liberty, being the last of the great nations of the world to strike the shackles from the chattel slave. As Great Britain had been the first nation of the world to abolish slavery, she had become the great abolitionist power; and it was said that she had threatened to recognize the Confederacy if the National government did not emancipate the slaves, which led Alexander Hamilton Stephens, the Confederate Vice President, to assert that President Lincoln had been intimidated into adopting his emancipation policy by British threats. At any rate, after the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation the threats of recognition of the Confederacy and of foreign aid to the Confederates were heard of very little. Though European nations generally sympathized with the Confederates so far as they were fighting for independence, these same nations were opposed most uncompromisingly to the peculiar institution of chattel slavery, which the Confederates were fighting to perpetuate and which was an obstacle to their receiving foreign aid and recognition. The President's proclamation of freedom to the slaves also changed the character of the Great Civil War. Before the Emancipation Proclamation was issued the loyal States fought simply for the restoration of the Union with slavery. After the issuance of that proclamation they fought for the restoration of the Union without slavery. As the Declaration of Independence changed the character of the War of the American Revolution, so the Emancipation Proclamation changed the character of the great American Civil War. As Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights have been the great charters of English liberty, so the Declaration of Independence and the Emancipation Proclamation have been the great charters of American freedom.

Gloomy Period of the Union.

Never during the whole period of the Civil War did the cause of the Union appear more gloomy than at the close of 1862. The military power of the Southern Confederacy was as formidable as ever, and very little had been accomplished toward its overthrow. There were about seven hundred thousand National troops in the field, while the Confederate army was larger than at any previous or subsequent period.

Recruits and Conscriptions on Both Sides.

The repeated calls of the President for volunteers constantly recruited the National armies, and finally in the fall of 1862 a draft was resorted to; but owing to the efforts made to obtain volunteers, especially the high bounties paid by States, counties, cities, towns, townships and individuals to all who would enlist, comparatively few troops were obtained by draft in 1862 or during the war. The Confederate armies were recruited by sweeping conscriptions at various times during the war.

Revival of Party Spirit in the Loyal States.

Party spirit had subsided in the Northern States during the first year and a half of the war. The attack on Fort Sumter had the effect of solidly uniting the North, so that there was but one party in the Free States for the time; but after the Confederate successes during the summer of 1862, and the President's proclamation of September 22d, of that year, the Peace Democrats bitterly denounced the policy of the administration in its prosecution of the war, while the War Democrats sustained the administration. Among the most prominent of the War Democrats was Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, whom the President had appointed Military Governor of that State. Another was Joseph Holt, of Kentucky, a member of Buchanan's Cabinet, whom President Lincoln appointed Judge Advocate General. Party spirit was again extremely violent in the North, and the supporters and opponents of the administration manifested the most bitter hatred of each other and the utmost intolerance of each other's opinions. Various epithets were applied by the opposing parties to their respective opponents, the best known being the epithet "Copperheads," applied to the Anti-War Democrats by the supporters of the war policy of the administration. As we have seen, the reaction against the administration, in consequence of the ill success of the National arms in the campaign of 1862 and of the President's emancipation policy, had the effect of giving a temporary triumph to the Anti-War Democracy in the elections in many of the Northern States in the fall of 1862.

The Epithet "Copperheads."

The National credit was well sustained during the struggle. The National government met the expenses of the war with promptitude, and the Northern people supported those expenses with cheerfulness. Besides the ordinary sources of revenue, recourse was had to direct taxation, to the issue of irredeemable paper money and to various forms of loans. The means of defraying the expenses of the war had become a

The National Finances.

serious question with the National government from the very first. Notwithstanding the prosperity of the Northern people at the beginning of the struggle, this prosperity could not continue while wealth was poured out on every side and while labor was engaged largely on the battlefield. The banks gave the first signal of alarm by suspending specie payments in 1861.

Greenbacks and Fractional Currency.

In February, 1862, Congress authorized the issue of one hundred and fifty million dollars of irredeemable United States treasury notes, afterwards issuing four hundred million dollars of this irredeemable paper currency, all this paper money to be legal tender for the payment of all debts. Because the backs of these United States treasury notes were printed with green ink they were called *Greenbacks*. They soon became the principal circulating medium in the Northern States. Silver and gold commanded a premium and soon went out of circulation. Postage stamps and various kinds of tickets and checks passed current as small change until Congress authorized the issue of paper money of denominations of less than a dollar, called *fractional currency*, for general circulation.

National Banks and Their Notes.

The rapid expansion of the irredeemable paper currency produced its inevitable consequences. In order to obviate these effects in a very small degree, Congress established the National Bank system in 1863, by which the banks which hitherto had been State institutions became *National Banks*, and their notes were secured by deposits of United States government bonds at Washington. This new banking system materially improved the circulation, and National Bank notes from all over the loyal States passed current everywhere throughout those States and supplanted other bank paper as a circulating medium, though the value of the currency remained that of paper, irredeemed and irredeemable, and consequently soon declined. It was necessary to have more paper dollars to buy what previously had been bought by gold and silver or by paper redeemable in gold and silver. Accordingly prices advanced, and people of limited incomes found their incomes more limited than ever, some being reduced gradually to poverty, while those who profited by the times acquired wealth suddenly. Thus contracts with the government and the speculation encouraged by the unsettled condition of the money market led to the creation of new fortunes. Many persons made money by dealing in government bonds, of which millions followed millions as loan followed loan.

Jay Cooke.

It was very largely through the efforts of the great Philadelphia banker and financier, Jay Cooke, that the National government was enabled to borrow money to carry on the war for the restoration of the Union; Jay Cooke thus being to the National government during the Civil War what that other eminent Philadelphia financier, Robert

Morris, was to the cause of American independence during the War of the American Revolution.

The Gold Premium and the National Debt.

Secretary of the Treasury Chase thought his operations highly successful; but the price of gold rose to $1.95 in paper to one dollar in gold in May, 1864, and to $2.85 in July, 1864, declining thereafter. After Secretary Chase's resignation, in July, 1864, the finances of the National government were managed very ably by his successor, William Pitt Fessenden, of Maine, and also after March 4, 1865, by the latter's successor, Hugh McCulloch, of Indiana. By the close of the war the National debt amounted to three billion dollars, the expenditure then being at the rate of three million dollars daily.

Confederate Credit.

The Confederate credit soon began to depreciate; and cotton, the great staple on which the South depended to meet its foreign obligations, was kept at home by the blockade of its ports by the United States navy. Before the downfall of the Confederacy the Confederate currency had become almost worthless, and Secretary of the Treasury Trenholm's post was a most embarrassing one.

Events in Virginia Early in 1863.

In Virginia, early in 1863, the Confederates under General William Henry Fitzhugh Lee failed in an attempt to capture a National force at Gloucester, opposite Yorktown, early in February; Colonel John Singleton Mosby, the notorious guerrilla chief, captured a small Union force at Fairfax Court House, March 8th; and the Confederate cavalry under Fitzhugh Lee defeated the Union cavalry under General William Woods Averell near Kelly's Ford, on the Rappahannock, in March, each losing almost a hundred men.

Burnside Superseded by Hooker.

On the 27th of January, 1863, General Burnside was relieved of the command of the Army of the Potomac and was succeeded by General Joseph Hooker. Hooker crossed the Rappahannock river, May 1, 1863, for another advance upon Richmond; and on the 2d, 3d and 4th his army engaged in a severe battle with Lee's army at Chancellorsville, about ten miles west of Fredericksburg. Hooker began his advance with every promise of success. His army was about one hundred and twenty-five thousand strong, about twice as large as Lee's army. After sending General George Stoneman's cavalry to cut off Lee's communications with the Confederate capital, Hooker dispatched General John Sedgwick with a part of his army across the Rappahannock near Fredericksburg, and he himself led the main body of his army some miles up the river, where he crossed to Chancellorsville; but he was met and routed by Lee, May 2, 1863. The next morning, May 3, 1863, Hooker was again attacked and defeated by Lee; but in the meantime Sedgwick had carried the heights of Fredericksburg and was threatening Lee's rear. Having worsted Hooker, Lee now fiercely attacked Sedgwick, and after two days' severe fighting drove him back upon the

Battle of Chancellorsville.

Hooker's Defeat.

Rappahannock, which Sedgwick crossed that night. Hooker had put his army in a perilous position by dividing it; but Lee also placed his own victorious army in a like perilous situation by dividing it and sending Jackson with a portion to watch one wing of the Union army, while he himself with the main body watched the other wing of Hooker's forces. The Confederate victory was purchased dearly with the death of the famous general, Stonewall Jackson, himself worth an army to them in the magic of his name. It was believed that he was shot by his own troops by mistake. He was idolized by his troops and by the Southern people. He was intensely religious, and before battle was always found praying in his tent. His only baggage at times was said to have been his Bible and his maps. The Confederate loss amounted to twelve thousand men; while the Union loss was over seventeen thousand men, Generals Berry and Whipple being among the killed. Hooker recrossed the Rappahannock with the remainder of his army on the night of May 5, 1863, and rejoined Sedgwick.

Death of Stonewall Jackson.

Lee's Invasion of Pennsylvania.

After the battle of Chancellorsville, Lee's army began to march northward for the purpose of carrying the war into the loyal States. In June, 1863, he moved down the Shenandoah Valley, took Winchester and Martinsburg, crossed the Potomac near Williamsport, Maryland, and advanced into Pennsylvania. Hooker followed with his army on the right flank of the Confederates, in order to save Washington and Baltimore from capture. When Hooker reached Frederick, Maryland, he resigned his command, June 28, 1863; and General George Gordon Meade was appointed to the command of the Army of the Potomac by the War Department.

Hooker Superseded by Meade.

Alarm in Pennsylvania.

After the defeat of General Robert Huston Milroy's cavalry near Winchester, Virginia, June 25, 1863, by the Confederates, the utmost alarm spread throughout the Cumberland Valley, in Pennsylvania. There were also cavalry skirmishes and sharp encounters at Beverly Ford and Brandy Station, at Aldie and Middleburg. The rapid advance of the Confederates created the utmost consternation throughout the counties of the southern border of Pennsylvania and aroused great excitement throughout the entire North. Governor Curtin, of Pennsylvania, called out one hundred thousand militia to repel the invasion; and Governor Seymour, of New York, offered fifty thousand militia from that State to assist in driving back the invaders. The calling out of the Pennsylvania militia was in response to the call of President Lincoln summoning the militia from Pennsylvania, Ohio, Maryland and West Virginia to take the field against the invaders.

Pennsylvania Militia Called Out.

Lee's Advance into Pennsylvania.

After crossing the Potomac the Confederates rapidly advanced toward the Susquehanna, and all the fords and ferries along the lower portion of the latter stream were guarded by Pennsylvania militia. It

BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG

Charge of the Pennsylvania Volunteers

From the Painting by Paul Philippoteaux

was evident that a decisive struggle was at hand. At the end of June Lee's forces were in Pennsylvania, scattered at different points. Lee and Longstreet proceeded toward Chambersburg. General Ambrose Powell Hill occupied Chambersburg. General Early occupied York; and a small detachment under General John Brown Gordon marched to Wrightsville, on the Susquehanna, and routed the militia in a short skirmish there, while a bridge crossing the river between that place and Columbia was uselessly burned by the militia in order to prevent the invaders from crossing the river, Sunday night, June 28, 1863. General Ewell, in the meanwhile, pushed down the Cumberland Valley toward Harrisburg, shelled Carlisle three times during the last few days of June and advanced to within a few miles of Pennsylvania's capital, creating intense alarm and excitement. The Union cavalry under General Judson Kilpatrick had a sharp skirmish with the Confederate cavalry under General Stuart, at Hanover, York county, Pennsylvania, June 29, 1863.

Advance of Confederate Detachments to the Susquehanna.

The Confederate detachments were finally called in by Lee, who concentrated his army at Gettysburg, the county seat of Adams county, Pennsylvania. There the armies of Meade and Lee, each numbering about eighty thousand men, engaged in a great three days' battle, which was the turning point of the great American Civil War. The battle began on the morning of July 1, 1863, when the First corps of the Union army under the command of General John Fulton Reynolds encountered the Confederate corps under General Ambrose Powell Hill west of Gettysburg. The struggle was suddenly brought about by the unexpected engagement between Buford's cavalry and the Confederate cavalry. General Reynolds was shot dead by a sharpshooter while directing the engagement, and a few days later his remains were taken to his native place, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, where they were interred. He had been General Meade's right-hand man, and his untimely death was sincerely lamented. Strong reinforcements were received in the afternoon, and a terrible conflict was fought for the possession of Seminary Ridge. The conflict raged until four in the afternoon, when the Confederates had the advantage. The National troops were driven from their position, through Gettysburg, to the hills southward, where a new line of battle was formed at nightfall, extending from Round Top to Cemetery Hill and thence to Culp's Hill. The entire National army was moved to that strong position during the night. The Confederate forces were all brought into position on Seminary Ridge and other high grounds, forming a semi-circular line five miles long. The cavalry of both armies hung upon the flanks.

Battle of Gettysburg.

First Day.

Death of General Reynolds.

Struggle on Seminary Ridge.

The battle was renewed at four o'clock in the afternoon of the second day, July 2, 1863, and lasted until ten at night. The Confederate

Second Day.

Struggles on Round Top, Cemetery Hill and Culp's Hill.

corps under General Longstreet attacked the Union left under General Daniel Edgar Sickles, which was posted on Round Top and Little Round Top; and at six in the evening, after terrible fighting, the National troops still held those strong positions. The Union left center, under General Winfield Scott Hancock, repulsed the assaults of the Confederates with heavy loss, after a most sanguinary struggle. The Union right center, under General Oliver Otis Howard, on Cemetery Hill, was struggling desperately with the Confederate division under General Jubal Early, of Ewell's corps; and the National line was maintained there also at nightfall, in spite of the most desperate Confederate assaults. The Union right, under General Henry Warner Slocum, on Culp's Hill, was somewhat shattered in its fierce struggle with the Confederate division under General Edward Johnson, also of Ewell's corps, which finally captured the works on Slocum's extreme right. When the day's fighting ceased, at ten o'clock at night, the positions of the two armies had not been changed materially. On the Union side Generals Hancock and John Oliver Gibbon were wounded, and General Sickles was so severely wounded in one leg that amputation was necessary. The Confederate General William Barksdale, of Mississippi, was killed, and his dead body was left within the Union lines. During the night both armies prepared to renew the momentous and sanguinary struggle the next day.

Death of General Barksdale.

Third Day

The battle was renewed at four o'clock in the morning of the third day, July 3, 1863, and lasted twelve hours. Slocum drove the Confederates out of his lines after a hard fight. At one o'clock in the afternoon Lee began the most terrific cannonade that ever occurred on the American continent, and for two hours the thunders of almost two hundred and fifty pieces of heavy artillery shook the hills about Gettysburg. The Confederate artillerymen, with one hundred and forty-five cannon, concentrated their fire on the center of the National army at Cemetery Hill, producing dreadful havoc and carnage. The Union artillery, embracing about a hundred cannon, replied vigorously to the Confederate fire. When the cannonade ceased, a Confederate column almost three miles in length, led by General George Edward Pickett's Virginians, desperately charged the center of the Union army, but were repulsed with the most terrrific carnage, thus ending the battle of Gettysburg in a great and decisive victory for the National army; and Lee was obliged to retreat with his shattered army toward the Potomac. The Confederate General Lewis Addison Armistead was mortally wounded and captured, in leading his troops in the charge on the Union breastworks. In this greatest battle of the Civil War, Lee's army lost almost thirty thousand men, while the National army lost over twenty-three thousand.

Terrific Cannonade.

Pickett's Charge and Rout.

Decisive Union Victory.

Fate of the Union Decided at Gettysburg.

The battle of Gettysburg is regarded as the great and decisive battle of the Civil War, as the fate of the Union was practically decided at Gettysburg, because had Lee triumphed on Northern soil Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York would all have been at the mercy of the Confederates, and the Southern Confederacy would have been recognized as an independent power. Thus Gettysburg, not Appomattox, decided the fate of the Union, just as Saratoga, not Yorktown, decided the struggle for American independence. The battle of Gettysburg, which rescued the Union and also rescued Pennsylvania from Confederate invasion, was noted for the conspicuous part borne therein by three eminent Pennsylvania commanders—Meade, Reynolds and Hancock. This victory, together with that won by General Grant in the capture of Vicksburg, July 4, 1863, produced the liveliest joy throughout the North; and President Lincoln called upon the loyal people to observe a day of National thanksgiving, praise and prayer, invoking Almighty God "to lead the whole Nation, through paths of repentance and submission to the Divine will, back to the perfect enjoyment of union and fraternal peace."

National Thanksgiving.

Lee's Retreat to Virginia.

After the battle of Gettysburg the Confederate army under General Lee, then numbering about fifty thousand men, thoroughly demoralized, made a precipitate flight toward Virginia, closely pursued by the victorious Army of the Potomac under General Meade; and it was not long before both armies again found themselves south of the Potomac. Lee continued his retreat across the Potomac near Williamsport, Maryland, up the Shenandoah Valley, through the passes of the Blue Ridge; and in September he took position south of the Rapidan. Meade pursued, crossed the Potomac near Harper's Ferry, kept east of the Blue Ridge and posted his army about Culpepper and Brandy Station, north of the Rapidan. The two armies thus confronted each other until the next spring, and there were unsuccessful movements on the part of each to out-maneuver the other.

Meade's Pursuit.

Skirmishes between Meade's and Lee's Armies.

In September, 1863, Lee sent a part of his army under Longstreet to reinforce Bragg in Tennessee; while Meade sent a part of his army under Hooker to reinforce Rosecrans, who was contending with Bragg in that State. In October Lee's army drove the Army of the Potomac back upon Manassas, but in turn was compelled to retreat, after some skirmishing. Severe skirmishes at Rappahannock Station and Kelly's Ford, November 7, 1863, resulted in the capture of two thousand Confederates by a portion of Meade's army under Generals John Sedgwick and William Henry French. Meade next crossed the Rapidan and made feints upon Lee's right, encamped on Mine Run; but as he found Lee's position too strong for successful attack he recrossed the river, and the two armies went into winter-quarters.

Averell's Cavalry Raids.

In the summer of 1863 a Union raiding party struck the Virginia and Tennessee Railway near Wytheville, in the south-western part of Virginia; and a strong Union cavalry force under General William Woods Averell made a raid in the Shenandoah Valley, destroying salt works and other property, but was routed in a two days' fight with Confederate cavalry near White Sulphur Springs, August 26th and 27th. In November he drove most of the Confederate troops from West Virginia; and in December he destroyed fifteen miles of the Virginia and Tennessee Railway at and about Salem, west of Lynchburg.

Capture of Arkansas Post.

The great enterprise in the South-west during 1863 was the opening of the Mississippi river, which task was assigned to General Grant. After Sherman's unsuccessful attack on Vicksburg, Mississippi, at the close of 1862, that general was succeeded in his command by General John Alexander McClernand, who went up the Arkansas river, and, in conjunction with Admiral Porter, captured Arkansas Post with its garrison of five thousand Confederate troops, after a severe engagement on January 11, 1863.

Siege of Vicksburg.

Vicksburg was regarded as impregnable by the Confederates, as it is situated on a high bluff on the east bank of the Mississippi, and as formidable batteries and forts crowned the bluff for miles and completely commanded the river. The Union fleet under Admiral Farragut and the flotilla under Commodore Davis vainly bombarded the city during the spring and early part of the summer of 1862. The Mississippi makes a bend in front of Vicksburg, forming a tongue of land opposite the city. Grant attempted to cut a channel across this tongue, and thus turn the river from its natural course, leaving Vicksburg inland. This attempt failed, as did also attempts to pass round the city and get to its rear.

Early Failures.

Grant's Operations.

Toward the close of April, 1863, Grant suddenly marched his army from Milliken's Bend, above Vicksburg, to a point on the river below, while Admiral Porter's gunboats and transports ran past the Confederate batteries at Grand Gulf under cover of the darkness of night. After crossing the river at Bruinsburg, April 30, 1863, Grant, by a succession of rapidly-executed movements, won a series of brilliant victories over the Confederates in May. He defeated General John Clifford Pemberton at Port Gibson, May 1st. On May 8th he was reinforced by Sherman, who had been repulsed in two attempts to capture Haines's Bluff. Grant then marched against the Confederates under General Joseph Eccleston Johnston, at Jackson, Mississippi's capital, and was victorious in the battle of Raymond, May 12th, and in the battle of Jackson, May 14th. Johnston was driven northward, and Grant took Jackson and burned much public property. Grant then defeated Pemberton in the battle of Champion Hill, May 16th, and in

Battles of Port Gibson, Raymond, Jackson, Champion Hill and Big Black River Bridge.

the battle of Big Black River Bridge, May 17th. By these victories Grant compelled the Confederates to evacuate Grand Gulf, prevented the union of the armies of Johnston and Pemberton and drove Pemberton back within the intrenchments of Vicksburg, which was then closely besieged by Grant's victorious army, aided by Admiral Porter's gunboats. Pemberton was a Philadelphian by birth.

Siege of Vicksburg.

Grant's movements were facilitated by a cavalry expedition under Colonel Benjamin Henry Grierson, who made a raid from Lagrange, Tennessee, southward through Mississippi, to Baton Rouge, Louisiana, which he reached May 2, 1863, after having traversed six hundred miles of hostile territory in little more than two weeks, cutting the enemy's communications and destroying railroad bridges, rolling-stock and military supplies. Grierson reported: "The Confederacy is a mere shell." A Confederate force of twenty-five hundred men attacked the Union camp at Milliken's Bend, June 6, 1863, but was repulsed by the garrison, a thousand strong, aided by two gunboats.

Grierson's Cavalry Raid.

Battle of Milliken's Bend.

Late in May, 1863, the Army of the Mississippi under General Grant, assisted by Admiral Porter's gunboats, completely invested Vicksburg, which was garrisoned by a large Confederate army under General John Clifford Pemberton. For more than six weeks the besiegers kept up an incessant bombardment upon the beleaguered city. Assistance and escape were both impossible to the doomed garrison. Grant was repulsed in two efforts to carry the Confederate works by storm; but the siege was prosecuted with so much vigor that Pemberton asked for an armistice on July 3d, the day of the Confederate rout at Gettysburg, and later in the day the two generals met between the lines to confer about the capitulation of the garrison; and the next morning, July 4, 1863, Pemberton surrendered his whole force, amounting to more than thirty thousand men, and the city of Vicksburg into the hands of Grant. The prisoners were paroled, but the Confederate government placed most of them in its armies again. After that the Unionists refused to parole any prisoners whom they could hold, but sent them to detached stations in the North for confinement until exchanged. Grant's loss from the time of his crossing at Bruinsburg to the fall of Vicksburg was about eight thousand men.

Siege and Surrender of Vicksburg.

While the siege of Vicksburg was in progress, General Joseph Eccleston Johnston had been hovering in Grant's rear. Immediately after the capture of the city General Sherman went in pursuit of him and drove him back to Jackson and thence eastward. Johnston afterward sent part of his army to reinforce Bragg in Tennessee. Grant likewise sent expeditions to various points on both sides of the Mississippi, to capture Confederate troops or guerrilla parties, to seize Confederate supplies or to cut Confederate communications. While Grant and Sher-

Movements of Grant, Sherman and McPherson.

man led a large portion of the Army of the Mississippi from Vicksburg to East Tennessee, General James Birdseye McPherson was left in command of the remainder, and he continued the work of destroying the enemy's transportation and resources.

Opening of the Mississippi.

The fall of Port Hudson, four days after that of Vicksburg, opened the Mississippi from its source to its mouth and severed the Confederacy into two parts. General Banks had superseded General Butler in command at New Orleans late in 1862 and sent troops to Galveston, Texas.

Capture and Recapture of Galveston.

On New Year's night, 1863, after the Union troops had taken Galveston, the Confederates under General Magruder attacked them by land and water, retook the city, killed or captured the Union garrison of three hundred men and seized some of the government shipping in the harbor.

Banks's Operations in Louisiana.

During the winter and spring of 1863 General Banks overran Louisiana from New Orleans to the Red River, defeated the Confederates in a number of actions and captured many prisoners, some artillery and much public property. Among the Confederate commanders whom he defeated was General Richard Taylor, son of President Zachary Taylor and brother of Jefferson Davis's first wife. On the 8th of May, Banks entered Alexandria, Louisiana, on the Red River, which city had been captured the previous day by Admiral Porter with his gunboats.

Capture of Port Hudson.

Banks then returned to the Mississippi and invested Port Hudson, above Baton Rouge, but was repulsed in two assaults. On July 8, 1863, Port Hudson, with its garrison of five thousand Confederate troops under General Frank Gardner, was surrendered to Banks, thus overcoming the last obstruction to the navigation of the Mississippi river.

Confederate Movements in Louisiana.

In the meantime the Confederates under General Richard Taylor reoccupied Alexandria and swooped down on the Mississippi and captured the Union garrison at Brashear City, but abandoned that place, with the whole region east of the Atchafalaya, after the fall of Port Hudson.

General Franklin's and General Dana's Expeditions to Texas.

After the capture of Port Hudson, General Banks sent General William Buel Franklin with an expedition of four thousand troops in transports, aided by four gunboats under Lieutenant Crocker, to take possession of Sabine Pass, Texas; but two of the gunboats surrendered to the Confederates, September 8, 1863, after being disabled in an attack upon the Confederate batteries, manned by about forty Irishmen, each of whom received a silver medal from Jefferson Davis for bravery on this occasion; and Franklin's expedition returned to New Orleans. In October, 1863, Banks sent an expedition of six thousand troops under General Napoleon Jackson Tecumseh Dana by water to break up the vast trade which had been carried on across the Rio Grande, at Brownsville, Texas. Union troops were landed at Brazos Santiago, on the Texas bank of the Rio Grande; and in November of the same

year Brownsville and the Rio Grande thence to its mouth were held by the Union forces, which afterward occupied more than half the coast of Texas.

Confederate Raids in Missouri.

In Missouri and Arkansas the Confederates were active and restless during 1863, but accomplished very little. General John Sappington Marmaduke with a Confederate force invaded South-western Missouri from Arkansas, but was repulsed in his attacks upon Springfield, January 8th, and Hartville, January 11th, and was driven back into Arkansas. In April, Marmaduke made another raid into Missouri, this time invading the south-eastern part of the State with eight thousand men; but he was repulsed in his attack upon Cape Girardeau, on the Mississippi river, April 26th, by Union troops under General McNeill and was again driven back into Arkansas.

Operations in Arkansas

Two thousand Confederates were repulsed in an attack on a Union force under Colonel Benjamin Harrison at Fayetteville, in North-western Arkansas, April 18th, and were driven over the Ozark mountains. A force of Texans and Creek Indians were repulsed in an attack on a Union wagon-train near Fort Blunt, July 1st, and General Blunt defeated six thousand Confederates under General Cooper at Honey Springs, July 17th. The Confederates under General Theophilus Hunter Holmes were repulsed in an attack upon the Union force under General Benjamin Mayberry Prentiss, at Helena, Arkansas, on the Mississippi river, July 4, 1863, the day of the capture of Vicksburg and Lee's retreat from Gettysburg. General Blunt took Fort Smith, in North-western Arkansas, September 1st; and another Union force under General Frederick Steele captured Little Rock, the capital of Arkansas, September 10, 1863, thus completely breaking the power of the Confederates in that State, in which the National authority was thus restored.

Capture of Helena, Fort Smith and Little Rock.

Guerrilla Sacking of Lawrence, Kansas.

Guerrilla bands in the meantime had been active in Western Arkansas; and three hundred guerrillas under the notorious Quantrell sacked the town of Lawrence, Kansas, massacred one hundred and forty of the inhabitants, burned almost two hundred buildings and carried away or destroyed two million dollars' worth of property, August 13th. The guerrillas were pursued and some were slain, while Jeff Thompson was captured. A Confederate force of twenty-five hundred men under Generals Shelby and Coffey made a raid from Arkansas into Missouri, and reached Booneville, on the Missouri river, October 1st, but were quickly driven back into Arkansas by Generals McNeill and Brown. Marmaduke was repulsed by Colonel Powell Clayton in an attack on Pine Bluff, Arkansas, October 25th.

Confederate Raid in Missouri.

In Kentucky the Union force under General Quincy Adams Gillmore routed the Confederates near Somerset, March 30, 1863. About the

Morgan's Guerrilla Raid in Ohio and Indiana.

time of Lee's invasion of Pennsylvania about three thousand guerrillas, under General John Hunt Morgan, made a daring raid through Kentucky and suddenly crossed the Ohio river into Indiana, at Brandenburg, and advanced eastward into Ohio, plundering or destroying property as they went. The Indiana and Ohio militia took the field to repel the invaders; and General Burnside, then in command in East Tennessee, sent a detachment in pursuit of them. Earnest preparations for defense were made at Cincinnati, that city again being placed under martial law. Morgan attempted to recross the Ohio river near Pomeroy, but was driven back. After many of the raiders had been killed or captured, Morgan surrendered with the remainder, numbering about eight hundred men, to General James M. Shackelford, in Morgan county, Ohio, July 26, 1863.

Operations in North Carolina.

In Eastern North Carolina, during the spring of 1863, the National forces under the command of General John Gray Foster repelled the assaults of the Confederates under General Daniel Harvey Hill and others and foiled their attempts to obtain the entire control of that region. Foster repulsed Hill's attacks upon Newbern in March and upon Washington in April. Early in May the Confederates under Generals Longstreet and Daniel Harvey Hill were repulsed in an attempt to take by siege the town of Suffolk, in South-eastern Virginia, by the garrison of fourteen thousand National troops under General John James Peck, who were assisted by Union gunboats.

Siege of Suffolk.

Siege of Charleston.

During the spring and summer of 1863 the National army and navy under General Quincy Adams Gillmore and Admiral John Adolph Dahlgren were vigorously besieging Charleston, in South Carolina. The Union navy was repulsed in attacks upon Fort McAllister, at the mouth of the Savannah river, early in the year. On April 7, 1863, an unsuccessful assault was made on Fort Sumter, by the National navy under Admiral Dupont, whose fleet of two iron-clads and seven monitors was repulsed, after a forty minutes' struggle with Fort Sumter and its encircling fortresses and batteries. In July a National land force under General Gillmore landed on Morris Island and commenced besieging the works which defended Charleston harbor, while Admiral Dahlgren took charge of the National fleet which acted in coöperation with Gillmore's land force. Unsuccessful assaults were made on Fort Wagner on July 11 and 19, 1863, in the last of which General George Crockett Strong was mortally wounded and Colonel Robert Gould Shaw, of the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts, a colored regiment, was killed. Late in August, after a frightful bombardment of seven days, Fort Sumter was reported by Gillmore as being reduced to "a shapeless and harmless mass of ruins." It was not harmless, however, as it successfully bid defiance to the guns of the besieging forces until near the end

Bombardment of Fort Sumter.

Capture of Fort Wagner.

of the war. Fort Wagner was evacuated by its Confederate garrison, September 7, 1863, after which it was taken possession of by the National troops. The siege of Charleston was continued for a year and a half longer. An attack on Fort Sumter was repulsed with great loss, September 8, 1863. Charleston harbor was closed to blockade-runners by these destructive operations.

Army of the Cumberland.

Tennessee was the theater of important events during 1863. As the Army of the Potomac, under the successive commands of Generals Hooker and Meade, and the Army of the Mississippi, under General Grant, one thousand miles distant from each other, occupied the attention of the Nation during the first half of the year, so the Army of the Cumberland, under General Rosecrans—the third great Union army during 1863—conducted the most important campaign during the last half of the year. As we have seen, that army won the great battle of Murfreesboro, or Stone River, during the last day of 1862 and the first two days of 1863.

Raids and Expeditions in Tennessee and Georgia.

Before Rosecrans opened his campaign in the summer of 1863 there were frequent raids, expeditions and reconnoissances of minor importance from both armies. Early in February, 1863, a Confederate detachment was repulsed in an assault upon Fort Donelson. Two thousand Union troops, under Colonel Coburn, were surrounded by a greatly-superior force of Confederates under General Earl Van Dorn at Spring Hill, March 5th, and after a severe conflict more than two-thirds of Coburn's men were captured. Soon afterward a Union detachment under General Philip Henry Sheridan drove Van Dorn back to his encampment on the Duck river. Two weeks later Colonel Hall, while on a reconnoissance, defeated the Confederate General John Hunt Morgan near Milton. Late in April, Colonel Streight led sixteen hundred Union troops on a raid into Northern Georgia, proceeding as far as Cedar Bluff, where he was compelled to surrender to the Confederate cavalry under General Nathan Bedford Forrest.

Confederate Retreat to and Evacuation of Chattanooga.

After his great victory over Bragg at Murfreesboro, Rosecrans remained at that place until the latter part of June, 1863; while Bragg, after his defeat, retreated southward and posted his army at Tullahoma and along the Duck river. In the latter part of June, Rosecrans began a decisive campaign. After a series of conflicts, during a brief campaign of nine days, Bragg's army was compelled to retreat over the Cumberland Mountains, to Chattanooga, in the south-eastern part of Tennessee. The Confederates erected strong fortifications at Chattanooga; but when Rosecrans approached, in August, and threatened Bragg's communications with the South, the Confederate army evacuated the city, which was taken possession of by a portion of Rosecrans' army on September 9th.

Pursuit by Rosecrans.

Leaving a detachment to occupy Chattanooga, Rosecrans again pursued Bragg, who was now reinforced by General James Longstreet and his corps from Lee's army in Virginia, by some of General Joseph Eccleston Johnston's troops from Mississippi, by General Simon Bolivar Buckner from East Tennessee and by some of the Confederate troops who had been taken prisoners at Vicksburg and Port Hudson and paroled, thus increasing his army to seventy thousand men, while Rosecrans had only fifty-five thousand.

Battle of Chickamauga.

The Confederate army, thus strengthened, suddenly attacked the pursuing army of Rosecrans at the Chickamauga creek, in Northern Georgia, where a bloody battle was fought on September 19 and 20, 1863. The Confederates were victorious; and the National army was obliged to fall back and seek refuge behind the fortifications of Chattanooga, about ten miles from the battlefield. General George Henry Thomas's corps alone held its ground and saved the Union army from total annihilation, General Thomas thus acquiring the title of "the Rock of Chickamauga." In this engagement General James Abram Garfield, of Ohio, acquitted himself nobly. Rosecrans lost more than sixteen thousand men, and the Confederate loss was more than eighteen thousand.

Grant's Preparations to Rescue the Army of the Cumberland.

After his defeat in the battle of Chickamauga, Rosecrans was in a perilous situation. General Grant, who had just been intrusted with the command of all the National armies in the West east of the Mississippi, hastened to his relief, at the instance of the National government. Grant's previous command devolved on General William Tecumseh Sherman, while Rosecrans was superseded in his command by General George Henry Thomas, who was soon reinforced by Sherman from Vicksburg and by Hooker from the Army of the Potomac; but the entire army was now under the direction of General Grant in person. Bragg weakened his army by sending Longstreet with his corps to besiege Burnside in Knoxville.

Battle of Chattanooga.

After being joined by Sherman and Hooker, Grant, in chief command of the Union army at Chattanooga, attacked Bragg's army, which was posted from the Tennessee river above Chattanooga, along Missionary Ridge, across the Chattanooga Valley and Lookout Mountain, and westward to the Tennessee river below the city. After driving the Confederates back from the river, south of Chattanooga, thus opening a free passage for his supplies, he prepared for a general advance against his foe, whom he attacked on November 23, 1863, whereupon a sanguinary conflict of three days followed, known as the battle of Chattanooga.

The first day's fighting resulted in the capture of the strong Confederate works on Orchard Knob by General Thomas. The next day

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THOMAS AT CHICKAMAUGA, SEPTEMBER 20, 1863

(November 24th) Sherman seized a position on the Confederate right, above Chattanooga, while on the left Hooker scaled the heights of Lookout Mountain, and after a struggle up its rugged sides, known as "the battle above the clouds," drove the Confederates from the summit. On the third day of the battle (November 25th) Sherman opened the attack on Missionary Ridge; and finally the whole Union army scaled the steep mountain in the face of a deadly fire from the Confederates, who were driven from their intrenchments after the most obstinate resistance, thus raising the siege of Chattanooga and gaining a brilliant victory for the National army. Considering the natural strength of Bragg's position, the Union victory in this instance is almost without a parallel in history. The Union loss in killed and wounded was over five thousand. The Confederate loss in killed and wounded was less, but they lost more than six thousand as prisoners. Bragg's defeated and shattered army retreated into Georgia, and the whole of Tennessee fell into the possession of the National forces. Hooker pursued the fleeing foe and attacked them in a strong position at Ringgold, Georgia, November 27th, and suffered great loss; but the enemy were forced to retreat.

Its Three Days Continuance.

Capture of Orchard Knob, Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge.

In the spring of 1863 General Burnside was appointed to command the Union forces in East Tennessee, where he was welcomed joyfully by the Unionists of that region. He occupied Knoxville, September 1st, the Confederates under General Buckner retreating on his approach, to join Bragg at Chattanooga. A few days later Burnside seized Cumberland Gap with its Confederate garrison of two thousand men. About the middle of November, 1863, Burnside was besieged in Knoxville by General Longstreet, who had been sent with his corps from Bragg's army for the purpose of expelling the National forces from that quarter. When Sherman came with troops for the relief of Burnside's beleaguered force, Longstreet, after being repulsed in a desperate assault, fled eastward and rejoined Lee's army in Virginia.

Burnside's Occupation of Knoxville and Cumberland Gap.

Siege of Knoxville.

On the 20th of June, 1863, West Virginia was admitted into the Union as a State, by authority of an act passed by Congress on December 31, 1862. The military operations in this new State during 1863 were of minor importance, as the Confederate forces were driven from its soil, and they entered it again only as raiders. The last considerable action in West Virginia occurred in November, 1863, near the Greenbriar river, where the Confederates were defeated by a Union force under General William Woods Averell.

Admission of West Virginia.

Raids Therein.

In 1863 there were almost forty thousand men in the United States navy. Most of these were employed in squadrons to enforce the blockade of the Southern ports and assist the land forces of the Union, but many served in smaller squadrons and single ships watching in various

Blockade and Prizes.

quarters for Confederate privateers. The blockade was so effective that enormous prices were paid for cargoes in Southern ports, and some English merchants were tempted to build swift steamers for blockade-running. During the year more than three hundred prizes, about one-third of which were steamers, were taken by the National navy. Late in February the monitor *Montauk*, under Commander John Lorimer Worden, approached close to Fort McAllister and destroyed the Confederate privateer *Nashville*, which had been lying under the guns of the fort for several months, watching for an opportunity to run the blockade. The monitor *Weehawken*, under Captain John Rodgers, captured the Confederate iron-clad ram *Atlanta* on the coast of Georgia, June 17, 1863. The ram had steamed down the Savannah river to attack the Union fleet, and was compelled to haul down her flag within fifteen minutes after the monitor opened fire.

Destruction of the Nashville.

Capture of the Atlanta.

Great Britain and Confederate Cruisers.

The relations of the National government with Great Britain were again threatening. Iron steamers built at Liverpool and Glasgow were easily converted into Confederate cruisers and employed against United States merchantmen. One called the *Oreta*, afterwards the *Florida*, was armed at Mobile; but most of these vessels never entered a Confederate port, being equipped like the *290*, afterwards the *Alabama*, which sailed to the Azores, where its armament came from one British vessel and its crew from another. These sea rovers usually raised the British flag when they approached a vessel, after which they hoisted the Confederate flag and used British guns and British gunners to capture or destroy the American merchantmen. All this had been going on for a year, exciting the greatest indignation among American merchants and the Northern people; and finally two iron-clad rams, the most powerful ships that could be built, were in construction at the same ship-yard which had sent out the *Alabama*, and their destination was surmised very easily. Minister Adams had exerted his utmost to prevent the sailing of these cruisers, and he now endeavored to prevent the sailing of the rams. When Earl Russell, the British Secretary of Foreign Affairs, told Mr. Adams that the British government could not interfere, the American Minister wrote on September 5, 1863, thus: "It would be superfluous for me to point out that this is war." By assuming so decided an attitude Minister Adams carried his point, and the Confederate rams were detained.

Confederate Privateers Alabama and Florida.

Confederate privateers did much damage in 1863 among merchant vessels and among New England fishermen. Early in the year the *Alabama* and the *Florida* cruised near the West Indies until the vigilance of Commodore Charles Wilkes made that region uncomfortable for them. The *Alabama* continued her depredations in the South Atlantic, while the *Florida* boldly approached New York city and then prowled

on the track on the New York and Liverpool packets. The Confederates captured the schooner *Archer*, a fishing vessel, and anchored her off the harbor of Portland, Maine; and two boats' crews from the vessel rowed into the harbor, boarded the revenue cutter *Caleb Cushing*, overpowered her crew and put to sea with her. The next day she was pursued by two merchant steamers, the *Forest City* and the *Chesapeake*, manned by soldiers and volunteers. As the steamers approached the revenue cutter the Confederates set her on fire and attempted to escape in boats, but were soon captured. In December the *Chesapeake*, while on her way from New York to Portland, was seized by a party of Confederates who had boarded the vessel as passengers; but the captured vessel was pursued into a harbor of Nova Scotia by United States vessels and was soon restored to her owners by the Nova Scotia authorities.

Confederate Privateers in Northern Waters.

On the 4th of March, 1863, the Thirty-seventh Congress closed its last session, after having adopted measures for the efficiency of the army. Steps were taken for the enlistment and organization of colored troops; and on March 3, 1863, a conscription act became a law. On May 8th President Lincoln ordered a draft of three hundred thousand men. Much opposition was manifested against the draft, both openly and secretly, especially in New York city, where a terrible riot of three days occurred, July 13, 14 and 15, 1863, during which the city was practically in a condition of anarchy. Governor Horatio Seymour—a Peace Democrat who had been elected during the Democratic tidal wave of 1862—stood on the steps of the City Hall, calling the rioters his friends and telling them that he had sent his Adjutant-General to Washington "to have the draft stopped." One hundred lives were lost; three hundred persons were wounded, and property to the value of two million dollars was destroyed. Many buildings were pillaged and burned, among them the Colored Orphan Asylum. The mob's fury was directed especially against colored people and their property, and most of the victims and sufferers were colored persons. As the city militia had gone to aid in driving Lee from Pennsylvania, order was not restored for four days by the police and the rapidly-gathering militia. Disorders occurred elsewhere, which threatened to become general.

Colored Troops and the Draft.

Riot in New York City.

The Fifty-fourth Massachusetts—which fought so bravely at Fort Wagner—was the first Union regiment of colored troops recruited from the North. Those of the South had commenced to enlist in South Carolina and Louisiana in 1862, and Congress authorized the President to accept their services in July of that year; but they did not generally enter the National army fully on any very large scale until after the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation, January 1, 1863. Though they were willing to enter the National armies they were

Colored Troops.

hindered to a great extent both by their own habitual submission and by the inveterate prejudices of their white fellow-countrymen. The Fifty-fourth Massachusetts was sent from Boston by sea, in order to avoid any possible indignities in the streets of New York and other cities. Many of their white fellow-soldiers avoided them, many treating them as inferiors, who might share in the hardships of war, but not in its honors. These feelings gradually yielded before the great qualities displayed by the colored troops. President Lincoln wrote in August, 1863, as follows: "There will be black men who will remember that with silent tongue and clinched teeth and steady eye and well-poised bayonet, they have helped on." The wrath of the Confederates displayed itself in threats and finally in cruel massacres, as that of Fort Pillow, which we shall notice presently.

President Lincoln's Amnesty Proclamation.

During 1863 there were several calls for troops by the National government. The Confederate armies were recruited under the stringent conscription acts of the Confederate Congress. In the fall of 1863 President Lincoln issued an Amnesty Proclamation, pardoning such Confederates as returned to their allegiance, excepting the secession leaders and such army and navy officers as had deserted the National flag. Under this Amnesty Proclamation efforts were made to establish Union State governments in Arkansas and Louisiana. The Unionists of the South were looked upon by the Confederates as traitors, and consequently were subjected to harsh and rigorous treatment, such as arbitrary arrest and imprisonment. President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation was denounced fiercely in the Confederate Congress and throughout the South, and dire vengeance was threatened against slaves who deserted their masters or joined the Union armies. Nevertheless thousands of slaves entered the military service of the United States government.

Persecution of Southern Unionists.

The Peace Democracy.

The peace faction of the Democracy had been intensely active during 1863 and tried their utmost to make the war unpopular in the North. They denounced the war policy of the administration, the emancipation of the negroes, the draft, arbitrary arrests and the suspension of the habeas corpus. Their conduct and actions caused the National authorities to resort to arbitrary arrests, the writ of habeas corpus having been suspended under the Constitutional provision for that purpose in time of rebellion; the President having taken such action on August 19, 1863, by authority of an act of Congress passed on March 3, 1863.

Clement Laird Vallandigham.

One of their prominent leaders, Clement Laird Vallandigham, of Ohio, formerly a member of Congress, was arrested and sent into the Confederate lines, whence he went into exile in Canada. He was the peace candidate for Governor of Ohio in 1863, but was defeated by one hundred and one thousand majority by John Brough, a War Democrat,

who also was supported by the Republicans. The Knights of the Golden Circle were believed to be meditating revolution in the Middle and Western States.

President Lincoln at the Gettysburg Dedication.

On November 19, 1863, a part of the Gettysburg battlefield was dedicated as the burial-place of those who had lost their lives there in defense of the Union. President Lincoln was present on the occasion, and after the ceremonies had been performed and after Edward Everett had delivered his oration the President uttered a short address consecrating the living to the great task left by the dead heroes. This address has since become famous, being framed and hung up in Oxford University, in England, as a classic, and is as follows:

His Address There.

"Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We are met to dedicate a portion of it as the final resting-place of those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it far above our power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work they have thus far so nobly carried on. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to the cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain, that the nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom, and that the government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

National Gains in 1863.

The progress of the National armies during the year 1863 had been very great. The Nation's birthday was signalized by the surrender of Helena and Vicksburg and Lee's retreat from Gettysburg. The Confederates had been foiled in their invasions of Pennsylvania and the States north of the Ohio river. Missouri, Arkansas, Kentucky, Tennessee, large portions of Florida, Mississippi and Louisiana, and the control of the Rio Grande and Mississippi rivers, had been lost to the Confederates. The Union troops maintained a foothold in every seceded State, and the power of the Confederacy was on the wane.

Decline of the Confederacy.

The year 1864 opened with many bright and promising hopes for the National cause. The National armies were strong and well disciplined,

Bright Union Hopes at the Opening of 1864.

while the finances of the Republic were in a good condition. The Northern people were more united in the support of the administration and in the determination to prosecute the war until the Union was restored. The National armies at the beginning of the year numbered about eight hundred thousand men. The Confederate armies consisted of about half that number.

President Lincoln's Address to a Working-men's Committee.

On the night of March 18, 1864, a committee from the Working-men's Democratic Republican Association of New York city called upon President Lincoln at the White House and received from him an address, of which the following are extracts:

"Monarchy is sometimes hinted at as a possible refuge from the power of the people. In my present position I could scarcely be justified were I to omit raising my voice against this approach of returning despotism. It is not needed or fitting here that a general argument should be made in favor of popular institutions; but there is one point, with its connections, not so hackneyed as most others, to which I ask a brief attention. It is the effort to place *capital* on an equal footing with, if not above, *labor* in the structure of the government. It is assumed that labor is available only in connection with capital; that nobody labors unless somebody else owning capital somehow, by the use of it, induces him to labor. * * * Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor and never could have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital and deserves much the higher consideration. * * * A few men own capital, and that few avoid labor themselves, and with that capital hire or buy another few to labor for them."

Confederate Warships Built in England.

We already have alluded to the building of Confederate vessels in England and the damage they inflicted upon American commerce. These vessels were built by Laird, a shipbuilder at Liverpool and a member of British Parliament, and by other British shipbuilders. In 1864 three other large cruisers were built in England for the Confederates—the *Tallahassee*, the *Olustee* and the *Chickamauga*. The *Tallahassee* destroyed more than thirty vessels on the coasts of the Northern States.

Lord Lyons's Remonstrance to Jefferson Davis.

But the British government now protested to the Confederate authorities against the building of any more Confederate privateers in England. On April 1, 1864, Lord Lyons, the British Minister at Washington, by permission of the United States government, forwarded to Jefferson Davis a letter from Earl Russell, the British Secretary of Foreign Affairs, which contained the following: "Under these circumstances, Her Majesty's government protests and remonstrates against any further efforts being made on the part of the so-called Confederate States, or the authorities or agents thereof, to build

or cause to be built, or to purchase or cause to be purchased, any such vessels as those styled 'rams,' or any other vessels to be used for war purposes against the United States, or against any country with which the United Kingdom is at peace or on terms of amity; and Her Majesty's government further protests and remonstrates against all acts in violation of the neutrality laws of the realm."

Davis's Indignant Reply.

These words from the British Secretary of Foreign Affairs aroused the indignation of the Confederate leaders to the highest pitch; and Jefferson Davis instructed one of his assistants (Burton N. Harrison) to reply that it "would be inconsistent with the dignity of the position he (Davis) fills as Chief Magistrate of a nation comprising a population of more than twelve millions, occupying a territory many times larger than the United Kingdom and possessing resources unsurpassed by those of any other country on the face of the globe, to allow the attempt of Earl Russell to ignore the actual existence of the Confederate States and to contemptuously style them 'so-called,' to pass without a remonstrance. The President, therefore, does protest and remonstrate against this studied insult; and he instructs me to say that in future any document in which it may be repeated will be returned unanswered and unnoticed." The same scribe added: "Were, indeed, Her Majesty's government sincere in a desire and a determination to maintain neutrality, the President would not but feel that they would neither be just nor gallant to allow the subjugation of a nation like the Confederate States by such a barbarous, despotic race as are now attempting it."

French Occupation of Mexico.

In the meantime the United States was threatened with a new source of danger in the shape of the most open and brazen attack on the Monroe Doctrine ever made by any European power, the aggressor in this instance being the Emperor of the French, Napoleon III., who took advantage of the preoccupation of the United States, whose hands were tied by the Great Civil War within her own domain. In the very first year of the Civil War—December, 1861—France, Great Britain and Spain sent a combined expedition to Mexico with the ostensible object of compelling the payment of claims due French, British and Spanish subjects. Upon receiving satisfaction from the Mexican Republic, in 1862, Great Britain and Spain withdrew their military forces from Mexico; but the Emperor Napoleon III. retained his expeditionary troops in Mexico for the purpose of overthrowing the Mexican Republic and establishing a Latin empire in Mexico under his protection. The French arms soon prevailed, Puebla being captured in May, 1863, and the city of Mexico in June, 1863; and the Emperor of the French offered the throne of Mexico to the Archduke Maximilian, brother of the Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria, who

arrived in Mexico in June, 1864, to begin his reign as Emperor of that unhappy country.

The French Emperor's Hostility to the Union and the Monroe Doctrine.

The French Emperor's action in this instance could not help but convince the Union people of the United States that he was their enemy, as he thus had taken advantage of their desperate situation to strike a hard blow at the Monroe Doctrine, and as he had endeavored on a few occasions to induce Great Britain to join him in also striking an effective blow at the Union by recognizing the independence of the Confederate States of America. He never would have exposed his troops or his government in a Mexican expedition but for the Civil War in the United States and the consequent threatened dissolution of the Union, as his sympathy with the Southern Confederacy showed very clearly.

Franco-American Relations.

Resolutions were offered twice in the United States Senate declaring the French military occupation of Mexico an act of unfriendliness to the United States, but the Senate would not debate these resolutions. On April 4, 1864, the United States House of Representatives passed a resolution "that it does not accord with the policy of the United States to acknowledge a monarchical government in America under the auspices of any European power." The French Minister at Washington at once demanded an explanation from Secretary of State Seward, while United States Minister Dayton in Paris was asked by the French Minister of Foreign Affairs whether he brought peace or war. The French government professed to be satisfied with the representations that it received from the United States government, but the danger of a rupture between France and the United States existed so long as the French military occupation of Mexico continued.

Sherman's and Smith's Raids in Mississippi.

On the 3d of February, 1864, General William Tecumseh Sherman, with twenty-five thousand National troops, started from Vicksburg on a destructive invasion of Mississippi, advancing eastward to Meridian, an important railroad center near the border of Alabama, destroying many miles of railroad, with its bridges, depots and rolling stock, and much other property, and liberating about ten thousand slaves. During his raid Sherman had frequent skirmishes with the Confederate troops under General Leonidas Polk, whose force was too feeble to offer any effective resistance. Sherman waited a week, expecting to be joined by a coöperating force under General William Sooy Smith from Memphis, Tennessee. Smith advanced as far southward as Columbus, Mississippi, also destroying much property; but when he found a large Confederate force under General Forrest ready to oppose him he returned to Memphis, carrying several thousand negroes with him. After burning Meridian, Sherman returned to Vicksburg.

Forrest's Raid in Tennessee and Kentucky

Late in March, 1864, about five thousand Confederate cavalry under General Forrest made a rapid raid through Western Tennessee and Kentucky to the Ohio river. Forrest captured Union City, Tennessee, with its garrison of almost two hundred men, on March 23d, and the next day he attacked Paducah, Kentucky, but was repulsed by the Union garrison under Colonel Hicks. On April 12th Forrest assailed Fort Pillow, Tennessee. The fort was garrisoned by almost six hundred Union troops under Major Bradford, almost half of whom were negroes. The garrison, aided by the gunboat New Era, commanded by Captain Marshall, successfully resisted the assailants, until Forrest, under cover of a flag of truce, secretly placed his troops in ravines near by, whence they carried the fort by assault. The Union garrison's offer of surrender was not respected, and a frightful massacre followed. The Union troops threw down their arms and tried to escape, but were shot down, amid the cries of Forrest's men, who shouted, "Reach them! Kill the damned niggers!" The slaughter was renewed the next day, until most of the garrison had been murdered, the colored troops being put to the sword for being black and the white troops being slaughtered for being the comrades of the blacks.

Massacre at Fort Pillow

Battles at Guntown and Tupelo

A considerable National force under General Sturgis marched from Memphis in pursuit of Forrest, but was defeated by Forrest in the battle at Guntown, Mississippi, June 10, 1864, and compelled to retreat in great haste back to Memphis, a distance of about seventy-five miles. Another expedition, consisting of about twelve thousand National troops under General Andrew Jackson Smith, defeated Forrest at Tupelo, Mississippi, July 14, 1864. In August Forrest made a raid into Memphis, but after seizing and destroying much property he was compelled to retreat. Later in the year there were Union raiding expeditions in Mississippi, as will be noticed.

Forrest's Raid into Memphis

Red River Expedition

Early in 1864 General Banks, who still commanded at New Orleans, organized an expedition, known as the Red River Expedition, for the invasion of Northwestern Louisiana. In the expedition Admiral Porter's fleet and a part of Sherman's army from Vicksburg under General Andrew Jackson Smith cooperated with Banks, as did also the National force under General Frederick Steele from Little Rock, Arkansas. The force under General Smith left Vicksburg early in March for the invasion of the Red River region of Louisiana, captured Fort de Russy on the 14th and was then transported by the Red River to Alexandria, which he reached two days later and which already had been taken possession of by Admiral Porter.

Capture of Fort de Russy

Advance against Shreveport

At Alexandria Smith was joined by Banks with the main army of the expedition from New Orleans, and the united armies, nearly thirty-two thousand strong, under the command of Banks, marched against Shreveport,

while Admiral Porter sailed up the river to coöperate with Generals Banks and Andrew Jackson Smith in the operations against Shreveport and against the Confederate forces under Generals Edmund Kirby Smith and Richard Taylor. The National forces had occasional skirmishes with the retreating Confederates; and Banks's advance was defeated by the Confederates under General Richard Taylor at Sabine Cross-Roads, near Mansfield, Louisiana, on April 8th; but on the same day another part of his army under General William Hemsley Emory repulsed the Confederates at Pleasant Grove. That night Banks fell back fifteen miles to Pleasant Hill, where he was joined by Smith and where the united forces were assailed fiercely by the Confederates the next day, April 9th, but won a victory. The victorious National army, however, continued its retreat toward Alexandria, but was again victorious at Cane River, April 21st. The expedition reached Alexandria on April 27th, and it was resolved to return to the Mississippi.

Battles of Sabine Cross-Roads, Pleasant Grove, Pleasant Hill and Cane River.

Return of Admiral Porter's Fleet.

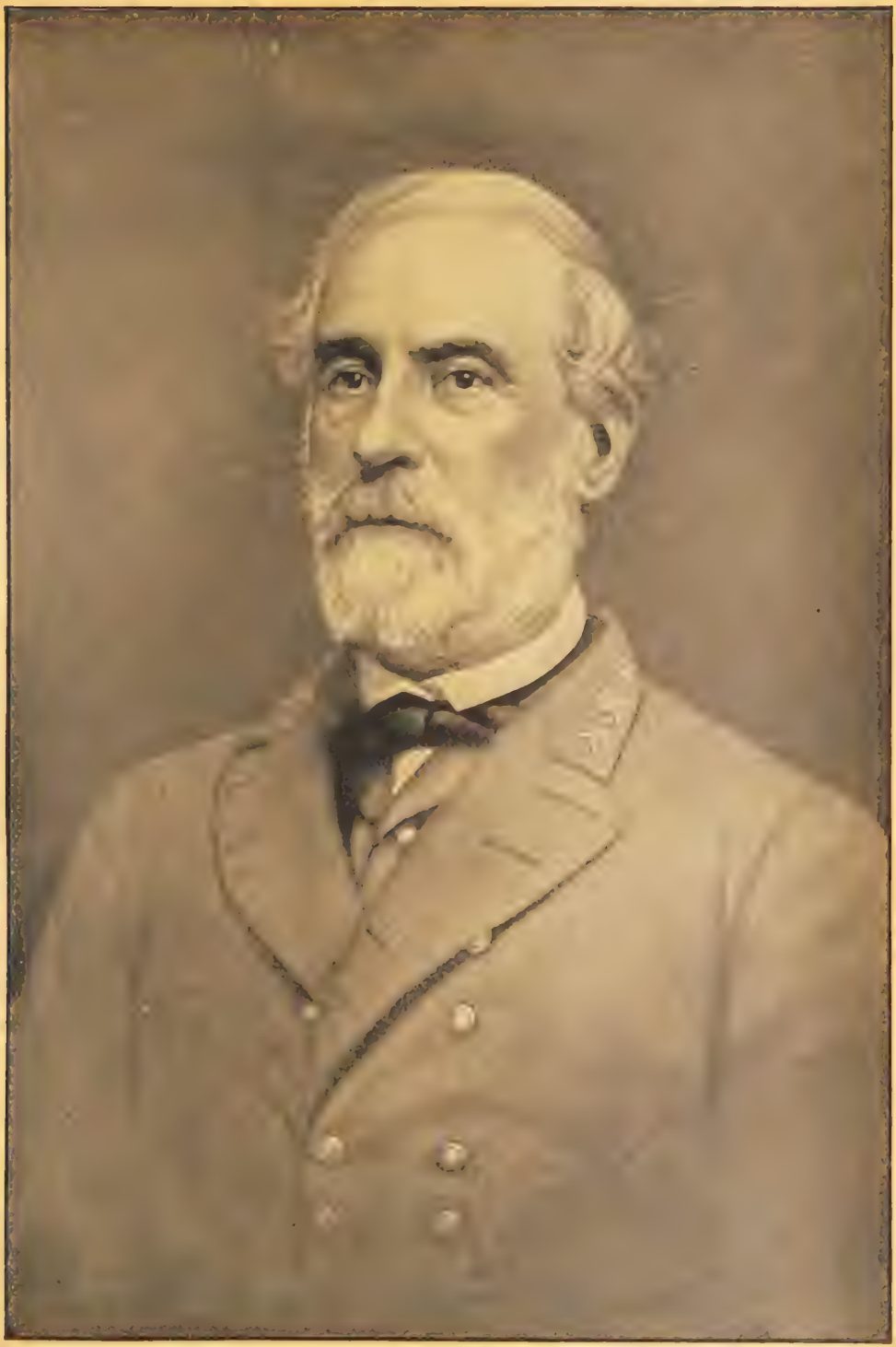
Banks's defeat at Sabine Cross-Roads also compelled Admiral Porter's fleet to return to Alexandria, but when it arrived the water had fallen so low that the vessels could not pass the rapids at that place. This difficulty was overcome by the engineering skill of Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Bailey, of Wisconsin, who constructed dams in the channel of the river, thus raising the water high enough to enable the fleet to pass. In this Red River expedition the National forces lost five thousand men and the Confederates lost about as many more. Some of the Union gunboats and transports were destroyed or fell into the possession of the Confederates before Admiral Porter returned to the Mississippi river.

General Steele's Disasters in Arkansas.

About the time of General Banks's invasion of the Red River region of Louisiana, General Steele left Little Rock, Arkansas, with eight thousand Union troops to coöperate with the Red River expedition. He marched southward and was reinforced by General John Milton Thayer with the Army of the Frontier. The united forces drove back the Confederate forces under Price, Marmaduke and others, and captured Camden, Arkansas, on the Washita river, April 15, 1864. The loss of one of his trains and the news of the failure of the Red River expedition caused Steele to fall back. The Confederates, now largely reinforced, pursued him closely, and attacked him at Jenkins's Ferry, as he was crossing the Sabine river, but were repulsed with heavy loss, April 30, 1864. After suffering great losses, Steele returned to Little Rock.

Confederate Recovery of Arkansas.

The failure of the Red River expedition and the retreat of Steele from Southern Arkansas soon enabled the Confederates to recover almost absolute control of Arkansas, and guerrilla bands raided the State at



LIEUT.-GENERAL ROBERT E. LEE, C. S. A

From a Photograph

will and awed into silence the Union people who had called a State convention to establish a Unionist State government in 1863. The old Confederate State Legislature was reconvened, and it elected a Senator to represent the State in the Confederate States Senate at Richmond, September, 1864.

Confederate Invasion of Missouri.

The condition of affairs in Arkansas so encouraged the Confederate forces in that State that they invaded Missouri in September, 1864, having been promised the aid of the secret organizations called the *Knights of the Golden Circle* and the *Sons of Liberty;* but the contemplated rising of these secret associations was prevented by General Rosecrans, who then commanded in the Department of Missouri, and who, by arresting their leaders, so frightened the rest that when the Confederate forces invaded the State they found few recruits.

Battle of Pilot Knob.

It was late in September, 1864, when almost twenty thousand Confederate troops, under Generals Price and Shelby, invaded Southeastern Missouri from Arkansas and pushed on to Pilot Knob, where they attacked a Union force under General Ewing, September 27th, after which they rapidly advanced to the Missouri and turned westward toward Kansas, closely pursued by Union volunteers. After some lively encounters, Price was finally defeated near the Kansas border, by Union troops from Kansas under General Samuel Ryan Curtis, and by a pursuing body of National cavalry under General Alfred Pleasanton, October 23, 1864. The routed Confederates then fled southward in great disorder, hotly pursued by the victorious Union forces, and early in November escaped into Arkansas, with the loss of their artillery, trains and many prisoners. Thus ended the last Confederate invasion of Missouri.

Confederate Defeats and Retreat from Missouri.

Guerrilla Raids in Kentucky and Tennessee.

During the summer of 1864 East Tennessee and Kentucky were kept in constant alarm by bands of guerrillas from Virginia who dashed upon isolated posts, devastated the surrounding region and escaped before they could be overtaken. In June the noted guerrilla chief, John Hunt Morgan, who in the meantime had escaped from his captivity in Ohio, made a raid into Kentucky, mounted his followers on stolen horses and proceeded as far as Lexington; but General Stephen Gano Burbridge soon drove him back into Tennessee. Early in September, 1864, he was surprised at Greenville, in East Tennessee, and shot dead while trying to escape.

Morgan's Raid and Death.

Seymour's Invasion of Florida.

Early in 1864 General Gillmore, commanding the National army besieging Charleston, hearing that Florida was ready to return to the Union, sent an expedition under General Truman Seymour to recover that State. On February 5th Seymour left Port Royal, South Carolina, with about six thousand Union troops, and was transported up the St. John's river, Florida, to Jacksonville, of which he took possession

Capture of Jacksonville.

on the 7th, after it had been evacuated by the Confederate troops under General Finnegan. Finnegan was pursued from place to place by Union troops, who captured cannon, stores and prisoners. Seymour marched westward toward the Suwannee river; but on February 20, 1864, his army was defeated and almost ruined in the bloody battle of

Battle of Olustee.

Olustee, on the Florida Central Railroad. Seymour abandoned his project and returned to Jacksonville, after losing two thousand men, and burned stores valued at a million dollars. About the same time

Raids in Florida.

the National fleet under Admiral Theodorus Bailey destroyed important salt works on the Florida coast, valued at three million dollars. During the summer there were some raids in Florida, but very little was done toward the restoration of the State to the Union.

Operations in North Carolina.

Early in 1864 the Confederates renewed their efforts to drive the National troops out of North Carolina, especially as it now seemed apparent that the people of that State desired to return to the Union. On February 1st a Confederate force under General Pickett menaced

Confederate Capture of Plymouth and Washington.

Newbern and destroyed a Union gunboat there. Plymouth, near the mouth of the Roanoke river, with sixteen hundred Union troops under General Henry Walton Wessells, surrendered to a Confederate force under General Hoke, assisted by the ram *Albemarle*, February 20, 1864, the day of the battle of Olustee, in Florida. Washington, at the head of Pamlico Sound, was evacuated by a Union force under General Innes Newton Palmer, April 28, 1864. General Hoke de-

Siege of Newbern.

manded the surrender of Newbern, but after the ram *Albemarle* had been driven up the Roanoke river in a severe fight with the *Sassacus* the Confederates raised the siege of Newbern, and Hoke was called to Virginia

Destruction of the Albemarle.

to aid in the defense of Richmond. Six months later, on a dark night, October 27, 1864, Lieutenant William Barker Cushing, of the National navy, with thirteen men, in a steam launch, in the face of a murderous fire upon them, destroyed the *Albemarle* with a torpedo in the Roanoke river, at Plymouth. Four days later, October 31, 1864, the Union troops reoccupied Plymouth. Afterward there was much skirmishing between Union raiders and Confederate detachments.

Averell's Raid in Virginia.

Early in 1864 guerrilla parties siezed Union trains of considerable value in Virginia and West Virginia. About the middle of January a body of National cavalry under General William Woods Averell destroyed thirty miles of the Virginia and Tennessee Railway west of

Kilpatrick's and Dahlgren's Raids into Richmond.

Lynchburg. On March 1st one of the boldest exploits of the war was performed by General Judson Kilpatrick, who, with five thousand National cavalry from the Army of the Potomac, had made a raid around General Lee's right flank, dashed into the outer defenses of Richmond, with the view of liberating the Union prisoners confined in Libby Prison and those in Belle Isle, in the James river; but Kilpatrick was

obliged to retire. The next day, March 2, 1864, Colonel Ulric Dahlgren, with a part of Kilpatrick's force, appeared before Richmond at another point, but was repulsed and himself killed, while many of his followers were either killed or taken prisoners. A few days later another National cavalry force under General George Armstrong Custer, a very young officer, made a raid in the direction of Charlottesville, in the Shenandoah Valley.

Custer's Raid.

In the meantime the National government had been making preparations for the final struggle. In February, 1864, General Grant was placed in chief command of the Union armies with the title of Lieutenant-General, a title hitherto borne only by Washington and Scott. Grant established his headquarters in the field with the Army of the Potomac. Now, for the first time, the National armies were moved in obedience to a single will and were directed persistently to the achievement of a single end. Thus far in the war there had been little concert of action on the part of the National armies, so that while one was prosecuting a campaign with vigor the others were frequently inactive, thus leaving the Confederates free to concentrate upon the point of attack, and giving them, with a smaller force in the field, practically superior numbers. Grant resolved to wrest this advantage from them by attacking them simultaneously in the East and in the West.

Grant, a Lieutenant-General.

His Direction of all Military Operations.

The bulk of the Confederate forces were concentrated east of the Mississippi into two large armies. Lee's army in Virginia occupied the south bank of the Rapidan, covering and defending Richmond. General Joseph Eccleston Johnston's army in Northern Georgia was intrenched at Dalton, covering and defending Atlanta, the great railroad center and depot of Confederate supplies. So thoroughly had the Confederate States been stripped of men and means to raise and equip their armies already in the field that if these two great armies should be captured or destroyed it would be impossible to supply their places and the Confederates would be obliged to submit.

Confederate Armies under Lee and Johnston.

The months of March and April were spent in the reorganization of the Union armies and preparing them for the coming campaign. The Army of the Potomac, still under the immediate command of General Meade, was assigned the duty of destroying Lee's army and reducing the Confederate capital. The Army of the Potomac as reorganized was divided into three corps, as follows: The Second corps, under General Winfield Scott Hancock; the Fifth corps, under General Gouverneur Kemble Warren, and the Sixth corps, under General John Sedgwick. The Army of the Potomac was further augmented by the old Ninth corps, under General Burnside, thus raising the army to over a hundred thousand men. The cavalry was commanded by General Philip Henry Sheridan.

Army of the Potomac.

Armies under Sigel and Butler.

Two other Union armies in Virginia coöperated with the Army of the Potomac in the movement on Richmond—namely, the army under General Franz Sigel, in the Shenandoah Valley, sixteen thousand strong; and the Army of the James, under General Butler, from Fortress Monroe, thirty thousand strong. Thus three National armies were acting in concert for the reduction of the Confederate capital.

Lee's Army.

The Confederate army, under General Lee—known as the *Army of Northern Virginia*—numbering about sixty thousand men, was also divided into three corps, under the respective commands of Generals James Longstreet, Richard Stoddard Ewell and Ambrose Powell Hill. This army then lay strongly intrenched behind Mine Run, in Orange county, Virginia.

Sherman's Army in Georgia.

Three Union armies were united under the command of General William Tecumseh Sherman, in Northern Georgia, to oppose the Confederate army under General Joseph Eccleston Johnston. These three Union armies thus united were the Army of the Cumberland, under General George Henry Thomas, over sixty thousand strong; the Army of the Tennessee, under General James Birdseye McPherson, over twenty-five thousand strong, and the Army of the Ohio, under General John McAllister Schofield, almost fourteen thousand strong, thus making a total force of almost a hundred thousand men.

Johnston's Army.

The Confederate army under Johnston, then behind strong fortifications at Dalton, numbered fifty-five thousand men, and consisted of three corps, commanded respectively by Generals William Joseph Hardee, John Bell Hood and Leonidas Polk. The last-named was Bishop Polk, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, a man most highly esteemed.

Grant's Order.

On the 3d of May, 1864, Lieutenant-General Grant, from his headquarters with the Army of the Potomac, issued an order for the Army of the Potomac, under the immediate command of General Meade, and General William Tecumseh Sherman's army, in Northern Georgia, to commence operations against the Confederate armies opposed to them.

Battle of the Wilderness.

On the morning of May 4th the Army of the Potomac crossed the Rapidan; and the next day it was fiercely assailed by Lee's whole army in the Wilderness, near the old Chancellorsville battlefield, in a tract covered with a dense undergrowth of pine, cedars, oaks and tangled underbrush, where neither artillery nor cavalry could be brought into action, and where no man could see, only knowing by the sharp crackling of musketry and by the cheers on one side or the other how the conflict was progressing. Here a sanguinary conflict, known as the battle of the Wilderness, raged for two days, May 5 and 6, 1864, without any decisive result, at the close of which Lee retreated behind his intrenchments. On the Union side General James Samuel Wadsworth

was killed and General Alexander Stewart Webb was wounded. On the Confederate side Generals William Edmondson Jones and Micah Jenkins were killed and General Longstreet was wounded.

Battle of Spottsylvania Court House.

The Army of the Potomac, under Grant's direction, then attempted to flank Lee's army, which was behind strong intrenchments at Spottsylvania Court House, prepared to resist Grant's advance. The Union advance was led by General Warren. Some skirmishing occurred on May 9, 1864, when General Sedgwick was killed by a Confederate sharpshooter; and the command of his corps, the Sixth, was assigned to General Horatio Gouverneur Wright. The following day, May 10, 1864, a furious battle raged all day, with dreadful loss on both sides. The next morning Grant sent the following dispatch to the Secretary of War: "I propose to fight it out on this line, if it takes all summer." On the 12th another bloody engagement occurred, when Hancock broke through the Confederate lines and gained a great advantage and held it. The conflict ceased only at midnight, when Lee retired behind his second line of intrenchments and apparently was as strong as ever. In the course of eight days the Army of the Potomac had lost thirty thousand men.

Lee's Retreat and Grant's Advance

Grant again attempted to flank Lee; and the Confederates sallied out from their intrenchments on May 19, 1864, when another fierce struggle ensued, ending in the repulse of Lee's troops, but with fearful loss on the Union side. Thus far in the campaign the Army of the Potomac had lost forty thousand men. Lee had lost about thirty thousand. On the 20th Grant proceeded to flank Lee, who thereupon fell back toward Richmond. On the 23d the Army of the Potomac arrived at the North Anna, finding Lee's army on the opposite side of the stream.

Severe Battles.

A heavy battle ensued, and the National army effected a passage; but the Confederates were posted so strongly that Grant returned to the north side of the stream, moved down the Pamunky, which he crossed at Hanovertown, after which he advanced toward the Chickahominy. Heavy battles were fought on May 28th and 29th, when Grant made another flank movement around Lee's new intrenched position.

Battle of Cold Harbor.

At Cold Harbor, Grant's progress was again arrested; and, after some slight efforts to carry the Confederate works, Grant made a general assault upon Lee's strong position on June 3, 1864, but was repulsed with terrific slaughter, losing ten thousand men in killed and wounded in the course of twenty minutes, while the Confederate loss was but little more than one thousand. The Confederates were repulsed in assaults upon Grant that night and the next day and night. Finding Lee's position too strong to be carried by storm and too near the defenses of Richmond to be flanked, Grant led the Army of the Potomac across the Chickahominy and James rivers, June 12–15, 1864,

Lee's Retreat to Richmond.

thus compelling Lee to fall back to the defenses of Richmond. In this bloody campaign Grant lost sixty thousand men. Lee's loss was much less, as in most cases his troops fought behind intrenchments, while the National troops were the attacking party.

Wilson's and Sheridan's Cavalry Raids.

In the meantime Grant had sent out cavalry expeditions under Generals James Harrison Wilson and Philip Henry Sheridan in various directions to destroy railroads and to cut off all communication with the Confederate capital. When the battle of Spottsylvania Court House began General Sheridan with a picked body of cavalry made a raid in Lee's rear, crossing the North Anna, destroying many miles of railroad and recapturing about four hundred Union prisoners on their way to Richmond; and approaching the Confederate capital, May 11, 1864, he encountered and defeated the Confederate cavalry under General James Ewell Brown Stuart, who himself was killed. The death of this able and dashing cavalry leader was a great loss to the Confederates and was sincerely lamented. After carrying the outer defenses of Richmond, Sheridan was obliged to withdraw. He returned by way of the White House, on the Pamunky river, to the Army of the Potomac, after an absence of but little over two weeks, in time to take part in the battle of Cold Harbor, on June 3d. Sheridan's reputation as a dashing cavalry leader was now fully established.

Death of the Confederate General Stuart.

General Butler's Army of the James.

On the night that Grant with the Army of the Potomac crossed the Rapidan, May 4, 1864, the Army of the James under General Butler, thirty thousand strong, embarked on Admiral Samuel Phillips Lee's gunboats at Fortress Monroe, and was thus conveyed up the James river to Bermuda Hundred, on the south side of the river, where the army landed the next day, May 5, 1864, and fortified the place. The Army of the James consisted of a corps under General William Farrar Smith and a corps under General Gillmore recently brought from South Carolina. About the middle of May, Butler advanced toward Richmond, approaching Drury's Bluff and gaining some of the outworks of Fort Darling. Simultaneously with Butler's movement up the James, General August Valentine Kautz with five thousand National cavalry started from Suffolk on a raid, tearing up the railways south and west of Petersburg, while fifteen hundred National cavalry moved up the James and took post opposite City Point.

Kautz's Cavalry Raid.

Butler's Defense of Bermuda Hundred.

In the meantime the Confederate authorities at Richmond had summoned Beauregard from Charleston to aid in the defense of Richmond. On May 16th, under cover of a dense fog, Beauregard attacked Butler and drove him back behind the intrenchments of Bermuda Hundred with the loss of four thousand men. The Confederate loss was about three thousand. Beauregard was afterward repulsed in several assaults upon Butler's fortifications at Bermuda Hundred. Butler re-

mained at Bermuda Hundred, and Smith's corps was taken from him to aid the Army of the Potomac at Cold Harbor.

Siege of Petersburg and Richmond.

Butler's movements enabled Grant to place the Army of the Potomac on the south side of the James river and to lay siege to Petersburg, an important city on the Appomattox river, twenty miles south of Richmond. The Confederates had strongly fortified Petersburg, as they considered the defense of that town essential to the safety of Richmond. Lee, with the greater part of his army, took a position to defend Petersburg against the Armies of the Potomac and the James; and for the next ten months both Richmond and Petersburg sustained the most vigorous siege. Grant established his headquarters at City Point, where the Appomattox empties into the James.

Grant's Unsuccessful Assaults and Flank Movements.

During the latter half of June and throughout July and August, 1864, Grant prosecuted the siege of Petersburg with vigor. On June 16th the corps of Warren, Hancock and Burnside assailed Petersburg and advanced their lines at heavy cost. A force under General Alfred Howe Terry, sent out by Butler to hold the railway, was driven back by Longstreet and Pickett. On June 18th the National forces made a fruitless assault on Petersburg with heavy loss. Unsuccessful flank movements were made by the Union forces to sieze the Weldon railroad, June 22d and 23d, the flanking columns being attacked and driven back by the Confederate corps under General Ambrose Powell Hill, the Union forces losing four thousand men, mostly prisoners. At the same time the National cavalry under Generals Wilson and Kautz destroyed the Weldon railway at Ream's Station and then destroyed over twenty miles of the Lynchburg railway. Wilson and Kautz went as far west as the Staunton river, and were obliged to fight their way back, the Confederates capturing their cannon, train and nearly a thousand of their troops. In the latter part of June, Butler and Hancock took up an intrenched position north of the James river, at Deep Bottom, above Malvern Hill, and held that position in spite of the most vigorous opposition.

Wilson's and Kautz's Cavalry Raids.

Explosion of a Mine at Petersburg.

On the 30th of July a mine which the Union troops had dug under one of the strongest of the Confederate works was exploded with terrific effect; and in an instant a six-gun fort, with its garrison of three hundred men, was blown into the air; but the assault on Petersburg which followed immediately was repulsed disastrously. General David Bill Birney and General Hancock, with General David McMurtree Gregg's cavalry, threatened Richmond from Deep Bottom, and fought the Confederates, August 13th and 16th, and Hancock destroyed the Weldon railroad at Ream's Station. On August 18th General Warren seized the Weldon railroad, losing a thousand men in the struggle, and intrenched his corps there. Four desperate efforts made by the

Seizure of the Weldon Railroad.

Confederates to retake this important railroad were defeated, August 19, 20, 21 and 25, 1864. On September 29th, General Butler stormed and captured Fort Harrison, north of the James river. Another effort to extend the Union lines south-west of Petersburg brought on a severe engagement at Hatcher's Run, October 27, 1864, in which the National troops were repulsed and driven back to their intrenchments before Petersburg.

First Battle of Hatcher's Run.

Grant's and Lee's Skillful Generalship.

While conducting the siege of Petersburg, by heavy blows upon the Confederate lines north and south of the James river by turns, by menacing one point and assailing another and by sending out various cavalry expeditions, Grant kept Lee occupied constantly. Lee, by his skillful generalship, repelled every effort of Grant to obtain possession of Petersburg and Richmond; but he failed in every effort to break through the Union lines and to divert the attention of the Union commander-in-chief, who constantly drew his lines more closely and securely around the Army of Northern Virginia and the capital of the Southern Confederacy.

Heavy Losses on Both Sides.

The siege of Petersburg from its commencement to the close of 1864—a period of six months and a half—cost the Union forces almost forty thousand men and the Confederates about only half that number. Thus the entire campaign from the battles of the Wilderness and Spottsylvania Court House to the siege of Petersburg inclusive cost the National forces about a hundred thousand men and the Confederates about fifty thousand. But Grant had greater resources to draw from, and while his losses were replenished constantly by frequent reinforcements Lee saw his own army wearing away faster than it could be replenished.

Operations in the Shenandoah Valley.

The National force in the Shenandoah Valley and West Virginia, under General Franz Sigel, acting in coöperation with the Armies of the Potomac and the James, began its campaign on May 1, 1864. Sigel sent a detachment under General George Crook, with a cavalry force under General Averell, into the Kanawha Valley, in West Virginia. Sigel himself marched up the Shenandoah Valley, and was routed by the Confederates near Newmarket, May 15, 1864. Sigel was superseded in his command by General David Hunter, who defeated the Confederates at Piedmont, near Staunton, June 5, 1864. After being joined by Crook and Averell, Hunter threatened Lynchburg, but was obliged to retreat into West Virginia.

Battles of Newmarket and Piedmont.

Early's Invasion of Maryland.

The way to the Potomac being now clear, General Lee resolved upon a third invasion of the North, hoping thus to compel Grant to raise the siege of Petersburg and Richmond. With this end in view, Lee sent General Jubal Early with fifteen thousand men down the Shenandoah Valley. Early drove the few National troops in the Shenan-

doah Valley across the Potomac and pursued them into Maryland. This third invasion of Maryland again caused intense alarm and excitement in the North, especially when Baltimore and Washington were threatened and all communication by railroad and telegraph was cut off between the National capital and the Northern States.

Communication with Washington Severed.

Washington was utterly defenseless, and the Northern States sent troops to protect it, while Grant sent General Wright's corps from the Army of the Potomac for the same purpose, and other Union troops hastened to repel the invaders. On July 9, 1864, Early defeated a few National troops under General Lewis Wallace, on the Monocacy river, near Frederick; after which Early sent a body of cavalry toward Baltimore and cut off communication between that city and the North, while he himself marched toward Washington and cut off that city from the North also. After some skirmishing before the National capital, the Confederates recrossed the Potomac into Virginia, on the night of July 12th, carrying with them a large amount of plunder.

Battle of Monocacy.

Early's Retreat to Virginia.

Early's force was pursued across the Potomac by the National troops under General Wright, who defeated him on the Shenandoah river, on July 19th. The next day a National force under General Averell defeated a Confederate detachment near Winchester. The Confederates routed the National troops under General Crook, July 24, 1864, driving them across the Potomac into Maryland and pursuing them across the river. A force of about three hundred Confederate cavalry under General McCausland made a raid northward to Chambersburg, in Pennsylvania, and burned two-thirds of that town on July 30, 1864, after their demand for a contribution of half a million dollars in gold had not been complied with. This Confederate force at once retired into Virginia, pursued by the National cavalry under General Averell, who routed the daring raiders at Moorefield with heavy loss in artillery, trains and prisoners.

Operations in the Shenandoah Valley.

Burning of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania.

The National authorities in Washington now sent the Sixth and Ninth corps against Early in the Shenandoah Valley, where they were joined by Hunter's troops; and the entire force, thirty thousand strong, was placed under the command of General Philip Henry Sheridan. Early's army numbered about twenty thousand men. On September 19, 1864, Sheridan attacked Early and gained a brilliant victory over him, at Opequan, near Winchester, driving him from the field. Early retreated behind earthworks at Fisher's Hill, near Strasburg, where he was attacked by the pursuing Sheridan, who gained another signal victory, on September 22, 1864. Early was driven farther up the valley. Four thousand Confederates were taken prisoners. After sending Early thus "whirling up the valley," as Sheridan himself expressed it, the victor pursued as far as Staunton; and on his return

Battles of Opequan and Fisher's Hill.

he swept the valley—which had been a great storehouse and granary for the Confederate armies in Virginia—of cattle, crops and everything that could be of use to those armies.

Sheridan's Account of His Destructive Raid.

The following dispatch from General Sheridan to General Grant explains itself:

"Woodstock, Va., 9 P. M., Oct. 7, 1864.

"Lieut.-General U. S. Grant.—I have the honor to report my command at this point to-night. I commenced moving back from Port Republic, Mount Crawford, Bridgwater and Harrisonburg yesterday morning. The grain and forage in advance of these points had been previously destroyed. In moving back to this point the whole country from the Blue Ridge to the North Mountain has been rendered untenable for a rebel army. I have destroyed over two thousand barns filled with wheat and hay and farming implements, over seventy mills filled with flour and wheat, have driven in front of this army four herd of stock, and have killed and issued to the troops not less than three thousand sheep. This destruction embraces the Luray Valley and Little Fort Valley as well as the Main Valley. A large number of horses have been obtained. Lieutenant John R. Meigs, my engineer officer, was murdered beyond Harrisonburg, near Dayton. For this atrocious act all the houses within an area of five miles were burned.

"P. H. Sheridan, Major-General."

War's Barbarity

This dispatch is produced here for the benefit of those people who are disposed to denounce as "barbarous warfare," "uncivilized warfare," etc., when such very things are done in South Africa, China, the Philippines or anywhere else in the world, forgetting that war is never conducted on Sunday-school principles and that there never has been any such thing as "civilized warfare" or any warfare that is not barbarous. The Rev. John Wesley said: "War is the business of hell." General William Tecumseh Sherman said: "War *is* hell."

Battle of Cedar Creek.

After being reinforced, Early again advanced down the valley; and, after several minor actions, he suddenly attacked Sheridan's army at Cedar Creek, on the morning of October 19, 1864, while Sheridan was absent. In their furious onset the Confederates swept over the Union intrenchments and drove the Union troops four miles in a short time. The retreat was checked for a time by General Wright, who was in command temporarily and who made great efforts to stem the tide of disaster. Just at that moment, Sheridan, who, on his ride "from Winchester twenty miles away," hearing the sound of battle, came in hot haste to the scene of action, "dashed down the line mid a storm of huzzas, and the wave of retreat checked its course there, because the sight of the master compelled it to pause." Thus Sheridan, by his voice

and presence, infused such confidence in his disheartened troops that he turned defeat into victory, almost annihilating Early's army. The Confederates, in their flight, abandoned everything they had gained and captured early in the day, besides many cannon and much camp equipage. The victorious National army lost three thousand men, while the Confederate loss was greater. After this great victory Sheridan held the Shenandoah Valley under complete control.

"The first that the General saw was the groups
Of stragglers, and then the retreating troops;
What was done—what to do—a glance told him both;
And striking his spurs, with a terrible oath,
He dashed down the line, 'mid a storm of huzzas,
And the wave of retreat checked its course there, because
The sight of the master compelled it to pause.
With foam and with dust the black charger was gray,
By the flash of his eye and his red nostril's play,
He seemed to the whole great army to say:
'I have brought you Sheridan all the way,
From Winchester down, to save the day.'

"Hurrah, hurrah for Sheridan!
Hurrah, hurrah for horse and man!
And when their statues are placed on high,
Under the dome of the Union sky—
The American soldier's Temple of Fame,
There with the glorious General's name
Be it said in letters both bold and bright:
'Here is the steed that saved the day
By carrying Sheridan into the fight,
From Winchester—twenty miles away.'"

Sherman's Campaign in Georgia.

While Generals Grant and Sheridan had been thus conducting the war in Virginia, General William Tecumseh Sherman, with the combined Armies of the Cumberland, the Tennessee and the Ohio, a hundred thousand strong, was conducting a memorable campaign against General Joseph Eccleston Johnston's Confederate army of fifty-five thousand men, in Northern Georgia, for the possession of Atlanta, the great railroad center and depot of Confederate supplies.

His March against Atlanta.

In accordance with Lieutenant-General Grant's order, Sherman moved from the vicinity of Chattanooga on May 6, 1864, on his march against Atlanta. Sherman's course lay through a country full of mountains, ravines and rivers. As Dalton, where Johnston's army was intrenched, was fortified too strongly to be carried by storm, Sherman flanked the Confederate position, thus compelling Johnston to evacuate Dalton. Johnston fell back to Resaca, where a severe battle was fought, May 15, 1864, after which Johnston retreated to Alatoona Pass. After another flank movement, Sherman fought severe engagements with Johnston at Dallas, May 25–28, 1864, compelling him

Battles of Resaca, Dallas and Kenesaw Mountain.

again to fall back. Johnston made a stand on Kenesaw Mountain and on Lost Mountain and Pine Mountain, where he held Sherman at bay for almost a month, with frequent skirmishes and battles, in one of which the Confederate General Leonidas Polk was killed. By another flank movement on July 2d, Sherman compelled Johnston to retreat across the Chattahoochie and take refuge behind the fortifications of Atlanta.

Capture of Rome.

Sherman's subordinates—Generals George Henry Thomas, James Birdseye McPherson, John McAllister Schofield, Joseph Hooker, Oliver Otis Howard, Francis Preston Blair, John Alexander Logan and John McCauley Palmer—acquitted themselves with credit in these actions. After driving the Confederates from Resaca, Sherman sent out a detachment under General Jefferson C. Davis, who captured Rome with its foundries, mills and military stores. Union cavalry expeditions under Generals Lovell Harrison Rousseau and George Stoneman destroyed the railway communications with Atlanta by their destructive raids in Georgia and Alabama.

Union Cavalry Raids.

Johnston's Skillful Retreat.

Sherman pursued Johnston in his retreat across the Chattahoochie river to the intrenchments of Atlanta. Too weak to assume the offensive, Johnston had conducted his retreat from Dalton with masterly skill before an army twice the size of his own, during two months of almost constant fighting; but his "retreating policy" was not approved by the Confederate authorities at Richmond, and about the middle of July he was removed from his command and was succeeded by General John Bell Hood, one of his corps commanders, an officer of great reputation for bravery and impetuous energy. The change of commanders was followed by a change of policy in the Confederate army in Northern Georgia.

Johnston Superseded by Hood.

Battles of Peachtree Creek.

Hood made three furious assaults upon Sherman's lines, at Peachtree Creek, July 20, 22 and 28, 1864, in all of which he was repulsed with heavy loss. In the second of these battles the National army met with a great loss in the death of General James Birdseye McPherson. His successor, General Oliver Otis Howard, had distinguished himself in the Army of the Potomac and had lost an arm in McClellan's campaign against Richmond in 1862.

Death of General McPherson.

Siege of Atlanta.

After his three victories over Hood, just mentioned, Sherman laid siege to Atlanta, and prosecuted the siege with vigor throughout the month of August, 1864, cannonading and bombarding the city day and night, while Hood's army was becoming weaker gradually. General Kilpatrick's cavalry cut the railroads which supplied the beleaguered city. In one of these cavalry raids General Stoneman and a large force of his troopers were made prisoners by the Confederates. At length Hood sent his cavalry to threaten Sherman's communications

Cavalry Raids.

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SHERMAN'S SIGNAL TO ALATOONA, KENESAW MOUNTAIN, OCTOBER 4, 1864

and posted a part of his army under Hardee at Jonesboro' to protect his own communications. This division of the Confederate army was a mistake of which Sherman quickly took advantage by sweeping around the west side of Atlanta; and Howard defeated Hardee in a desperate battle at Jonesboro' on August 31, 1864, thus compelling Hood to evacuate Atlanta, of which Sherman took possession immediately, September 2, 1864. Sherman wrote to the Secretary of War: "Atlanta is ours and fairly won."

Battle of Jonesboro and Evacuation of Atlanta.

After the fall of Atlanta, Hood was reinforced very heavily, whereupon he moved northward for the purpose of invading Tennessee and cutting Sherman's communications with the North. Sherman followed Hood and drove him into Alabama. At length Sherman sent General George Henry Thomas with a part of his army into Tennessee to watch Hood, and afterward sent Schofield with a reinforcement for Thomas, thus increasing Thomas's force to forty thousand men. Sherman returned to Atlanta, tearing up the railways in his rear and cutting loose from all his communications on the north, in preparation for his great march through Georgia.

Hood's Designs on Tennessee.

Opposed by Thomas.

Hood invaded Tennessee with an army of about forty thousand men. On his approach Thomas retreated to Nashville. Hood pursued, fought an indecisive battle with a part of Thomas's army under General Schofield at Franklin, on November 30th, and then laid siege to Nashville. On December 15, 1864, Thomas sallied out of the city and attacked the besiegers. The next day he renewed the attack, and in a bloody battle he completely annihilated Hood's army. Nearly the whole of Hood's artillery was captured by the victorious National troops; and Hood, with a small remnant of his army, fled south into Alabama. Thomas pursued his vanquished foe for several days, capturing many prisoners. In this campaign Hood lost twenty thousand men and Thomas lost ten thousand.

Hood's Invasion of Tennessee.

Battles of Franklin and Nashville.

A Confederate detachment under General John Cabell Breckinridge entered East Tennessee to act in concert with Hood in his invasion of Middle Tennessee, but was driven back into South-western Virginia, toward Wytheville, in December, by the National cavalry under General Stoneman, who recently had been exchanged. Another Confederate detachment under General Forrest was repulsed in an attack on Murfreesboro' a few days after Hood's defeat at Nashville.

Other Confederate Invasions of Tennessee.

After destroying all his storehouses and public property, everything that could be of any use to an army, Sherman finally abandoned Atlanta on November 14, 1864, on which day he cut his telegraphic communications with the North; and for some time he was heard from only through Confederate newspapers. He thus commenced his grand march through Georgia for the Atlantic coast, with an army of sixty-

Sherman's March through Georgia.

five thousand men, which moved in two grand divisions, the right wing being led by General Oliver Otis Howard, the left by General Henry Warner Slocum and the five thousand cavalry by General Kilpatrick, who hovered in the front and on the flanks of the army and met squadrons of Confederate cavalry in several encounters. No opposition was made to his progress; and the appeals of General Beauregard, then the Confederate commander in that department, who called upon the Georgians to rise and oppose Sherman's march, were made in vain. Ten thousand negroes joined Sherman's army during its march and accompanied it to the coast. Sherman's march was through the heart of Georgia. By threatening different points he skillfully masked his designs and prevented any considerable numbers of the Confederates from gathering to oppose him. He captured Milledgeville, the capital of the State, on November 29th. General William Babcock Hazen took Fort McAllister, on the Ogeechee river, near Savannah, by storm, on December 13th, and opened communications with the National fleet on the coast about a month after he left Atlanta.

Capture of Fort McAllister.

"Then sang we a song of our chieftain
That echoed o'er river and lea,
And the stars of our banner shone brighter
When Sherman marched down to the sea."

Sherman's Occupation of Savannah.

Finally, on December 21, 1864, Sherman took military possession of Savannah, which, on his approach, had been evacuated by its garrison of fifteen thousand Confederate troops under General Hardee, who fled toward Charleston, after destroying what public property they could, including two iron-clads and other vessels in the river. Sherman offered Savannah as a "Christmas gift to the Nation." He remained there six weeks, thus giving his army a rest after their march of two hundred and fifty-five miles, covering a period of about six weeks. As Sherman approached Savannah, General John Gray Foster, who commanded the Union forces in that region, made important coöperative movements and occupied strong positions on the railway between Savannah and Charleston, after Hardee had fled from the former to the latter city.

Cavalry Raids in Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana.

While Sherman was marching through Georgia, Union cavalry expeditions made destructive raids through Mississippi to coöperate with him by attracting attention from his march. Thus General Napoleon Jackson Tecumseh Dana made a raid from Vicksburg to Jackson, fought a Confederate force on the Big Black River and destroyed the railway and much other property. General John Wynn Davidson made a raid from Baton Rouge, Louisiana, through Southern Mississippi and threatened Mobile. General Benjamin Henry Grierson made

FARRAGUT IN THE BATTLE OF MOBILE BAY

From the Painting by W. H. Overend

a raid from Memphis, Tennessee, through Northern Mississippi and Alabama, destroyed many miles of the Mobile and Ohio Railway, destroyed many stores and much property, routed a Confederate force and then raided through Mississippi to Vicksburg.

Expedition against Mobile.

While Grant and Sherman were conducting the sieges of Petersburg and Atlanta respectively, important events were occurring near Mobile. On August 5, 1864, a National fleet of eighteen vessels, four of them iron-clads, the rest wooden vessels, appeared off the entrance to Mobile bay; while a National land force under General Gordon Granger landed on Dauphin Island to coöperate with the fleet, having been sent from New Orleans for that purpose by General Edward Richard Spriggs Canby.

Admiral Farragut's Victory in Mobile Bay.

Early the same day, August 5, 1864, Farragut's fleet sailed into Mobile bay, boldly running past Forts Gaines and Morgan, the former on Dauphin Island, the latter on Mobile Point. Farragut's vessels were lashed in pairs, and the admiral directed the movements of his fleet from the main-top of his flag-ship, the *Hartford*. The fire from the forts had been ineffectual; but one of Farragut's iron-clads, the *Tecumseh*, was sunk by a torpedo. Farragut is said to have remarked: "Sail on. Damn the torpedoes." The Confederate fleet, consisting of the iron-clad ram *Tennessee* and a number of gunboats, steamed swiftly down the bay and made a dash at the Union fleet. A short but furious naval battle ensued, resulting in a brilliant victory for Farragut, the ram *Tennessee* being captured, with the Confederate admiral, Franklin Buchanan, who was wounded severely.

Bombardment and Capture of Forts Gaines and Morgan.

Farragut then shelled Fort Gaines, compelling it to surrender on August 7th. Granger's troops were then transferred to Mobile Point. Farragut and Granger bombarded Fort Morgan, which they compelled to surrender on August 23d, after throwing about three thousand shells into the fort. With these two forts the victorious Unionists captured almost fifteen hundred prisoners and one hundred and four cannon. Besides the iron-clad *Tecumseh*, the victors lost over three hundred men. By these National victories the port of Mobile was closed effectually against blockade-runners; and the only port still left open to the Confederates was Wilmington, North Carolina.

Fight between the Kearsarge and the Alabama.

The *Alabama*, already alluded to, had captured more than sixty American merchantmen and had eluded pursuit for nearly two years. In June, 1864, the *Alabama*, under the command of Captain Raphael Semmes, was cruising in the English Channel and ran into the French port of Cherbourg. She was pursued by the *Kearsarge*, a National vessel commanded by Captain John Ancrum Winslow. Captain Semmes challenged Captain Winslow to fight, and the challenge was accepted. The combat took place on Sunday, June 19, 1864, off Cher-

bourg; and the neighboring shore was lined with spectators who witnessed the fight. After an hour's mutual cannonade, the *Alabama* was disabled and in a sinking condition, whereupon she surrendered, and in twenty minutes she sank. None of the *Kearsarge's* crew were killed, and but one was mortally wounded. The crew of the *Alabama* were rescued by the *Kearsarge* and a French vessel; but Captain Semmes and his officers were rescued and conveyed to England by the *Deerhound*, belonging to one of the British aristocracy named Lancaster, who took them to his own country so that they might not be made prisoners of war. Nearly thirty years later (February 2, 1894) the *Kearsarge* was wrecked on Roncadore Reef, in the West Indies.

Capture of the Georgia and the Florida.

The Confederate cruiser *Georgia* was captured by the *Niagara*, commanded by Commodore Charles Henderson Craven, off Portugal, August 15, 1864; and the *Florida*, another Confederate cruiser, was captured by the *Wachusett*, commanded by Commander Napoleon Collins, at Bahia, Brazil, October 7, 1864.

Confederate Plots in Canada.

Many Confederates proceeded to Canada, where, with the aid of sympathizers in the British provinces and in the Northern States, they formed various schemes against the United States government and the Northern people. One of these schemes was a plot to liberate several thousand Confederate prisoners on Johnson's Island, in Lake Erie. Another was to release the eight thousand Confederate prisoners in Camp Douglas, at Chicago, and make a raid through the Western States. These schemes were foiled by the vigilance of the National authorities. In October, 1864, a gang of armed men made a raid from Canada into the village of St. Albans, Vermont, fired upon the defenseless people, wounding some, robbed the banks and then escaped on stolen horses to Canada. In November, 1864, Confederate emissaries set fire to some hotels and theaters in New York city; but the fires were soon extinguished.

Raid on St. Albans, Vermont.

Fires in New York City.

Changes in President Lincoln's Cabinet.

At the beginning of July, 1864, Secretary Chase resigned; whereupon the President appointed William Pitt Fessenden, of Maine, to the post of Secretary of the Treasury. The new Secretary was a member of the United States Senate, both before and after his membership in Lincoln's Cabinet. Mr. Chase was appointed Chief Justice of the United States, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Chief Justice Taney, in 1862. Another change in the President's Cabinet in 1864 was the succession of Montgomery Blair, of Maryland, as Postmaster-General by ex-Governor William Dennison, of Ohio. On July 18, 1864, President Lincoln ordered a draft of five hundred thousand men.

Chief Justice Chase.

National Thanksgiving.

President Lincoln appointed Sunday, September 11, 1864, as a day of National thanksgiving for the recent National victories of Sherman and Farragut before Atlanta and Mobile respectively and minor suc-

cesses elsewhere; and the Union people of the country generally complied with the President's request.

Armies in 1864.

At the close of 1864 the National armies numbered six hundred thousand men, and the Confederate armies numbered three hundred and fifty thousand. About two hundred thousand of the emancipated slaves were enlisted in the National armies.

War with Japan.

While the United States was distracted by her gigantic Civil War her naval force in Japanese waters united with the warships of Great Britain, France and Holland in those Far Eastern seas in hostilities with Japan in the eventful year 1864, taking part in the bombardment and capture of Shimonoseki, which the allied squadrons took to chastise the Japanese for firing upon American, British, French and Dutch ships.

Admission of Nevada.

Nevada was admitted into the Union as a State, October 31, 1864; and three new Territories were created—Arizona and Idaho in 1863 and Montana in 1864. In 1864 the people of the States still loyal to the Union were agitated by an exciting Presidential campaign. The policy of the administration in regard to the war and the question of emancipation had been sustained by the Republican party generally and also by the War Democracy. It was opposed by the Anti-War Democracy as wrong and useless, that faction maintaining that the war was a failure; that the seceded States could never be conquered; that emancipation was wrong, and that measures should be taken for a peaceful restoration of the Union with slavery as it existed. The extreme radical wing of the Republican party was dissatisfied with the conservative policy of the administration and denounced it for being too slow, having maintained that emancipation should have been resorted to at the beginning of the war. The President's reconstruction project was opposed very bitterly as too conservative by such radical leaders as Benjamin Franklin Wade, of Ohio, in the United States Senate, and Henry Winter Davis, of Maryland, in the United States House of Representatives; these radical leaders publishing a manifesto to the people through the columns of the *New York Tribune*.

Presidential Campaign of 1864.

Two Kinds of Opposition to President Lincoln.

The Presidential Campaign and Fruitless Peace Efforts.

The people of both sections by this time had grown tired of the bloody Civil War, and the Anti-War Democracy of the North proceeded to make all the political capital for themselves possible out of this feeling, while the Confederates sought to affect public sentiment in the North by insincere peace negotiations, thus seeking to place President Lincoln's administration in a false light before the Northern people by making it appear that the President was opposed to peace. In July, 1864, four irresponsible Confederate agents—ex-United States Senator Clement Claiborne Clay, of Alabama; ex-Secretary of the Interior Jacob Thompson, of Mississippi; Professor James Philemon Holcombe, of Virginia, and George N. Saunders—had been holding peace confer-

ences with Horace Greeley, the distinguished editor of the *New York Tribune* and President Lincoln's representative, at the Clifton House, in Canada, opposite the Niagara Falls, and had been offered a safe-conduct to Washington with the restoration of the Union and the abolition of slavery as the basis for peace negotiations; whereupon the four Confederate agents frankly acknowledged that they had no official credentials from the Confederate government, and the negotiations ended. About the same time Colonel Jacques, of Illinois, held a peace interview with Jefferson Davis, at Richmond; but the Confederate President would treat only on the basis of Confederate independence, saying: "We are not fighting for slavery, but for independence, and that or extermination we will have."

Radical Nomination of Fremont.

The radicals were first in the field. In a Radical National Convention which assembled at Cleveland, Ohio, May 31, 1864, remaining in session several days, General John Charles Fremont was nominated for President, with John Cochrane, of New York, for Vice President, and a platform was adopted calling for a most radical policy in the prosecution of the war and the treatment of slavery.

Renomination of Lincoln.

A few days later, June 7, 1864, a Union National convention, representing the Republicans and the War Democrats, assembled in Baltimore, and remained in session several days, during which it unanimously renominated President Lincoln for reëlection, and named Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee—the Military Governor of that State, the sturdy Union leader and War Democrat of the South—for Vice President. This convention adopted a platform sustaining the administration in its prosecution of the war for the maintenance of the Union and upholding its position on the abolition of slavery.

Anti-War Democratic Nomination of General McClellan.

Nearly three months later, August 29, 1864, the Anti-War Democracy met in a National Convention in Chicago, with Governor Horatio Seymour, of New York, as chairman, remaining in session several days. A prominent leader in this convention was Clement Laird Vallandigham, of Ohio, who, with George Hunt Pendleton, of the same State, and Daniel Wolsey Voorhees, of Indiana, and Fernando Wood and Benjamin Wood, of New York city, had been among the most violent opponents of the administration's war policy on the floors of Congress, and who had been living in exile in Canada after his arrest by order of the administration the previous year. This convention nominated General George Brinton McClellan, of New Jersey, for President, and George Hunt Pendleton, of Ohio, for Vice President, on a platform declaring the war a failure and that "humanity, liberty and the public welfare" demanded that it be stopped immediately. General McClellan accepted the nomination, but repudiated the platform. The convention had nominated McClellan because he was a War Democrat and

Mr. Pendleton because he was a Peace Democrat, thus hoping to satisfy both wings of the Democratic party. While the convention was in session there also met in Chicago many members of the *Knights of the Golden Circle, Sons of Liberty* and other secret organizations in sympathy with the Confederates, and also Confederate officers from Canada; and it was then that the liberating and arming of the eight thousand Confederate prisoners in Camp Douglas at Chicago and those at Indianapolis was planned. A very open sympathizer with the Confederates was Marcus Mills Pomeroy—known as "Brick" Pomeroy—editor of the *La Crosse Democrat*, published at La Crosse, Wisconsin, who said in his paper: "If Lincoln is reëlected we hope some bold hand will pierce his heart."

Plot in Chicago.

Just after the adjournment of this anti-war convention the people of the Northern States sent up shouts of joy, in accompaniment to the booming of cannon and the anthems of thanksgiving, for the great victories of Sherman and Farragut at Atlanta and Mobile respectively. Two months before the Presidential election Fremont and Cochrane withdrew in favor of Lincoln and Johnson; and on November 8, 1864, the people of the Northern, or Free States pronounced in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war by the reëlection of Abraham Lincoln as President of the United States, with Andrew Johnson as Vice President. Lincoln and Johnson carried all the Free States, except New Jersey, also carrying the three border Slave States of West Virginia, Maryland and Missouri, along with three of the Confederate States in which loyal State governments had been organized—Tennessee, Arkansas and Louisiana. Thus the Republican party was supported in the South for the first time. In all, Lincoln and Johnson had two hundred and twelve out of two hundred and thirty-three Electoral votes and a popular majority of more than four hundred thousand out of a total popular vote of more than four million. McClellan and Pendleton carried the former's own State of New Jersey and the border Slave States of Delaware and Kentucky. Eight of the seceded States—Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi and Texas—took no part in the election. Maryland freed her slaves by constitutional amendment early in the fall of 1864.

Lincoln's Re-election.

The most prominent of the War Governors in the North were Samuel Cony of Maine, John Albion Andrew of Massachusetts, William Sprague of Rhode Island, William Alfred Buchingham of Connecticut, Edwin Dennison Morgan of New York, Charles Smith Olden of New Jersey, Andrew Gregg Curtin of Pennsylvania, John Brough of Ohio, Oliver Perry Morton of Indiana, Richard Yates of Illinois, Austin Blair of Michigan, Alexander Williams Randall of Wisconsin, Samuel Jordan Kirkwood of Iowa and Thomas Clement Fletcher of Missouri.

Union War Governors.

Eminent War Supporters in Congress.

The most eminent defenders of the War for the Union in the National Congress were John Parker Hale of New Hampshire, Charles Sumner and Henry Wilson of Massachusetts, David Wilmot of Pennsylvania, Benjamin Franklin Wade and John Sherman of Ohio, Henry S. Lane of Indiana, Lyman Trumbull of Illinois and Zachariah Chandler of Michigan, in the Senate; and George Sewall Boutwell and Henry Laurens Dawes of Massachusetts, Roscoe Conkling and Reuben Eaton Fenton of New York, Thaddeus Stevens, William Darragh Kelley and Galusha Aaron Grow of Pennsylvania, Henry Winter Davis of Maryland, Robert Cumming Schenck of Ohio, George Washington Julian and Schuyler Colfax of Indiana, Elihu Benjamin Washburne of Illinois and John Adams Kasson of Iowa, in the House of Representatives. Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, was Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means in the House of Representatives and thus leader of the House. Galusha Aaron Grow, of Pennsylvania, and Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana, were successively Speakers of the House of Representatives.

Constitutional Abolition of Slavery.

In June, 1864, Congress repealed the notorious Fugitive Slave Law; and the United States Senate adopted the Thirteenth Amendment of the National Constitution, prepared by Senator Lyman Trumbull, of Illinois, abolishing slavery forever within the limits of the United States; but the House of Representatives would not then agree to it. The House of Representatives adopted the amendment on January 31, 1865, by a vote of one hundred and nineteen yeas against fifty-six nays, eight members not voting. All the Republicans and sixteen Democrats voted for the amendment. When Speaker Colfax announced that the necessary two-thirds majority had voted for the amendment, the House and the spectators manifested their satisfaction by the most enthusiastic outburst of applause, members on the floor springing to their feet and applauding with cheers and clapping of hands, the spectators in the crowded galleries waving their hats and making the chamber ring with enthusiastic plaudits, and hundreds of ladies in the galleries waving their handkerchiefs and participating in the general demonstration of enthusiasm. When this crowning act of emancipation was accomplished, Mr. Ebon C. Ingersoll, of Illinois, said: "In honor of this immortal and sublime event, I move that the House adjourn." The motion was carried by a vote of one hundred and twenty-one to twenty-four. On the following day (February 1, 1865) it was resolved to send the amendment to the State Legislatures for ratification; and before the close of the year (December 18, 1865) the Secretary of State, by proclamation, certified that three-fourths of the State Legislatures had ratified the amendment, thus making it a part of the National Constitution.

"Oh thou great Wrong, that through the slow-paced years
Didst hold thy millions fettered, and didst wield
The scourge that drove the laborer to the field,
And look with stony eye on human tears,
Thy cruel reign is o'er;
Thy bondmen crouch no more
In terror at the menace of thine eye;
For He who marks the bounds of guilty power,
Long-suffering, hath heard the captive's cry,
And touched his shackles at the appointed hour,
And lo! they fall, and he whose limbs they galled
Stands in his native manhood, disenthralled."

Bright Union Hopes.

At the beginning of 1865 the National armies were increasing rapidly and were supplied abundantly. The Union people were hopeful and confident. The Confederate armies were wasting away by desertion, disease and the losses in battle. The Confederate soldiers were scantily fed and clothed, while their families at home were destitute and suffering. The Confederates—people and soldiers alike—were fast losing heart in their cause.

Proposed Confederate Arming of the Slaves.

The desperate condition of the Confederate fortunes caused the Confederate Congress itself to move toward emancipation, strange as it may seem. The Confederate disasters in the campaign of 1864 and the Confederacy's want of means and want of men finally forced the Confederate authorities to the remarkable attitude of considering seriously the question of arming the slaves. At length Jefferson Davis proposed the employment of slaves as soldiers in the Confederate armies, and General Lee recommended such a measure, the slaves thus enlisted in the Confederate service to have their freedom either on entering or leaving the service. A bill to that effect was introduced in the Confederate Congress, rejected by the Senate and passed by the House of Representatives; but when the two Virginia Senators voted for it, in compliance with instructions from the Legislature of their State, the bill was adopted also by the Senate, February, 1865. Said one of the Virginia Senators: "It is an abandonment of the ground on which we seceded from the old Union. * * * If we are right in passing this measure we were wrong in denying to the old government the right to interfere with the institution of slavery and to emancipate slaves." The adoption of so remarkable a measure was the clearest evidence that the Confederates were vanquished. The measure came too late to be effectual, as the Confederacy's doom was sealed already.

Peace Conference at Hampton Roads.

For some months Francis Preston Blair, Sr., of Maryland—the father of ex-Postmaster-General Montgomery Blair—had been endeavoring, on his own responsibility, to facilitate the restoration of peace to the country; and on the 3d of February, 1865, a peace conference was held on board the steamer *City Queen*, at Hampton Roads,

Virginia, between President Lincoln and Secretary Seward, on the part of the National government, and Vice President Alexander Hamilton Stephens, Robert Mercer Taliaferro Hunter of Virginia and John Archibald Campbell of Alabama, on the part of the Southern Confederacy; the Confederate commissioners having obtained a safe-conduct through the Union lines and down the James river to Hampton Roads and to return. The conference failed, as President Lincoln and his Secretary of State would treat only on the basis of the integrity of the whole Union and the abolition of slavery, while the Confederate representatives were authorized by Jefferson Davis to treat only on the basis of the independence of the Confederate States. Davis wrote to Mr. Lincoln that he was anxious to see peace made "between the two countries." Mr. Lincoln replied that he was just as anxious to see peace restored "to our common country."

President Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address.

On March 4, 1865, Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated President of the United States for a second term. His inaugural address on this occasion breathed charity and conciliation toward the Confederates still in arms against the National government. The following is this famous address:

"Fellow Countrymen: At this second appearing to take the oath of the Presidential office there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then a statement, somewhat in detail, of a course to be pursued seemed very fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have constantly been called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention and engrosses the energies of the Nation, little that is new could be presented.

"The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hopes for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured. On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it, all sought to avoid it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it without war, seeking to dissolve the Union and divide the effects by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war; but one of them would make war rather than let the Nation survive, and the other would accept war rather than let it perish; and the war came.

"One-eighth of the whole population were colored slaves and distributed generally over the Union, but located in the southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was somehow the cause of the war. To

strengthen, perpetuate and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union by war, while government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it. Neither party expected the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease even before the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible and pray to the same God, and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any man should ask a just God's assistance in wringing his bread from the sweat of other men's faces.

"But let us not judge, that we be not judged. The prayer of both should not be answered. That of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has his own purposes. Woe unto the world because of offenses, for it must needs be that offenses come; but woe unto that man by whom the offense cometh."

"If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of these offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him.

"Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, that the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.

"With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the Nation's wound, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphans, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

Doom of the Confederacy.

The military events of the first few months of 1865 made it evident that the Confederacy was rapidly toppling to its fall. One Confederate defeat and loss followed another in rapid succession. The first Union victory of the year was the capture of Fort Fisher.

After the port of Mobile had been closed to blockade-runners by Farragut's victories in August, 1864, Wilmington, North Carolina, was the only port for blockade-running left to the Confederates. A

Expeditions against and Capture of Fort Fisher.

Union military and naval expedition under General Butler and Admiral Porter had been sent against Fort Fisher, at the mouth of the Cape Fear River, in December, 1865. Porter's fleet bombarded the fort and troops were landed on Christmas day, but as General Butler considered the fort too strong to be taken by assault he withdrew his troops and relinquished the attack. General Grant promptly ordered General Alfred Howe Terry with eight thousand troops to coöperate with Admiral Porter's fleet in an attack on Fort Fisher. Under cover of a fire from the fleet, Terry landed his troops on January 13, 1865; and, after Admiral Porter's bombardment had continued two days, Terry's troops carried Fort Fisher by storm, January 15, 1865. With the surrender of the fort, its garrison of two thousand Confederate troops became prisoners of war.

Evacuation of Forts Caswell and Anderson and of Wilmington.

The capture of Fort Fisher was followed the next morning by the evacuation and blowing-up of Fort Gaswell and other defenses by the Confederates, who thus relinquished the entire control of the mouth of the Cape Fear River. On February 9th Terry was reinforced by General Schofield with twelve thousand troops from Thomas's victorious army in Tennessee; and Schofield took command of the combined forces, twenty thousand strong, which then advanced on Wilmington. The Confederates evacuated Fort Anderson and Wilmington, after burning the iron-clad rams *Tallahassee* and *Chickamauga;* and Schofield and Terry took possession of Wilmington on Washington's birthday, February 22, 1865.

Sherman's Invasion of South Carolina.

During his six weeks' stay at Savannah, General Sherman assigned to the negroes who had followed his army the abandoned Sea Islands and rice fields on the coast of South Carolina and Georgia. On February 1, 1865, Sherman left Savannah, his army crossing the Savannah river at different points, and invaded South Carolina, thus beginning his great march through the Carolinas. He sent the Seventeenth corps under General Francis Preston Blair by water to Port Royal to threaten Charleston from that point. The extreme left wing of the army under General Slocum was supported by General Kilpatrick's cavalry. The Confederate cavalry under General Joseph Wheeler had felled trees everywhere in Sherman's path to obstruct his advance; but Sherman marched northward, driving small bodies of Confederate troops before him. By menacing Charleston he held Hardee there to defend it. By threatening Augusta, Georgia, he detained another Confederate force there.

Sherman's Occupation of Columbia.

Continuing his march northward, Sherman entered Columbia, the capital of South Carolina, on February 17th. The Confederate cavalry under General Wade Hampton had set fire to large piles of cotton bales before evacuating the city, thus destroying a large part

THE PURSUIT

From the Painting by W. Trega

of the city, which was saved from destruction only by the Union troops. Sherman's occupation of Columbia caused Hardee to evacuate Charleston on the same day; and on the following day, February 18, 1865, that city was taken possession of by National colored troops. Before evacuating Charleston, Hardee destroyed gunboats, rice and many thousands of bales of cotton and fired the city, the flames spreading ruin on every side before they were extinguished by the Union troops. Thus this city—which the Northern people called "the Cradle of the Rebellion"—after withstanding a siege of nearly two years, was finally taken by the movements of an army many miles distant.

Evacuation of Charleston.

Sherman invaded North Carolina, after spreading desolation over a tract forty miles across South Carolina, Beauregard with Hood's shattered forces retreating before him, while Kilpatrick's cavalry had frequent spirited skirmishes with the Confederate cavalry under Wheeler and Wade Hampton. Sherman's whole army finally reached Fayetteville, North Carolina, March 12, 1865, being now confronted by an army of forty thousand Confederates under General Joseph Eccleston Johnston, composed of the remnant of Hood's army under Beauregard, the force under Hardee from Charleston and other troops.

Sherman's Invasion of North Carolina.

After halting at Fayetteville three days, Sherman resumed his march northward, himself leading the main body of his army toward Goldsboro', while the left wing under Slocum advanced toward Raleigh, covered by Kilpatrick's cavalry. Slocum defeated Hardee at the head of twenty thousand Confederates at Averysboro', March 16, 1865, each side losing about four hundred and fifty men. Hardee retreated, and Slocum moved toward Goldsboro'. At Bentonville, Slocum was attacked by Johnston's army, March 19th, but repulsed six assaults of the Confederates upon his lines and held his ground at nightfall. That night Slocum was joined by Sherman; and when Johnston found his army of forty thousand men confronted by Sherman's sixty thousand the Confederate general retreated to Smithfield, while Sherman moved to Goldsboro'. In the battle of Bentonville each army lost over sixteen hundred men.

Battles of Averysboro and Bentonville.

Sherman reached Goldsboro', March 22, 1865, where he was reinforced by Schofield and Terry, who had fought their way from Wilmington, driving the Confederates before them. Sherman then sailed in a swift steamer from Newbern to City Point, General Grant's headquarters, where he held a consultation with President Lincoln and Generals Grant and Meade, March 27th, and returned to Goldsboro' three days later.

Sherman Reinforced.

His Visit to Grant.

At Goldsboro' Sherman gave his weary army a rest. In his march from Savannah he had lost three thousand men, but he had cut a wide swath of desolation through both the Carolinas and had forced the

Sherman's Achievements.

Confederates to abandon the seacoast from Savannah to Newbern. Since beginning his campaign against Johnston, early in May, 1864, he had marched more than eight hundred miles, beaten Johnston, outgeneraled Hood and Beauregard, driven away Hardee and Wade Hampton, taken almost every city and town along his route, torn up railways and bridges, destroyed foundries, mills, workshops and storehouses, subsisted his army upon the country through which he marched and desolated a tract forty miles wide. He was now in a position to cooperate with Grant in his operations before Petersburg and Richmond.

Siege and Capture of Mobile.

Active operations against Mobile had been suspended during the winter; but in March, 1865, they were resumed by General Edward Richard Spriggs Canby, the commander of the Gulf department, and Rear-Admiral Henry Knox Thatcher. General Canby, with over twenty-five thousand National troops, moved against Mobile. The Seventeenth corps reached Dauphin Island on March 12th; and the Thirteenth corps, under General Gordon Granger, moved up from Mobile Point to strike Mobile on the east; while General Frederick Steele moved from Pensacola, with a division of colored troops on Blakely, and a brigade was transported from Cedar Point under a heavy fire of shells from the National iron-clad vessels. An active siege of Mobile was begun on March 25th, in front of Blakely and Spanish Fort, the principal defenses of Mobile, by both the National fleet and army. Both these posts fell on April 9th—the day of Lee's surrender—and during the next two days about nine thousand of the Confederate garrison under General Daniel Herndon Maury evacuated Mobile and fled up the Alabama river. On April 12, 1865, the city of Mobile was surrendered with the five thousand troops of the garrison still remaining in the city. The siege and capture cost the National forces about twenty-five hundred men.

Wilson's Raid through Alabama and Georgia.

While the siege of Mobile was in progress General Thomas sent out two important cavalry expeditions. One of these expeditions, consisting of thirteen thousand cavalry and two thousand infantry, under General James Harrison Wilson, made a destructive raid through Alabama and Georgia, starting with sixty days' supplies transported by a train of two hundred and fifty wagons. Wilson started for the Tennessee river late in February and swept southward through Alabama, menacing Columbus, Mississippi, and Tuscaloosa, Alabama. After encountering a Confederate detachment under General Philip Dale Roddy on the Cahawba, he pushed on with nine thousand cavalry and took Selma, on the Alabama river, April 2, 1865, after a spirited conflict with seven thousand Confederates under General Forrest, and destroyed the Confederate arsenal and armory and extensive foundries at that

city. After a week's rest Wilson resumed his raid, and took possession of Montgomery, the capital of Alabama, April 12th—the day of the capture of Mobile—just after the Confederates had burned one hundred and twenty-five thousand bales of cotton. He then continued his raid eastward into Georgia, destroying railways and other property, and captured Columbus, Georgia, with twelve hundred prisoners, after a severe fight, and there also destroyed a large amount of property. On the same day a part of Wilson's force captured Fort Tyler, on the Chattahoochee river, at West Point, Georgia. Wilson crossed the Chattahoochee and reached Macon on April 21st with his triumphant raiders.

Stoneman's Raid in Virginia and North Carolina.

The other cavalry expedition sent out by General Thomas, under the command of General George Stoneman, swept through South-western Virginia to Salisbury, in North Carolina, destroying the railways and bridges by which the Confederate armies under Lee and Johnston, if defeated, might attempt to retreat. Stoneman started from Knoxville, Tennessee, late in March, destroying the Virginia and Tennessee Railway from Wytheville, and next the railway between Danville, Virginia, and Greensboro', North Carolina. On the way to Salisbury he routed a Confederate force, capturing fourteen cannon and nearly fourteen hundred prisoners. In Salisbury he destroyed a vast amount of public property, after which he returned to East Tennessee with his victorious raiders.

Sheridan's Destructive Raid through the Shenandoah Valley.

During the winter Confederate cavalry and guerrillas under Mosby, Rosser, McNeil and others had been somewhat active in West Virginia and in the vicinity of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, but were closely watched by Sheridan from his headquarters at Winchester. In compliance with an order from Grant, Sheridan left Winchester with ten thousand cavalry late in February, 1865, and made a raid on Lee's communications and against Lynchburg, the great storehouse of Lee's supplies. He rapidly swept up the Shenandoah Valley, through Staunton, and almost annihilated Early's forces of twenty-five hundred Confederate cavalry at Waynesboro', March 2, 1865, capturing eighteen hundred prisoners. He then pushed on to Charlottesville, destroying the railroad on the way, and at Charlottesville he destroyed manufactories, bridges and other property. He then sent a part of his force to destroy the railway to Lynchburg, and with the remainder he pushed on and demolished the James River Canal, after which he passed around Lee's left flank to White House, and joined the Army of the Potomac on March 27, 1865, one month after he had left Winchester, taking position near Hatcher's Run. He carried out Grant's order to devastate the valley completely, destroying everything, so that a crow, in flying over the valley, would have to carry its food with it.

Sieges of Petersburg and Richmond.

During the winter of 1864–65 little of importance occurred at Petersburg and Richmond; and the Armies of the Potomac and the James, the latter under General Edward Otho Cresap Ord's command, remained quietly behind their intrenchments, but holding Lee's fifty thousand men with a tight grip. Only twice during the winter did Grant make any aggressive movements. One of these was early in December, when Meade sent Warren to destroy the Weldon railroad near the North Carolina border, December 7, 1864. The other was early in February, when two corps with cavalry were sent to Dinwiddie Court House, which resulted in a severe action near Hatcher's Run, February 5, 1865, in which the Union army lost two thousand men and the Confederates one thousand; but the Union lines were now permanently extended to that stream.

Second Battle of Hatcher's Run.

Lee's Desperate Situation.

Lee now perceived to what Grant's movements were tending. South of him was Sherman. West of him was Thomas, with Stoneman's cavalry. North of him there was no hope. In his front Grant was ready to crush his army at one decisive blow. Sheridan's destructive operations thoroughly alarmed Lee, who saw that he must break through the Union lines and join Johnston in North Carolina if he would save his army and with it the Southern Confederacy. Lee made a desperate effort to break through Grant's lines by an attack on Fort Steadman, in front of Petersburg, March 26, 1865. He was at first successful and took the fort by assault, but it was recaptured the same day by Union troops under General John Frederick Hartrauft, and Lee was quickly driven back to his intrenchments with heavy loss.

Capture and Recapture of Fort Steadman.

Preparations for the Final Struggle.

Grant had now completed his arrangements for a final campaign. He called large bodies of troops from the Army of the James, on the north side of the James river before Richmond; and on March 29th he began an advance by pushing his left, consisting of Sheridan with his ten thousand cavalry and the Second and Fifth corps under General Andrew Atkinson Humphreys and General Gouverneur Kemble Warren, across Hatcher's Run. Seeing his peril, Lee left Longstreet with eight thousand men to hold Richmond against the depleted Army of the James under General Ord, and took all available troops from his intrenchments and massed them on his endangered right near Five Forks.

Battle of Five Forks.

A terrific struggle ensued April 1, 1865. The Union left under Warren and Sheridan were almost defeated at first. Sheridan was driven from Five Forks to Dinwiddie Court House; but he finally gained a complete victory over Lee's right, capturing the Confederate artillery and more than five thousand prisoners. In the evening Grant opened a terrible cannonade all along his lines in front of Petersburg upon Lee's works and the city. At dawn the next morning, Sunday, April 2d, he made an assault upon the Confederate works all along the line

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SHERIDAN AT FIVE FORKS, APRIL 1, 1865

from the Appomattox river to Hatcher's Run. Longstreet had come from Richmond to Lee's assistance, but it was too late. The Confederates were driven to their inner intrenchments, with the loss of many prisoners. In all Lee had lost ten thousand men. General Ambrose Powell Hill was killed. That very Sunday morning Jefferson Davis, while in church, received the following telegram from Lee: "My lines are broken in three places; we can hold Petersburg no longer; Richmond must be evacuated this evening." The Confederate President at once left church without saying a word.

Lee's Message to Davis.

Consternation reigned in the Confederate capital that Sunday afternoon, when the Confederate troops evacuated that city and Petersburg. The President, the Cabinet and the Congress of the Confederacy fled toward Danville, thus putting an end to the Confederate government. Hundreds of citizens also fled. The next morning, Monday, April 3, 1865, Richmond was occupied by Union colored troops under General Godfrey Weitzel, who received the surrender of the city from Mayor Mayo. As in the case of Charleston and Columbia, South Carolina, Richmond was in flames when the National troops entered the city. Before leaving the city the Confederate authorities had caused the magazines and gunboats to be blown up and large warehouses filled with tobacco to be set on fire, and before the National troops entered the city nearly all the business portion of Richmond was in ashes. At an early hour the Stars and Stripes were raised over the Capitol, where the Stars and Bars had waved for four years. On the following day, April 4, 1865, President Lincoln, who had been at General Grant's headquarters at City Point for several days, made his appearance in Richmond, and, in the mansion of Jefferson Davis, the fugitive President of the Southern Confederacy, he publicly received many army officers and citizens. General Grant, whose conquering arms had reduced Richmond after a siege of ten months, did not enter the city until nearly a year afterward, when he visited the city, not as a conqueror, but as a private citizen.

Lee's Evacuation of Richmond.

Union Occupation of Richmond.

President Lincoln in Richmond.

Lee, with the Army of Northern Virginia, now reduced to thirty-five thousand men, had evacuated Petersburg on the very day of the evacuation of Richmond, Sunday, April 2, 1865, and fled westward toward Lynchburg, hoping to join Johnston in North Carolina. Grant hotly pursued with the Army of the Potomac, and many of the Confederate troops were captured on the way. Lee's retreat was intercepted by Sheridan near Amelia Court House, where Lee's army was further reduced by the capture of General Ewell and his entire corps, after a sharp fight, April 6th. Lee's retreat then became a rapid flight. The fleeing army abandoned their guns, wagons and all the equipage of war. Their provisions had become exhausted, and men and horses

Lee's Flight and Grant's Pursuit.

dropped by the wayside. Many of the Confederate troops threw away their arms and dispersed to their homes. During this retreat there was daily fighting, as Grant's pursuing host harassed Lee's fleeing army without cessation; the Confederate leader, whose brilliant military talents had upheld the Confederate cause so long, making the most desperate efforts to escape.

Lee's Surrender at Appomattox Court House.

On Sunday morning, April 9, 1865, Lee failed in his last attempt to break through Grant's lines, at Appomattox Court House. Finding escape impossible, Lee met Grant at W. McLean's house, near Appomattox Court House, the same day, and surrendered what remained of the Army of Northern Virginia, less than twenty-seven thousand men. Grant's terms to his vanquished foe were most magnanimous. Lee's officers and troops were paroled on condition that they would not take up arms against the United States government until properly exchanged, while the officers were allowed to keep their horses, baggage and sidearms. The next day Lee issued an affectionate farewell to the officers and soldiers who had fought with such constancy by his side, and commended their valor, fortitude and devotion and their generous consideration for himself.

Rejoicing in the North.

The surrender of Lee's army practically ended the Civil War and saved the Union, and the popular rejoicings in the Northern States knew no bounds. The news of the fall of Richmond, and Lee's surrender, a week later, was hailed with shouts, bonfires, pealing of bells and booming of cannon. But in the midst of this joy over the return of peace and the preservation of the Union, the American people suddenly became a nation of mourners when the news spread over the country that President Lincoln had been assassinated on the very day that General Robert Anderson raised the Stars and Stripes over Fort Sumter, on the fourth anniversary of his evacuation of the fort.

Joy Turned to Sorrow.

Assassination of President Lincoln.

On the night of Good Friday, April 14, 1865, while Mr. Lincoln, with his wife, was seated in a private box in Ford's theater, in Washington, John Wilkes Booth, who had at one time been an actor in that theater, stole up behind the President and shot him through the head. The assassin, immediately after committing his tragical deed, leaped upon the stage, and, brandishing a large dagger, exclaimed, in the motto of Virginia: "*Sic semper tyrannis!*"—"May this ever be the fate of tyrants!" Then turning to the audience, still flourishing his dagger, he exclaimed: "*The South is avenged!*" and made his escape. At the same time the Secretary of State, William Henry Seward, while confined to his bed by an accident, and his son, Frederick William Seward, were wounded at their house by the dagger of another assassin; but both recovered. Mr. Lincoln died the next morning, April 15, 1865.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

From the Etching by Thomas Johnson

Grief and Indignation.

The excitement over the assassination was most intense. A mingled feeling of horror, indignation and grief pervaded the country. Houses and stores were hung with black, and flags were draped in mourning. The murdered President's remains were honored with the most impressive funeral obsequies in Washington and throughout the country, after which they were conveyed to his home at Springfield, Illinois, where they now rest in a fine vault. The assassin was afterwards found in a barn in Virginia, and, refusing to surrender himself and showing resistance, the barn was set on fire, and he was shot by Sergeant Boston Corbett as he came out of the burning building. His accomplices in the assassination were tried by a military commission; and, upon conviction, four were hanged, one of them a woman, Mrs. Mary E. Surratt, while three were sentenced to imprisonment for life and one for six years.

Obsequies.

Fate of the Assassins.

President Johnson, A. D. 1865–1869.

About noon on the day that Mr. Lincoln died, April 15, 1865, Andrew Johnson, the Vice President, was sworn in as President of the United States by Chief Justice Chase. President Johnson retained President Lincoln's Cabinet, with Mr. Seward at its head.

Johnston's Surrender.

The remaining history of the Civil War is soon told. Lee's surrender destroyed the last hope of the Southern Confederacy. On hearing the news of that event, General Sherman left Goldsboro', North Carolina, and resumed operations against Johnston, who retreated from Smithfield to Raleigh, the capital of the State, burning the bridges over the Neuse river and destroying the railway behind him. Sherman pursued closely and occupied Raleigh, April 13th, after which he resumed his pursuit of Johnston to Greenesboro', where Johnston asked for a conference with his pursuer, April 14th. The two generals met April 17th, and agreed upon terms of surrender which practically ignored the results of the war and restored to all the Confederates every social and political right and privilege which they had enjoyed before the war. The National government rejected these conditions and sent General Grant to order an immediate resumption of hostilities. Thereupon Johnston surrendered his army of thirty-one thousand men to Sherman, April 26, 1865, on the same generous terms which Grant had accorded to Lee. Thus Greenesboro'—the site of the Revolutionary battle of Guilford Court House between General Nathaniel Greene and Lord Cornwallis—became noted also as the site of one of the closing events of the Great Civil War. Johnston, who was, like Lee, an honorable man, highly esteemed, issued an affectionate farewell to his troops, advising them to become good citizens and obey the laws of the United States. Johnston himself became a good citizen and honestly accepted the results of the war, and some years later he represented a Virginia district in the National House of Representatives.

Other Surrenders and Close of the Civil War.

General Canby received the surrender of the remaining Confederate forces east of the Mississippi from General Richard Taylor, May 8, 1865, and the surrender of the Confederate forces west of the Mississippi from General Edmund Kirby Smith, May 26, 1865. Regular armed opposition to the National government was thus ended, and the announcement that guerrillas found in arms against United States authority would be dealt with as outlaws was followed by the speedy dispersion of all guerrilla bands. Among the most famous of the guerrilla leaders was Colonel John Singleton Mosby, of Virginia.

The Shenandoah.

All the vessels of the Confederate navy were soon surrendered, except the *Shenandoah*, commanded by Captain Waddell, who refused to credit the news of the overthrow of the Southern Confederacy and continued a destructive cruise among the American whalemen in the North Pacific for some months, burning a whaling fleet on June 28, 1865. He at length sailed to England and surrendered his vessel to the British authorities, who delivered it to the United States.

Flight and Capture of Jefferson Davis.

After leaving Richmond, Jefferson Davis, the late President of the Confederate States of America, fled to Danville, Virginia, whence he continued his flight southward for the purpose of escaping from the country. He was accompanied by his family and his Postmaster-General, John Henninger Reagan, of Texas. General James Harrison Wilson sent cavalry in quest of the fugitive chief; and on May 11, 1865, Davis was captured near Irwinsville, Georgia, by a part of the Fourth Michigan cavalry, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel B. D. Pritchard, and was brought to Fortress Monroe, where he was kept a close prisoner for two years under the charge of young Major-General Nelson Appleton Miles; after which he was released on bail, charged with the crime of treason, May, 1867, Horace Greeley being one of his bondsmen. He was never brought to trial, and died in Mississippi, December 11, 1889. During his later years he wrote a *History of the Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government.*

The Other Confederate Leaders.

Alexander Hamilton Stephens, the late Vice President of the Confederacy, was arrested at his home at Crawfordsville, Georgia, about the time of Davis' capture; and he and Postmaster-General Reagan were sent as prisoners to Fort Warren, at Boston, but were released in the fall of the same year. Stephens was a member of the National House of Representatives both before and after the war, and died in the fall of 1882, while Governor of Georgia. During his later years he wrote a *History of the War between the States.* Reagan was afterward a United States Senator from Texas. Judah Philip Benjamin, of Louisiana, the Confederate Secretary of State, escaped from the country and spent the rest of his life in England, where he attained fame and fortune as a practitioner at the bar. John Mitchel, an

Irish patriot of 1848, who had been obliged to flee from Ireland to escape British vengeance for his part in William Smith O'Brien's Rebellion, was arrested in Richmond for his part in the Confederate cause, but was released by President Johnson several months later. Thus John Mitchel had taken part in rebellions against both the British and United States governments.

Disbandment of the National Armies.

The National armies at the close of the war numbered over a million men, and the National navy had over fifty thousand. Within a few months after the cessation of hostilities the greater part of these forces were disbanded, and the soldiers and seamen returned to their homes. No less wonderful than the alacrity with which peaceful citizens rushed to arms in 1861 was the ease and rapidity with which vast armies, surrounded by "all the pomp and circumstance of war," in the course of half a year resumed their duties as private citizens, engaged in the blessed pursuits of peace. The "sweet angel of peace" again hovered over the land. On June 2, 1865, General Grant issued a stirring farewell address to the "Soldiers of the Armies of the United States," commending their heroism, their endurance, their patriotic devotion and their brilliant achievements.

The Returned Confederate Soldiers.

The blockade of the Southern ports was raised and commerce resumed its sway. The military prisons on both sides were opened and the prisoners returned to their homes. The released Confederate captives were kindly sent to their homes at the expense of the National government. The Confederate soldiers, upon their return home, also at once devoted themselves to the arts of peace with the same zeal and alacrity with which they had taken up the sword four years before, and applied themselves diligently to building up their section and repairing the wastes of four years of horrid, cruel, devastating civil war.

Ruin and Poverty of the South.

Edward Albert Pollard, of Richmond, the Southern historian of the "*Lost Cause*," says that the war "closed on a spectacle of ruin the greatest of modern times. There were eleven great States lying prostrate; their capital all absorbed; their fields desolate; their towns and cities ruined; their public works torn to pieces by armies; their system of labor overturned; the fruits of the toil of generations all swept into a chaos of destruction." Pollard illustrates the poverty of the South at the close of the war by citing the case of South Carolina, which State in 1860 had property, including slaves, valued at four hundred million dollars, and which lost three-fourths of this wealth by the war, the only thing left being lands which had depreciated immensely in value.

The whole number of men called in the Union service was over two million six hundred and ninety thousand, of whom about one million

Forces Engaged and Losses on Each Side.

four hundred and ninety thousand were in actual service. Nearly sixty thousand were killed in battle, and about thirty-five thousand were mortally wounded. One hundred and eighty-four thousand died of disease in camps and hospitals. Thus about three hundred thousand perished on the Union side. About the same number of Confederates perished, thus making a total loss of six hundred thousand. About four hundred thousand were crippled or disabled for life on both sides, thus making a total loss of a million able-bodied men to the country.

Prisoners on Both Sides.

At the close of the war over sixty-three thousand Confederate prisoners were released. The number surrendered and paroled in the Confederate armies was over one hundred and seventy-four thousand. The records of the War Department show that two hundred and twenty thousand Confederates were made prisoners during the war, of whom nearly twenty-six thousand died of wounds or disease during their captivity; while of one hundred and twenty-six thousand Union soldiers captured, nearly twenty-three thousand died while prisoners. It is estimated that the whole number of Union captives was one hundred and ninety-six thousand, of whom forty-one thousand died in captivity.

Sufferings of Union Prisoners.

The treatment and sufferings of Union prisoners of war in Confederate prisons form a dismal chapter in the history of the great civil conflict. At first there were difficulties in the way of exchanging prisoners because the National government, regarding the action of the seceded States in severing their connection with the Union as rebellion, shrank from such exchange as implying recognition of the belligerency of the Confederates. Afterward there were additional difficulties because the Confederates would exchange only white prisoners, claiming the right to treat the colored prisoners and their white officers as criminals. Under any circumstances these delays would have been distressing enough, but in the case of the Southern prisons they were heart-rending. Concerning the Richmond prisons a report of a Confederate Congressional Committee to the Confederate Secretary of War in September, 1862, used the following words: "Terrible beyond description." But the worst appeared during the last year of the war, when loud complaints were made in the North that Union prisoners confined in Libby Prison, in Richmond; on Belle Isle, in the James river: at Danville, in Virginia; at Salisbury, in North Carolina, and especially at Andersonville, in Georgia, were tortured and starved. These prisoners in some places were in jails, warehouses and covered railway bridges; but at Andersonville and other places they were in pens, where thousands of them perished from torture and starvation. Concerning the prison pens at Andersonville a Confederate adjutant and inspector-general, in a report to the Confederate Secretary of War in August, 1864, used the following words: "A reproach to us as a na-

Libby, Belle Isle and Andersonville.

tion." A committee of the United States Sanitary Commission, after a thorough investigation, made a report in September, 1864, which spoke thus: "Tens of thousands of helpless men have been and are now being disabled and destroyed by a process as certain as poison. * * * This spectacle is daily beheld and allowed by the rebel government. * * * The conclusion is unavoidable that these privations and sufferings have been designedly inflicted." The Confederate authorities charged that Secretary of War Stanton refused to exchange prisoners when requested to do so by the Confederate Commissioner, Robert Ould, on the ground that the Confederate army would thus receive back a lot of well-fed, able-bodied soldiers, while the Union army would receive in exchange only a lot of helpless men, unfit for further service. A few months after the close of the war Captain Wirz, the keeper of the Andersonville prison pens and a native of Switzerland, was arrested and tried on charges of inhumanity and was convicted and hanged.

Sanitary and Christian Commissions.

The persevering devotion of the Northern people to those who fought their battles forms one of the brightest chapters in the history of the Great Civil War. No sooner had men sprung to arms than other men and large numbers of women began to minister to the wants of the soldiers and their families. Several *Soldiers' Aid Societies* were formed, out of which grew the *United States Sanitary Commission*, which an order from the Secretary of War in June, 1861, styled "a commission of inquiry and advice in respect of the sanitary interests of the United States forces." This Sanitary Commission was a charitable organization whose object was to do what the National government was leaving undone rather than what the government was doing; and the Commission was kept very busy, as there was a great deal to be done in the line for which it was instituted. Its headquarters were in New York city, and its posts were all over the loyal States; while its workers, both men and women, were found in every camp and in every hospital, watching the well, nursing the sick, transporting the wounded, protecting the discharged, supplying medicine, food, clothing, books and even games along the Union lines. Another charitable organization of the Civil War was the *Christian Commission*, which was formed in November, 1861, with immediate reference to the spiritual wants of the soldiers; but its agents were as active as those of the Sanitary Commission in relieving the physical necessities of the sick and wounded soldiers. Together these two private philanthropic associations of the Northern States labored for the relief of human suffering and for the promotion of human advancement, their agents being found in every camp and hospital and on every battlefield, administering to the wants and necessities of both Union and Confederate sick and wounded and giving Christian instruction and consolation to all who would accept

them. The two Commissions expended at least thirty millions, in money and stores, in their benevolent work, and distributed the supplies and subscriptions which came in one steady stream from all classes, from rich and poor, from high and low, in individual offerings or in various combinations and associations, the largest sums being raised by fairs held in New York, Philadelphia and Boston.

Miss Clara Barton.

The Florence Nightingale of the great American Civil War was Miss Clara Barton, who devoted herself to ministering to the sick and wounded soldiers of the great struggle and who afterwards went to Europe and did hospital work in the Franco-German War. She aided the Red Cross movement and founded the Red Cross Society, which did effective philanthropic work in the Chino-Japanese War. In 1896 she went to Turkey to aid the persecuted Armenians, and during the Spanish-American War she had charge of distributing the supplies furnished by the United States government to its soldiers in Cuba.

Freedmen's Aid Societies and Freedmen's Bureau.

There were other philanthropic agencies during the Civil War, which deserve a brief notice. The *Union Commission* brought succor to the people of the regions desolated by the war. The *Freedmen's Aid Societies* afforded aid and instruction to the emancipated colored race. At the close of the war a *Freedmen's Bureau* was established and was placed under the charge of General Oliver Otis Howard. Contributions to all established charities and to religious and literary institutions were more liberal during the Civil War than every before, and during the same period a ship-load of provisions was sent to the starving operatives of England.

The National Debt.

The war at its close cost the National government about three and a half million dollars daily; and when the mighty conflict ended, the National debt amounted to three thousand million dollars—three-fourths as much as Great Britain's national debt, which had resulted from more than a century's warfare, from the reign of King William III. to the overthrow of Napoleon Bonaparte (1689–1815).

The Paper Money.

The paper money, as represented by Greenbacks, National Bank notes and fractional currency, were the only circulating medium for eleven years after the war, until the restoration of fractional silver coin in the spring of 1876; and specie payments were not resumed until January 1, 1879, when such a consummation resulted in accordance with an act of Congress passed in January, 1875.

Entire Cost of the Civil War.

The entire pecuniary cost of the Civil War to the National government and the loyal States must have been at least five million dollars. Indirectly the war involved immense losses in production and productive force, as has every great war—losses which cannot be estimated accurately. The great cost of the war was personal—the death of thousands on battlefields, in prisons and in hospitals, and, after their

discharge from the army, of wounds or disease incurred in the service, along with the pain and privation occasioned by their loss to many thousands in addition. This was the real sacrifice in which the dying and the living both shared. Still few would have shrunk from this sacrifice if they would have had the power; as they considered the great results of the struggle—the salvation of the Union and the abolition of chattel slavery—as full compensation for the suffering and sacrifice and as ample consolation for their devotion in a great cause.

Case of Henry Morton Stanley.

Like Sir Ashley Cooper, afterwards the renowned Earl of Shaftesbury, who changed sides during the Great Civil War in England between Charles I. and Parliament, fighting first on the king's side and afterward on the side of Parliament; so, in the Great Civil War in the United States, Henry Morton Stanley, afterwards so famous as an African explorer, also changed sides, fighting first in the Confederate army and after being taken prisoner by the Union forces enlisting in the United States navy and fighting thereafter on the Union side.

Interesting Facts

The following important events occurred on Sunday—the fall of Fort Sumter, the first battle of Bull Run, the fall of Vicksburg, the fight between the *Kearsarge* and the *Alabama*, the fall of Richmond, the surrender of Lee. The same man—W. McLean—occupied the lands, a hundred miles apart, on which occurred the first great battle of the Civil War—Bull Run—and on which was struck the deathblow to the Confederacy—Lee's surrender—at the times respectively when those events occurred. His Holiness Pope Pius IX. was the only sovereign ruler who officially recognized the Confederate President, addressing him in a letter thus: "To His Excellency Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America."

War Songs.

The Civil War was the occasion of some celebrated war songs on both sides. In the North a very noted war hymn was Mrs. Julia Ward Howe's *Battle Hymn of the Republic*. The most noted writer of war lyrics was George F. Root, of Chicago; among whose most widely known productions were *Just Before the Battle, Mother*, and *Tramp, Tramp, Tramp, the Boys Are Marching*. *The Battle Cry of Freedom* and *O, Wrap the Flag Around Me, Boys*, were also very popular war lyrics. Other war songs were *John Brown's Song* and *Marching through Georgia*. The most noted Confederate war songs were *Hurrah, Hurrah for the Bonnie Blue Flag* and *My Maryland, My Maryland*. *Dixie* was a popular Southern song, written a few years before the Civil War.

Great Results of the Civil War.

Thus closed the most terrible civil war in the history of the world—a civil war in which almost nine hundred (892) regular engagements were fought. This terrific struggle—called the *War of the Rebellion*, or the *Civil War*, in the North, and styled the *War of Southern Independence*, or the *War between the States*, in the South—fought on the

part of the South for the establishment of an independent Confederacy of Slave States and on the part of the North for the preservation of the Union of States, was thus ended in the maintenance of the Union and in the abolition of chattel slavery in every part of the Union. The institution of slavery, which had prevailed south of Mason and Dixon's Line, the Ohio river and Iowa, and which had been the apple of discord between the North and the South for so many years, was against the spirit of the age throughout Christendom and the civilized world. Even the European nations which sympathized with the Confederates in their struggle for independence were opposed to the institution of chattel slavery, and it was probably owing to this fact that the Confederate States did not receive foreign recognition and assistance. The result for which the abolitionists had labored so long was finally accomplished; and William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips and Gerrit Smith lived to see the triumph of their cause. A daughter of John Brown, whose foolhardy attempt to free the slaves of Virginia in 1859 brought him to the gallows, taught a colored school near Norfolk, Virginia, in the house once owned and occupied by Governor Henry Alexander Wise, who had approved the sentence and signed the death-warrant for the execution of that famous abolitionist martyr.

SECTION IX.—RECONSTRUCTION AND THE RESTORED UNION (A. D. 1865–1898).

Difficulties.

Peace had its difficulties no less than war. The vanquished were willing to confess their defeat, and the victors were ready to use their triumph without abusing it. But the Nation, split in two, was to be reunited; and society, quivering with agitation and with the passions of four years of terrible civil war, was to be calmed. The slaveholding class was broken up, and the former slaves were suddenly thrown from slavery to freedom. The entire American people were accustomed to war and to all its consequences, public and private. Civil authority had outgrown its former traditions. The President and his Cabinet, Congress, the State and municipal governments, had become habituated to the exercise of arbitrary powers, more or less. Large appropriations and expenditures of money had become so general as to excite a concern otherwise than healthful and beneficent. Everywhere were habits and ideas undergoing change and not immediately for the better. On the contrary, the high qualities called forth by the National peril appeared to be sinking beneath the flood of corruption and indifference which showed itself when the danger had passed. Under these condi-

1861

1862

SECEDING STATES

ORDER OF SECESSION	NAME OF STATE	DATE OF SECESSION
1	South Carolina	Dec. 29, 1860
2	Mississippi	Jan. 9, 1861
3	Florida	" 10, "
4	Alabama	" 11, "
5	Georgia	" 19, "
6	Louisiana	" 26, "
7	Texas	Feb. 1, "
8	Virginia	Apr. 17, "
9	Arkansas	May. 6, "
10	Tennessee	" 6, "
11	North Carolina	" 20, "

1863

1864

1865

ADMITTED INTO THE UNION DURING THIS PERIOD		
ORDER OF ADMISSION	NAME OF STATE	DATE OF ADMISSION
21 – 34	Kansas	Jan. 29. 1861
22 – 35	West Virginia	June 19. 1863
23 – 36	• Nevada	Oct. 31. 1864

• SEE MAP VIII

ADMINISTRATIONS DURING THIS PERIOD				
NO.	NAME OF PRESIDENT	TIME SERVED	PERIOD OF SERVICE	NAME OF VICE PRESIDENT
16	Abraham Lincoln	1 Term 1 month 10 days	1861-1865	Hannibal Hamlin Andrew Johnson

tions reunion was extremely difficult, and many predicted that it would be impracticable.

The Nation's Disarming.

The first obstacle in the way of reunion was removed by the disarming of the Nation. In May, 1865, the National army numbered more than a million men. On the 22d and 23d of that month more than two hundred thousand Union soldiers were reviewed by President Johnson in the Nation's capital. Fresh from their great victories, they appeared as if they were able to do as they liked with their unarmed fellow-citizens. Besides, the thousands who served in the Nation's navy were no less powerful in the position which they had attained. But all these imposing numbers dwindled, all these gigantic armies and fleets were disbanded as easily as if they had been conquered instead of being conquerors. Secretary of War Stanton reported that eight hundred thousand Union soldiers had been mustered out of service in six months; while every kind of material—stores, transports, railroads and their rolling stock, telegraphs—were disposed of, and the Nation's military force was placed on a peace footing. The Nation's navy was reduced in the same degree. Volunteers—both soldiers and sailors—at once were transformed into peaceful citizens.

The Freedmen's Bureau.

The next obstacle in the way of reunion could not be removed so readily. Almost four million freedmen were to be delivered from their former masters or from those who now threatened to master them and were to be trained in habits of self-control before the Nation of which they formed a part could be considered as properly reunited. As we have observed, just as the great struggle was approaching its close, Congress established a *Freedmen's Bureau* in the War Department, to continue during the war and a year thereafter, March, 1865. This bureau was to have charge of the freedmen, refugees and abandoned lands; and its official head was General Oliver Otis Howard, as already noticed. This commissioner, with an assistant for each of the lately-seceded States and a number of clerks, were entrusted with all matters relating to freedmen. Before the National army was so much reduced that it could spare officers no longer it furnished commissioners to the bureau. Originally, the duties of these commissioners were to care for the sick and the needy and to apportion deserted lands among the freedmen; but few lands were abandoned, so that this part of the work fell through. Relief was administered to the freedmen in every possible form—food, clothing, shelter, protection. When differences arose between freedmen and their employers the commissioners served as arbitrators, and this service was as useful as any which they rendered. An act for the renewal of the Freedmen's Bureau was passed over President Johnson's veto, in February, 1866; and in July of that year the bureau was continued two years longer, its duties being extended so as

to include the education of the freedmen and their children. Benevolent individuals and philanthropic associations had been engaged in this good work for several years, but this work was now extended all over the Southern States. In 1868 the bureau was again continued for two years, and in 1869 it reported twenty-five hundred and seventy-one schools, thirty-two hundred and sixty-two teachers, one hundred and sixteen thousand one hundred and ten scholars. In 1870 the Freedmen's Bureau ceased to exist, after having stood five years between the freedmen and their trials and after having enabled them to cross the gulf between their old state of chattel slavery and their new conditions of freedom and citizenship.

Reconstruction of the Lately-Seceded States.

The third obstacle to the reunion of the Nation was the position of the States that had seceded from the Union. There was much fruitless discussion over the question as to whether they were States or not, whether they were in the Union or out of it. Practically, they were separated from the States that had remained in the Union, and it was necessary to put an end to this practical separation. As this involved all the authorities in the lately-revolted section, Confederate and State, all the Confederate army and navy, all the classes that had been in armed opposition to the National government, it was by far the most difficult task before the Nation. Unhappily, the severity of this third obstacle was soon increased by divisions which arose between the executive and legislative branches of the National government, President Johnson insisting upon one plan of reconstruction and Congress insisting upon another, until both plans were on the verge of failure; and it was only after the most acrimonious dissensions that Congress finally triumphed over the President and carried its plan of reconstruction to a successful conclusion.

President Johnson's Amnesty Proclamation.

President Johnson had entered upon office with loud threats of avenging the assassination of his lamented predecessor and punishing the treason that had resulted in civil war, saying that "traitors must take a back seat in reconstruction," and telling the colored people that he would be their "Moses" to lead them "out of bondage." But the triumphant Northern people were not actuated by motives of vengeance, and the President's vindictive tone soon softened. Late in May, 1865, he issued a *Proclamation of Amnesty* to "all persons who have directly or indirectly participated in the rebellion," excepting the higher civil, military and naval officers of the Confederate service, along with various other classes, provided that all who availed themselves of the amnesty would take and observe faithfully an oath of allegiance to the United States government, thus swearing fidelity to the National Constitution, the Union and the laws and proclamations of emancipation. The President's Amnesty Proclamation gave even

the certain specified excepted classes an opportunity to apply for pardon.

President Johnson's Plan of Reconstruction.

A loyal State government had continued in Virginia throughout the war; but, after the separation of West Virginia from the rest of the Old Dominion, the authority of this State government extended over only the small part of Virginia in the possession of the National forces. A loyal State government had been established in Tennessee, to supersede that organized by Andrew Johnson as Military Governor. Loyal State governments had been organized in Louisiana and Arkansas, under the amnesty proclamation issued by President Lincoln in 1863. President Johnson recognized these as proper governments for those four States. President Johnson appointed Provisional Governors for the other conquered States, authorizing them to call State conventions for the purpose of establishing loyal State governments. Those States were required to rescind their ordinances of secession; to declare void all debts contracted in support of the Southern Confederacy, and to vote for the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment of the National Constitution abolishing slavery. The lately-seceded States complied with the President's requirements; the conventions in those States annulling the secession ordinances and prohibiting slavery within their borders, after which the State Legislatures assembled and ratified the Thirteenth Amendment of the National Constitution. This was President Johnson's plan of reconstruction, which left the lately-seceded States very much in the possession of their secession elements, without any other proviso in behalf of the colored race than the acceptance of the abolition of slavery.

Abolition of Slavery.

The Thirteenth Amendment of the National Constitution, abolishing slavery forever in the United States, adopted by Congress, January 31, 1865, and ratified by three-fourths of the States in the course of a few months, was finally declared adopted, December 18, 1865.

Disagreement between President Johnson and Congress.

On the assembling of Congress in December, 1865, it became apparent that a disagreement existed between that body and the President respecting the restoration of the lately-seceded States to their former relations with the Union. The President maintained that those States, by accepting the conditions which he had proposed, had manifested a desire to resume their old places in the Union, and that they were therefore at once entitled to representation in both Houses of Congress and to all their old political rights. Congress, with its overwhelming Republican majority in both Houses, contended that those States should not be represented in that body until they had complied with certain conditions imposed upon them in the shape of a Constitutional Amendment providing for suitable protection to the rights of the freedmen and proper precaution against the admission of the lead-

ers of the secession movement to a participation in the National government. The President vetoed various measures in the interest of the emancipated colored race—the Freedmen's Bureau Bill, the Civil Rights Bill and others; but these bills were passed by both Houses of Congress over the President's veto, early in the spring of 1866.

Republican Leaders in Congress.

Thus we see the President was at variance on the reconstruction question with the Republican party, which had elected him Vice President and which sustained the policy of Congress, which had a Republican majority in each branch of more than two-thirds. The leaders of the Republican majority in the United States Senate were Charles Sumner and Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts; Benjamin Franklin Wade and John Sherman, of Ohio; Zachariah Chandler, of Michigan, and Lyman Trumbull and Richard Yates, of Illinois. Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, the "Old Commoner," was the leader of the Republican majority in the House of Representatives. Other prominent Republican members of the Lower House of Congress were General Benjamin Franklin Butler, of Massachusetts; General James Abram Garfield, of Ohio; General John Alexander Logan, of Illinois, William Darragh Kelley, of Pennsylvania; John A. Bingham, of Ohio; George Washington Julian, of Indiana; Roscoe Conkling, of New York; James Gillespie Blaine, of Maine, and the Speaker, Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana.

Democratic Leaders in Congress.

President Johnston was sustained by most of his Cabinet, with Mr. Seward at its head, and by the Democratic party and its Senators and Representatives in Congress, chief of whom were Charles R. Buckalew, of Pennsylvania; James Asheton Bayard and Willard Saulsbury, of Delaware; Reverdy Johnson, of Maryland; Garrett Davis, of Kentucky, and Thomas Andrews Hendricks, of Indiana, in the United States Senate, and James Brooks, Samuel Sullivan Cox ("Sunset" Cox), Fernando Wood and Benjamin Wood, of New York; Samuel Jackson Randall, of Pennsylvania; George Hunt Pendleton, of Ohio, and Daniel Wolsey Voorhees, of Indiana. The President was also supported by such conservative Republicans as Edgar Cowan, of Pennsylvania; James Rood Doolittle, of Wisconsin, and James Henry Lane, of Kansas, in the United States Senate.

Congressional Plan of Reconstruction.

In the meantime Congress set about its own plan of reconstruction, appointing a joint committee of the two Houses, called the Reconstruction Committee, whose chairman was the great radical Republican leader of the House of Representatives and the chairman of that House's Committee of Ways and Means during the whole period of the Civil War and reconstruction. Mr. Stevens represented the Lancaster district of Pennsylvania, the home of ex-President Buchanan; so that the same place which furnished the President during whose

administration the disruption of the Union began also furnished the statesman who originated the measures for the restoration and regeneration of the Union. After six months' deliberation the Reconstruction Committee reported the Fourteenth Amendment of the National Constitution—the author of which was Mr. Stevens as the committee's chairman—which was adopted by Congress, June 13, 1866, and was the basis of reconstruction. This amendment provides that all persons born or naturalized in the United States are citizens; that the privileges of citizenship shall not be abridged by any State; that if male citizens twenty-one years of age are denied the right to vote they cannot be counted in the number to be represented in Congress; that no person who had violated his oath to support the Constitution of the United States and engaged in rebellion against the National government could hold office until Congress removed such disability; that the validity of the National debt shall not be questioned, but that any debt in aid of rebellion or any claim for any loss by the emancipation of any slave shall be illegal. This plan of reconstruction left the old ruling class in the South very little political power; while giving the freedmen adequate political security, making them full citizens of the United States and requiring the States in which they resided to give them full citizenship, the right to vote, in order for such States to avoid a reduction of their Congressional representation. This was the essential difference between the respective reconstruction plans of the President and of Congress, the Congressional plan seeking suffrage for the freedmen and the Presidential plan avoiding such suffrage aims.

Re-admission of Tennessee.

As the Legislature of Tennessee immediately accepted the Fourteenth Amendment, that State was at once readmitted into the Union by a vote of Congress, July 23, 1866, and its Senators and Representatives were admitted to seats in that body. A delay of two years ensued before any other of the lately-seceded States were readmitted, and four years elapsed before all these States were restored to their places in the Union; the quarrel between the President and Congress constantly growing more bitter, the President encouraging the States to accept his plan of reconstruction and to reject that of Congress, thus keeping those States out of the Union.

Delay in Re admitting the Other States.

French Evacuation of Mexico.

As we already have seen, during the Civil War in the United States, Napoleon III., the Emperor of the French, endeavored by force of arms to overthrow the Mexican Republic and place the Archduke Maximilian, brother of the Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria, on a throne in Mexico as Emperor. After the close of the Civil War the United States government resolved to enforce the Monroe Doctrine, and early in 1866 Secretary of State Seward informed the French Minister at Washington that the United States demanded the withdrawal of the

French expeditionary troops from Mexico—a demand with which Napoleon III. readily agreed to comply, as he had become weary of his costly Mexican enterprise; and, after making some changes in his plan of evacuation, he finally withdrew his troops from Mexico early in 1867, thus leaving his dupe, the Emperor Maximilian, to his fate. The result of this action was the overthrow and execution of the Emperor Maximilian, June 19, 1867, and the triumph of the Mexican Republic. Thus the Monroe Doctrine was vindicated most thoroughly, and the two great republics of North America triumphed over their foreign and domestic foes.

Fenian Invasion of Canada.

The secret Irish organization known as the Fenian Brotherhood, which sought the independence of Ireland, resolved upon making a raid into Canada from the United States, in May, 1866. A body of Fenians invaded Canada from Buffalo, New York, June 1, 1866, but were driven back after some skirmishing with the Canadian troops. During the same month, June, 1866, another body of Fenians entered Canada from St. Albans, Vermont, and were also driven back. President Johnson issued a proclamation against this invasion of a friendly neighbor's territory and sent General Meade to the Canadian frontier, thus putting a stop to this hostile act against a power with which the United States was at peace.

Atlantic Cable.

In the summer of 1866 telegraphic communication between America and Europe was established by means of the Atlantic Telegraph Cable, which was laid from Valentia, in Ireland, to Heart's Content, in Newfoundland. The accomplishment of this vast undertaking was owing to Cyrus West Field, of New York city. The Queen of Great Britain immediately sent a congratulatory dispatch to the President of the United States and received a reply from him on the same day.

Conventions in Philadelphia

Two important conventions were held in Philadelphia in 1866. The first, which assembled August 14th and remained in session several days, was composed of Republicans and Democrats from the North who sustained President Johnson, and of ex-Confederates from the South. The second was composed of Southern Unionists who opposed President Johnson's policy, and of Republicans from the North who also took a stand against him. This latter convention met early in September and was called the "Southern Loyalists' Convention." The Nation was excited by a bloody riot in New Orleans, early in August, in which a Unionist convention was mobbed and broken up and a number of persons killed.

Elections of 1866

The elections in the fall of 1866 sustained the reconstruction policy of Congress by a popular majority of six hundred thousand, and by the return of a Republican majority of more than two-thirds in the National House of Representatives.

Important Acts of Congress.

During the last session of the Thirty-ninth Congress, which ended March 4, 1867, five very important acts were passed over President Johnson's veto. One of these acts repealed the provisions of the act of 1862 giving the President the right to grant amnesty and pardon to ex-Confederates. The Tenure-of-Office Act limited the President's power in official appointments and removals. An act passed in January, 1867, gave the right of suffrage to the freedmen of the District of Columbia. The act for the admission of Nebraska into the Union as a State, passed March 1, 1867, required that the right of suffrage should be conferred on the freedmen within its limits.

Admission of Nebraska.

Military Reconstruction Act.

The most important of these five notable acts passed by Congress over President Johnson's veto was the one finally adopted March 2, 1867, by which the ten lately-seceded States which had not, like Tennessee, adopted the Fourteenth Constitutional Amendment and thus been readmitted into the Union were placed under the military authority of the Republic until their full restoration as States of the Union should be effected and prescribing the conditions on which they should be restored; the conditions being that these States could be readmitted to their former places in the Union when a State convention of delegates in each of them, "elected by male citizens twenty-one years old and upward, of whatever race, color or previous condition," excepting those disqualified by the Fourteenth Constitutional Amendment, should frame a State constitution, which, upon being ratified by the people of the State and approved by Congress, should go into full operation, and the State Legislature thereupon elected should adopt the Fourteenth Constitutional Amendment and that amendment should become a part of the National Constitution. Thus this Military Reconstruction Act conferred the right of suffrage upon the lately-emancipated slaves in the ten States to which it applied, these States being divided into five military districts, each under the charge of a general of the United States army, to be appointed by the President. The President appointed the following generals for the respective military districts: First District, Virginia, General John McAllister Schofield; Second District, North Carolina and South Carolina, General Daniel Edgar Sickles; Third District, Georgia, Florida and Alabama, General John Pope; Fourth District, Mississippi and Arkansas, General Edward Otho Cresap Ord; Fifth District, Louisiana and Texas, General Philip Henry Sheridan.

Purchase of Alaska from Russia.

By a treaty signed on March 30, 1867, Russia sold all her territorial possessions in North America to the United States for seven million two hundred thousand dollars. The purchased territory was named *Alaska*, a name which hitherto had been confined to the peninsula within its south-western limits, the territory while a Russian possession

being called Russian America. Though nominally colonized for nearly a century, this territory contained less than five hundred Russians and Siberians in a total population of twenty-nine thousand when sold to the United States, the great majority being native Indians. The territory has next to no history. The first Russians came there in 1731; and the territory was first explored in 1741 by Vitus Behring, a Dane in the Russian naval service, who soon died on the island named in honor of him. Voyages led to the establishment of Russian trading-posts and the organization of Russian companies for the prosecution of the fur trade, in which American merchants and seamen likewise participated. Little outside of the fur trade characterized the territory or rendered it a desirable acquisition when it was transferred to the United States, whose representative in the transaction was General Rousseau, October, 1867.

First Removal of Secretary of War Stanton.

In August, 1867, President Johnson removed Edwin McMasters Stanton, Secretary of War, from the Cabinet, and appointed General Grant in his place. The President next removed Generals Sheridan and Sickles from the commands of their respective military districts, against the protests of General Grant. During the regular session of the Fortieth Congress, the President stated his reasons for removing Secretary Stanton, December 12, 1867; but the Senate reinstated Mr. Stanton, January 13, 1868, and General Grant retired from the War Department. A quarrel between President Johnson and General Grant followed.

Second Removal.

On February 21, 1868, President Johnson issued an order removing Secretary Stanton from the Cabinet a second time and appointing Adjutant-General Lorenzo Thomas in his stead, and notified the Senate of his action. The Senate passed a resolution denying the President's right to remove Mr. Stanton. Thomas appeared at the War Department and demanded the office, but Mr. Stanton refused to yield it. The country was terribly excited; and the next day—February 22, 1868—the House of Representatives prepared articles of impeachment against President Johnson for a violation of the Tenure-of-Office Act and for other "high crimes and misdemeanors." The motion for impeachment was made by Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, the Republican leader of the House. The House appointed the following seven of its members as managers of the impeachment before the bar of the Senate: Thaddeus Stevens and Thomas Williams, of Pennsylvania; General Benjamin Franklin Butler and George Sewall Boutwell, of Massachusetts; John A. Bingham, of Ohio; General John Alexander Logan, of Illinois, and James F. Wilson, of Iowa. The Democratic members of the House formally protested against the whole impeachment proceedings. The Senate was organized as a High

Impeachment, Trial and Acquittal of President Johnson.

Court of Impeachment for the trial of the President, March 5, 1868. The trial began March 31st. The President's counsel, William Maxwell Evarts, of New York, made an able defense. After a trial of almost seven weeks the Senate acquitted the President of all the charges against him by a vote of thirty-five to nineteen; so that he escaped conviction by one vote, May 26, 1868. All the Democratic Senators and eight Republican Senators voted for the President's acquittal. Among the Republican Senators who thus voted were William Pitt Fessenden, of Maine; William Sprague, of Rhode Island, and Lyman Trumbull, of Illinois.

Chinese Embassy.

In the spring of 1868 a Chinese embassy, headed by Anson Burlingame, who had served for the seven previous years as the first United States Minister to China, visited the United States and concluded a treaty with this Republic, after which the embassy visited Europe on similar missions.

Re-admission of Seven Seceded States.

Having complied with the terms of the Military Reconstruction Act, seven of the lately-seceded States were readmitted into the Union in June, 1868—Arkansas on June 22d and North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama and Louisiana on June 25th; and Senators and Representatives from those States took their seats in Congress. These States when first admitted had State governments administered by Republicans, white and colored, many of the whites being Northern adventurers who settled in the South after the Civil War and who almost ruined those States by their plunder and misrule. The Territory of Wyoming was organized in 1868, and the next year it conferred the right of suffrage on women.

Results of the Civil War Secured.

By the readmission of the foregoing seven lately-seceded States the requisite number of three-fourths of all the States was obtained for the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment of the National Constitution, which was officially declared adopted in July, 1868, thus securing the results of the Civil War, gauranteeing civil rights to all without distinction of race or color, basing apportionment of representation according to the voting population, securing the payment of the National debt and prohibiting the payment of the Confederate debt.

Election of Grant.

In May, 1868, the Republican National Convention at Chicago nominated General Ulysses Simpson Grant, of Illinois, for President of the United States, and Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana, for Vice President. The Democratic National Convention, which met in New York city, July 4, 1868, nominated ex-Governor Horatio Seymour, of New York, for President, and General Francis Preston Blair, of Missouri, for Vice President. On November 3, 1868, General Grant and Mr. Colfax were elected by an overwhelming majority. All the States

voted in this election except Virginia, Mississippi and Texas, the three not yet readmitted into the Union.

President Grant, A. D. 1869–1877.

On the 4th of March, 1869, General Grant took the oath of office as eighteenth President of the United States. His Cabinet was at first headed by Elihu Benjamin Washburne, of Illinois, as Secretary of State, who was soon succeeded by Hamilton Fish, of New York. President Grant appointed a number of ex-Confederates who had become Republicans to offices. General James Longstreet, of Virginia, was appointed Surveyor of the Port of New Orleans. Colonel John Singleton Mosby, the famous Virginia guerrilla, also obtained recognition from the administration; as did James Lawrence Orr, of South Carolina, and others, Orr being appointed United States Minister to Russia, his death occurring at St. Petersburg while holding that post, May 5, 1873.

Ex-Confederate Appointments.

Pacific Railroad.

In May following, the railroad from Omaha, Nebraska, to Sacramento, California, was completed. This great National highway across the continent to the Pacific Ocean is known as the Union Pacific and the Central Pacific Railroads.

Final Restoration of the Union.

The final restoration of the Union was effected in the first three months of 1870 by the readmission of the three remaining seceded States to their former places in the Union—Virginia in January, Mississippi in February and Texas in March; those States having complied with the requirements of the Military Reconstruction Act; and their Senators and Representatives were admitted to seats in Congress. All the restored Southern States went through a sad, cruel experience. After being freed from military rule they were misruled and plundered by Northern adventurers who had gone to the South with sordid and mercenary purposes and aims and who ruled the Southern whites with the aid of ignorant blacks and whose corruption and excesses well-nigh ruined those States. These adventurers were called "Carpet-baggers" and "Scalawags."

"Carpet-baggers."

Enfranchisement of the Colored Race

All political distinctions on account of race or color in the United States were finally removed by the ratification and adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment of the National Constitution. This Amendment—which declared that the right to vote shall not be denied by the United States or by any State on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude—was adopted by Congress in February, 1869, and, after being ratified by three-fourths of the States, was finally declared adopted in March, 1870, when President Grant announced that fact in a special message to Congress as completing "the greatest civil change that has occurred since the Nation came into life." Thus was secured the right of suffrage to all races within the borders of the Republic; and several hundred thousand colored men, who ten years

before were held as chattels, now enjoyed the privileges of American citizens and were placed on a political equality with their late masters. The late chattel slave was not only a freedman, but a full American citizen.

The Ku-Klux Klan and Its Suppression.

The changes which benefited the colored race were not accepted by many of the Southern whites as benefiting them. In many parts of the South the negroes were harassed by the whites, who often turned upon their own people also. An organization called the *Ku-Klux Klan* spread in various Southern sections and resorted to violence, which induced Congress to pass an act for the enforcement of the provisions of the Fourteenth Constitutional Amendment, authorizing the President to suspend the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus, thus to use the military power where the civil authority failed to suppress lawless combinations, April, 1871. President Grant issued a proclamation calling upon "the people of those portions of the country to suppress all such combinations by their own voluntary efforts through the agency of the local laws." Though reluctant to exercise the power conferred upon him by Congress, the President suspended the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus in certain parts of South Carolina, October, 1871. Some of the members of the Ku-Klux Klan were tried by military courts and convicted and imprisoned. The remedy may have been worse than the disease, but Congress had become accustomed to high-handed rule.

Amnesty.

Congress took a more conciliatory step in May, 1872, by passing an amnesty act which removed all civil and political disabilities, except from Senators and Representatives of the Thirty-sixth and Thirty-seventh Congresses (1859–1863), officers in the judicial, military and naval services, heads of departments and Ministers to foreign countries who had violated their oath to support the National Constitution. This left a very small number still suffering under political disabilities and completed the work of reconstruction so far as legislation could do so.

Financial Measures.

The National debt only attained its full dimensions some time after the close of the Civil War; and many doubted the Nation's ability, and more doubted its will, to bear so heavy a burden without lightening it at the expense of its creditors; but as early as December, 1865, the House of Representatives, by an almost unanimous vote, declared it sacred and inviolable. There was great difficulty in wisely administering the National finances, and public and private financiers were unwilling to make the immediate sacrifices demanded by the situation. Taxation could be remedied by reductions and improvements until an easier system was adopted, and the public debt could be reduced by paying off instalments from the surplus revenue; but the paper money,

which constituted the only currency and which affected all prices and all habits of living throughout the land, could not be redeemed without some temporary losses, which were too great for the government and the Nation. The financial administration of seven years of peace did not improve the Nation's financial condition, but all this time the American people seemed to be enjoying the greatest material prosperity in their history.

Civil Service.

A beginning was made in one administrative reform early in President Grant's administration, when Congress authorized the President to prescribe such rules and regulations for the admission of persons into the civil service as would promote its efficiency, March, 1871. The President appointed a commission, which gave him a scheme of rules which he communicated to Congress in December, 1871. Congress seemed disposed to ignore the matter. As it existed, the civil service was at the disposal of Congress, the appointive officers being usually filled or vacated according to the demands of members of Congress, each Congressman managing his own district or claiming his share in general appointments. The reform of the civil service would put an end to this patronage, so that delay in this reform was inevitable. The commission recommended the competitive examination of applicants for appointive offices, the probationary appointment of those who succeeded at examinations, also the securities for the tenure and promotion of deserving officials—a system which was vitally necessary. Early in 1872 Congress investigated several public scandals, such as the frauds in the custom houses of New York and New Orleans and the scandal involved in the sale of arms to the French during the Franco-German War.

Scandals.

President Grant's Indian Policy.

For several years war had been waged with the Arapahoes, the Cheyennes and various other Indian tribes on the plains east of the Rocky Mountains. As Indian wars always were caused by dishonest white men who held the offices of Indian agents, President Grant adopted a more humane policy in dealing with the Indians, thus inaugurating a great reform which was wholly of his own making. Well knowing that all the Indian wars in American history were wholly, exclusively and absolutely the fault of the white man alone, and never in one single instance in the least the fault of the Indian, the President suggested this worthy reform in his first inaugural address and followed up this suggestion by action upon it. A board of commissioners was created to have supervision over Indian affairs; and, instead of the dishonest agents hitherto appointed, army officers and persons named by various religious organizations were intrusted with the care of the Indians—a charge so long abused by bad white men. Some reservations were placed wholly under the immediate control of

the Quakers and other religious bodies which had sent missionaries among the Indians; the Society of Friends, or Quakers, always having been noted for their uprightness in dealing with the Indians and for their peaceful principles. Said President Grant: "I have attempted a new policy towards these wards of the Nation with fair results so far as tried." With this new Indian policy of Grant's administration there came a hope of winning the Indians to civilization and peace—a hope that now had come for the first time.

President Grant's Quarrel with Senator Sumner.

A party in the negro Republic of Santo Domingo desired the annexation of that republic to the United States, and President Grant favored such annexation; but Charles Sumner, the Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations in the United State Senate, opposed the scheme. This disagreement produced a bad feeling between the President and Mr. Sumner; and before the close of the last session of the Fortieth Congress, March 4, 1871, the President's supporters in the Senate caused Mr. Sumner to be removed from the Chairmanship of the Foreign Relations Committee. This produced great indignation in the Republican party throughout the country, and the party press almost unanimously denounced the course of the administration's friends in the Senate and sustained Mr. Sumner.

War with Korea.

On the 1st of June, 1871, the United States fleet under Admiral John Rodgers, while in the waters of Korea, in Eastern Asia, was fired upon from the Korean forts, but repulsed the attack; and on the 10th and 11th of the same month, June, 1871, the Americans defeated the Koreans and captured their forts, after some spirited fighting.

Great Fires in Chicago and Boston.

A great fire which broke out in Chicago on October 8, 1871, raged two days, spreading desolation over an area of three square miles, destroying more than seventeen thousand buildings and inflicting a loss of almost two hundred million dollars. This was one of the most destructive fires of modern times; but Chicago soon arose out of her ashes, grander and greater than before. On November 9, 1872, a great fire in Boston swept over an area of sixty-five acres in the heart of the business portion of that city, destroying seven hundred and seventy-six buildings and inflicting a loss of seventy-eight million dollars.

The Alabama Claims and the Johnson-Clarendon Treaty.

The conduct of Great Britain in allowing the construction, in her ports, and the escape therefrom, of the *Alabama* and other Anglo-Confederate privateers, had produced a bitter feeling in the United States against the British government; and the claims of the United States for damages on account of the depredations of these vessels led to protracted negotiations between the two governments. A treaty signed by Lord Clarendon, the British Secretary of Foreign Affairs, on the part of Great Britain, and by Reverdy Johnson, the United States Minister

to Great Britain, on the part of the United States, on January 15, 1869, was rejected almost unanimously by the United States Senate; and the controversy threatened to end in war between the two nations in the early part of General Grant's administration.

Joint High Commission and Second Treaty of Washington.

Early in 1871 the British Minister at Washington—Sir Edward Thornton—proposed a joint high commission of the two governments for the adjustment of some questions relating to the North American fisheries and other matters concerning the British North American possessions. Secretary of State Hamilton Fish suggested the consideration of the Alabama claims by the same commission—a suggestion which Great Britain accepted. Accordingly, five commissioners appointed by the United States government and five appointed by the British government met in Washington as the *Joint High Commission*, February 27, 1871. The American commissioners were Hamilton Fish, Robert Cumming Schenck, Samuel Nelson, Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar and George Henry Williams. The British commissioners were Earl de Grey and Ripon, Sir Stafford Northcote, Sir Edward Thornton, Sir John Macdonald of Canada and Professor Montague Bernard. On May 8, 1871, the commissioners agreed upon the Treaty of Washington, which was ratified by the United States Senate on May 24th and by the two governments on June 17th. The Treaty of Washington provided for the settlement of the *Alabama* dispute by a *Court of Arbitration*, consisting of five Arbitrators, to be appointed respectively by the President of the United States, the Queen of Great Britain, the Emperor of Brazil, the King of Italy and the President of Switzerland.

Basis of Arbitration.

As a basis of arbitration the treaty laid down three rules as binding upon a neutral to prevent: 1. The equipment or departure of any vessel to carry on war against a friendly power. 2. The use of its ports or waters as a base of naval operations or for the renewal of supplies against a friendly power. 3. The violation of the foregoing obligations. Besides, the British commissioners were authorized to express regret for the escape of the *Alabama* and other vessels from British ports and for the depredations perpetrated by those vessels. The treaty referred the other claims between the two governments or their subjects or citizens to a commission of three members, one to be appointed by Great Britain, one by the United States and one by both governments, to meet at Washington. This treaty was a great advance upon all previous negotiations; and, as the negotiators announced, "the method of adjustment is such as will set a noble example to other governments in the interest of the peace of the world."

The five Arbitrators were Charles Francis Adams on the part of the United States, Lord Chief Justice Sir Alexander Cockburn on the part

GENERAL ULYSSES S. GRANT

From a Photograph

The Arbitration Tribunal.

of Great Britain, Baron d'Itajuba on the part of Brazil, Count Sclopis on the part of Italy and Jacob Staempfli on the part of Switzerland. Count Sclopis was chosen president of the Court of Arbitration. John Chandler Bancroft Davis was the agent of the United States, and Lord Tenterden was the agent of Great Britain. Caleb Cushing, William Maxwell Evarts and Morrison Remick Waite were the counsel of the United States; and Sir Roundell Palmer, the Lord Chancellor, was the counsel of Great Britain. The Arbitration Tribunal met at Geneva, in Switzerland, in December, 1871; and, after the cases of the two governments had been presented, the Tribunal adjourned, to reassemble in June, 1872.

Indirect Claims Controversy.

During this recess of the Arbitration Tribunal the whole arbitration scheme threatened to fall through. A paragraph was found in the American case for the presentation of what were known as indirect claims, or consequential damages, implying Great Britain's liability for all the expenses of the Civil War after the battle of Gettysburg, as it was alleged that after that great event the offensive warfare of the Confederates on the high seas were conducted only through the British-built cruisers and that the war was prolonged for that purpose. The presentation of these preposterous American claims produced the most intense excitement and the most profound indignation in Great Britain, and it was feared that the arbitration would fail signally; but the good sense of the American people did not sustain their government in presenting such absurd claims. After reassembling at Geneva, June 15, 1872, the Arbitration Tribunal settled this question by unequivocally rejecting the consideration of the claims of the United States for indirect damages, June 28th; the American Arbitrator, Charles Francis Adams, alone dissenting from the Tribunal's action on this point.

The Tribunal's Verdict and Award to the United States.

The *Alabama* Claims Arbitration Tribunal at Geneva finally gave its verdict on September 14, 1872. The Court expressed in mild terms Great Britain's want of due diligence in preventing the escape of the Anglo-Confederate cruisers, and awarded the United States fifteen and one-half million dollars for damages; the British Arbitrator, Sir Alexander Cockburn, alone dissenting from the Tribunal's decision in the case. The two governments readily acquiesced in the decision of the Tribunal. Thus was settled amicably a dispute which had threatened to involve in war two nations kindred in race, language, institutions and religion, presenting to the whole civilized world a most commendable spectacle.

Re-election of President Grant.

A portion of the Republican party, known as the Liberal Republicans, dissatisfied with General Grant's administration, held a National Convention in Cincinnati, early in May, 1872, and nominated

Horace Greeley, editor and founder of the *New York Tribune*, for President, and Governor Benjamin Gratz Brown, of Missouri, for Vice President. Early in June the regular Republican National Convention, in Philadelphia, renominated President Grant, with Senator Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, for Vice President. Early in July the Democrats, in their National Convention in Baltimore, instead of nominating candidates from their own party, adopted the Liberal Republican nominations, on a platform accepting all the results of the Civil War as expressed in the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Constitutional Amendments. The Straight-out Democrats, who repudiated Greeley and Brown, under the leadership of Colonel Blanton Duncan, afterward met in a National Convention at Louisville and nominated the eminent New York lawyer, Charles O'Conor, for President, and John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, son of Charles Francis Adams, for Vice President. A new party, called the Prohibition party, which demanded the suppression of the liquor traffic, in a National Convention, at Columbus, Ohio, February 22, 1872, nominated James Black, of Pennsylvania, for President, and John Russell of Michigan, for Vice President. The Labor Reformers nominated David Davis, of Illinois, an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, for President, and Governor Joel Parker, of New Jersey, for Vice President; but both nominees declined. The Anti-Masons nominated Charles Francis Adams, of Massachusetts, for President, and Frederick Law Olmsted, of the same State, for Vice President. For the first time since 1860 all the States took part in electing a President. On November 5, 1872, President Grant was reëlected by a majority far greater than in 1868; and on the 29th of the same month Mr. Greeley died, mourned by the whole American people. For more than a quarter of a century he had been a prominent figure in American politics, and had been regarded as the leading American journalist, the "king of editors," the chief educator of the Republican masses. He had been a radical anti-slavery man; but after the Civil War he advocated universal amnesty and universal suffrage, and became one of the bondsmen of Jefferson Davis. Soon after President Grant's second inauguration, Chief Justice Chase died, May 12, 1873; and early in 1874 Morrison Remick Waite, of Ohio, was appointed his successor.

Salary and Credit Mobilier Scandals.

The last session of the Forty-second Congress was one of unpleasant memory. After passing an act raising the President's salary from twenty-five thousand dollars a year to fifty thousand, that body voted an increase of pay for its members—a proceeding which was universally denounced throughout the country. During the same session a Congressional investigation revealed the fact that many members of both Houses of Congress and high functionaries held stock in the *Credit*

Mobilier of America, a corporation which built the Pacific Railroad. As the value of the stock depended upon the legislation of Congress, the unpleasant disclosures brought to light by the investigation in February, 1873, aroused great popular indignation. Two Representatives were censured by the House, and a Senator narrowly escaped expulsion.

Domestic Troubles in Louisiana.

Both parties claimed to have carried the election in Louisiana in November, 1872, and for some time Louisiana had two Governors and two Legislatures. In accordance with an order issued by Judge Durrell, of the United States District Court of Louisiana, United States troops seized the State House in New Orleans on the night of December 6, 1872, and held it for William Pitt Kellogg, the Republican claimant for the Governorship, against John McEnery, the Democratic claimant. An armed attack on the Kellogg officials in New Orleans, March 5, 1873, was quelled by United States troops. One hundred and fifty negroes were killed in a bloody conflict at Colfax, in Grant parish, April 13, 1873. United States troops suppressed an armed insurrection of McEnery's partisans at St. Martinsville, May 7, 1873.

War with the Modoc Indians in Oregon.

The attempt of the National government to remove the Modoc Indians, of Northern California, to a reservation in Southern Oregon, in November, 1872, was resisted by the Modocs, who numbered only sixty warriors under their famous sachem, Captain Jack, and their other chiefs, Shack-Nasty Jim, Schonchin, Bogus Charlie, Boston Charlie and Scar-faced Charlie. Captain Jack defeated the United States troops in November, 1872, and January, 1873. General Canby and Commissioner Thomas were treacherously assassinated by Captain Jack and Boston Charlie at a peace conference, on Good Friday, April 11, 1873. General Schofield, who then commanded the United States forces in the Pacific department, sent troops after the Modocs, who fled to the Lava Beds, in Southern Oregon, and who frequently repulsed the attacks of the troops in April and May. The surrender of Captain Jack and his bands, June 1, 1873, ended the famous *Modoc War*. Captain Jack and the other Modoc leaders who had murdered General Canby and Commissioner Thomas were hanged October 3, 1873, in accordance with the sentence of a court-martial; and the surviving Modocs were settled among other Indian tribes.

Shack-Nasty Jim's Poem on Captain Jack.

The following poem on Captain Jack was found in the Modoc's tent after the extermination of the tribe and was supposed to have been written by Shack-Nasty Jim. In many instances half-breeds of intelligence and sometimes of some education became prominent leaders of the various Indian tribes, and Shack-Nasty Jim was such a half-breed leader and was capable of writing a poem of so meritorious a character.

"I am a Modoc sachem, and you call me Captain Jack,
And well you know my war-whoop and my trusty rifle's crack;
I've scalped you on the hearthstone, waylaid you in the glen,
And from my mountain fortress I have chased a thousand men!

"Already have your bravest braves beneath my aim gone down,
Some with a soldier's laurel, one with a martyr's crown!
But your blue-coats and your braggarts I jeer at in my scorn,
Fit but to drain the canteen, or at best to blow the horn.

"Come, with your bands of music! come, with the bursting bomb!
Come, on your prancing war-steeds! with your wide-mouthed cannon, come!
Ye can find me where the lavas of the molten mountains roll,
With their craters for my wigwam and their fires in my soul!

"Oh, pale and blue-eyed Saxon! why halt ye at my door?
Fear ye a Modoc's greeting! ye, who ne'er felt fear before?
And you, ye valiant *Bostons,* that have won full many a fray
'Gainst the red men of the valley, why stand ye now at bay?

"The Modoc chieftain's scalp-lock at your sword-belt would ye wear?
Come and take it, skulking cowards! come and take it—*if ye dare!*
Say you, ye cannot find me? My name is Captain Jack,
An eagle's plume adorns my brow, a grizzly's skin my back!

"I count but threescore warriors to battle by my side,
But greater far the glory 'twill be ours to divide;
You boast a thousand veterans, pale-faced in soul and name,
To aid you in your quarrel, and at last to share your shame!

"Think not 'tis yours to conquer, think not 'tis ours to fall,
In my dreams I see our Father, the Great Spirit of us all;
He cheers us when we vanquish, He chides us when we fail,
And leads us on to vengeance, as the lightning leads the gale!

"'Tis yours to build the city, 'tis yours to sail the sea,
But ours to range the mountains and to rove the valleys—free!
'Tis yours to heap up riches, by force, by fraud, by toil,
But ours to scour the hunting-grounds, true lordlings of the soil!

"How dare you charge with treachery the Modoc and his band!
You who corrupt his daughters! you who would steal his land!
You found him frank and truthful, kind, hospitable, brave,
But lured him to *your ambush* of gin, gambling and the grave!

"Your hands are red with slaughter, your souls are scorched by crime,
Bold robbers of the red man! down all the stream of time,
Your gods are gold and silver, your gospel but a snare;
You cheat, you lie, you poison, you betray us e'en in prayer!

"Your sachems serve for rations, your soldiers fight for pay,
The vultures of the battlefield that fatten on decay!
Rise! Modocs, in your fury, shoot the hireling harpies down,
And strike for hate and vengeance, for justice and renown!

"Revenge for every Modoc who now fills a bloody grave,
Too strong to wear your fetters, too proud to be your slave!
Revenge for every maiden you have wheedled from her kin!
Revenge for land and lineage! Revenge for blood and sin!"

President Grant signed a bill passed by Congress in February, 1873, for demonetizing the silver dollar; and in the fall of 1873 a terrible financial crisis swept over the country, commencing with the failure of the banking house of Jay Cooke and Company, of Philadelphia. Many leading banking houses of New York and other large cities failed; and the consequences were felt to the remotest borders of the Union, affecting every business and manufacturing interest in the land and causing much distress among the laboring population and the poor in the large cities. For the next six years the country suffered from a general industrial and business depression. President Grant vetoed a bill passed by Congress in April, 1874, to inflate the country with more paper money; but he signed a bill providing for a more equal distribution of the paper currency among the different sections of the Union, passed in June, 1874. In January, 1875, the President signed a bill passed by Congress providing for a resumption of specie payments on January 1, 1879. In the spring of 1876 he also signed a bill passed by Congress providing for the restoration of fractional silver coin in place of the fractional paper currency.

Panic of 1873.

Financial Legislation.

On October 31, 1873, the steamer *Virginius*, flying the American flag, manned by Americans and Cubans and commanded by Captain Fry, was seized by the Spanish war vessel *Tornado*, off the coast of Jamiaca, on the ground that she was a filibustering vessel and was carrying war material to the Cuban insurgents. In the course of a few days fifty-three of the crew and passengers were shot by order of the Spanish military authorities at Santiago de Cuba. Further executions were prevented only by the interference of the British consul, Ramsden, who said to the Spanish captain: "If there is another man shot I will call in Her Majesty's warships and blow Santiago de Cuba off the face of the earth." These wholesale executions produced intense indignation and a warlike feeling in the United States against Spain. Immense public meetings were held in New York and other large cities, and large offers of volunteers were made to the National government. In New Orleans, General Longstreet, Surveyor of the Port, offered twenty-five thousand men to President Grant. The Castelar government in Spain finally acceded to the demand of the United States for reparation, and a protocol was signed at Washington by Secretary of State Hamilton Fish and the Spanish Minister to the United States, November 29, 1873, by which Spain was required to restore the *Virginius* and the survivors of her passengers and crew and to pay an indemnity to the families of the victims. The *Virginius* was delivered to the United States navy at Bahia Honda, in Cuba, December 16, 1873; and the crew and passengers were released at Santiago de Cuba two days later. As the *Virginius* commenced leaking

Virginius Difficulty with Spain.

badly soon after her departure from Bahia Honda, she was abandoned by her crew; and the vessel sunk to the depths of the ocean off Cape Fear, North Carolina, December 26, 1873. Two days later her crew and passengers arrived at New York city in the United States sloop-of-war *Juniata*.

Women's Temperance Crusade and Temperance Reform.

Early in 1874 a very remarkable movement against the liquor traffic was instituted by the women in many towns of Ohio, these women going from saloon to saloon and by prayer and hymn-singing and by direct personal persuasion inducing many properietors of such establishments to close up their places of business, in which efforts they were very largely successful, as many liquor and saloon men quit the business and their establishments were closed. This moral and religious movement—called the *Women's Temperance Crusade*—spread into many other Northern and Western States and had many beneficial results, the chief of which was the inauguration of another great temperance reform movement like that started by Gough and Hawkins a third of a century before. Out of this great temperance movement sprang the *Women's Christian Temperance Union*, whose National President was Miss Frances Elizabeth Willard, of Chicago, and whose organization eventually became international. Another outgrowth of this women's crusade was the great temperance reform movement whose recognized leader was the genial Irishman, Francis Murphy, a reformed liquor seller of Portland, Maine, who, after quitting his business, became a renowned temperance orator, like Gough and Hawkins in the early forties, inducing thousands of drunkards to sign the pledge.

Miss Frances Elizabeth Willard.

Francis Murphy.

Civil War in Arkansas.

Like Louisiana, Arkansas had two claimants for the office of Governor—Elisha Baxter, Grant Republican, and Joseph Brooks, Liberal Republican—both of whom claimed to have been elected in November, 1872. The votes of several counties were thrown out on account of alleged frauds, thus leaving Baxter a majority in the State, and he was accordingly inaugurated. On April 15, 1874, the Circuit Court of Pulaska county decided in favor of Brooks' claims, whereupon his adherents siezed the State House in Little Rock. A short civil war followed. Brooks and Baxter each collected a small army at Little Rock, and the greatest excitement prevailed in the city. Baxter appealed to President Grant for aid; but the President declined to interfere, except to preserve the peace, and United States troops were sent to Little Rock to prevent bloodshed. A number of conflicts in and near Little Rock, in which a number were killed and wounded, were ended by United States troops, April and May, 1874. The State Legislature met at Baxter's call and decided in favor of his claims, whereupon President Grant issued a proclamation recognizing Baxter and ordering Brooks to submit. Brooks's party surrendered the State House,

May 19, 1874, whereupon the opposing forces dispersed and quiet was restored.

Insurrection in Louisiana.

The action of the Kellogg police in New Orleans in seizing arms belonging to private individuals caused a violent insurrection in the city against Governor Kellogg, September 14, 1874; and ten thousand militia under Lieutenant-Governor D. B. Penn, of Governor McEnery's party, held possession of the city, and routed the Kellogg police, cavalry and artillery, under the command of General Longstreet, capturing all their cannon, after a severe fight in which eighty men were killed and wounded on both sides. Governor Kellogg, General Longstreet and others fled for refuge to the custom house, where they were sheltered by United States troops. The next day—September 15, 1874—the State House, all the State and city property, police stations, arsenals, the police and fire-alarm telegraphs, and the Kellogg police and militia were surrendered to Lieutenant-Governor Penn, who thus held control of the city; and the Kellogg State government was practically overthrown. In response to Governor Kellogg's application, President Grant issued a proclamation ordering the McEnery insurgents to disperse and return to their homes; and the McEnery government submitted to the President's orders, September 17, 1874, surrendering the State Capitol and other buildings in New Orleans to the United States military authorities, thus leaving the Kellogg administration once more in full and complete possession of the State government of Louisiana.

Elections of 1874.

The elections in the fall of 1874 showed an overwhelming reaction against President Grant's administration; the Democratic party carrying most of the States of the Union, even the hitherto-certain Republican State of Massachusetts, and securing an overwhelming majority in the House of Representatives of the Forty-fourth Congress—the first Democratic House of Representatives in sixteen years. The election of Democratic Legislatures in many of the States gave the same party a large gain of United States Senators.

Military Interference with the Louisiana Legislature.

When the newly-elected Legislature of Louisiana assembled, January 4, 1875, a quarrel ensued about the organization. The McEnery party attempted to seize control of the House of Representatives and elected a Speaker; but the Kellogg party appealed to the military authorities in New Orleans, whereupon General De Tobriand entered the State House with United States troops and drove out five of the McEnery members whose titles to seats were disputed by the Kellogg party. The action of the military authorities was severely denounced even by supporters of the administration; and indignation meetings were held in New York, Boston and other Northern cities. The question was taken up by Congress, and a compromise was effected by a

committee of the House of Representatives with William Almon Wheeler, of New York, as chairman.

Public Scandals.

During President Grant's second term there were many public scandals which cast unpleasant reflections upon the administration, involving many whom the President had trusted. The most prominent of these were the Sanborn and Jayne contracts, which were investigated by Congress, and the Safe Burglary case, in which some of the officials were involved, being tried in Washington for stealing papers out of a government safe. The greatest of all the scandals were the Whiskey Ring frauds, which were unearthed by Secretary of the Treasury Benjamin Helm Bristow's investigations and which caused the loss of millions of dollars in revenue to the National government. Early in 1876 Secretary of War William Worth Belknap was discovered to have sold Indian post-traderships and was forced to resign, after which he was impeached by the House of Representatives, but he was acquitted afterward by the Senate.

Whiskey Ring Investigation.

Revolutionary Centennial Anniversaries.

The Nation was now completing the first century of its existence, and the centennials of Revolutionary events were observed with appropriate ceremonies. The one hundredth anniversary of the destruction of tea in Boston harbor was appropriately celebrated at Boston and other places, December 16, 1873; as was also the centennial anniversary of the meeting of the First Continental Congress, at Philadelphia, September 5, 1874. Magnificent celebrations of the one hundredth anniversary of the skirmishes at Lexington and Concord, Massachusetts, were held April 19, 1875, a hundred thousand people having assembled on the occasion to witness the ceremonies and hear the addresses. The centennial of the capture of Ticonderoga by Ethan Allen was also duly celebrated by the inhabitants at that village, May 10, 1875; as was also the centennial of the Mecklenburg Declaration by the people of Charlotte, North Carolina, May 20, 1875. The centennial of the battle of Bunker Hill, at Boston and Charlestown, Massachusetts, June 17, 1875, was the grandest celebration of that year; people from different parts of the Union participating, and a procession twelve miles in length marching to the spot consecrated to freedom.

Centennial International Exhibition.

For six years preparations had been made for the celebration of the one hundredth year of American Independence by a great *Centennial International Exhibition*, or World's Fair, in Fairmount Park, Philadelphia—a grand display by all nations of their "arts, manufactures and products of the soil and the mine." A number of immense Exposition buildings were erected in Fairmount Park for the occasion. The Centennial International Exhibition was opened with imposing ceremonies, Wednesday, May 10, 1876, in the presence of almost two

hundred thousand spectators, among whom were President Grant and his Cabinet, Senators and Representatives in Congress, Judges of the United States Supreme Court, Governors of States, army officers, the Emperor Dom Pedro II. of Brazil and the members of the foreign legations at Washington. President Grant declared the Exhibition open; and he and the Emperor of Brazil started the great Corliss engine, thus setting in motion fourteen acres of machinery, comprising eight thousand different machines. The different nations of the world made exhibits of their various products. The Exposition lasted six months, May 10—November 10, 1876; and during that time there were eight million paying visitors on the Exhibition grounds. Over one hundred and fifty thousand persons were present at the closing day, Friday, November 10, 1876, when President Grant assisted in the closing ceremonies.

Centennial Independence Day.

The 4th of July, 1876—the one hundredth anniversary of American Independence—was observed throughout the United States with fitting and impressive ceremonies. The most magnificent celebration was in Philadelphia, the birthplace of the Nation, where several hundred thousand visitors spent the day in the city so classic in Revolutionary history. During the preceding night a magnificent procession nearly seven miles in length paraded on Broad and Chestnut streets. In this procession were Governors of States; army and navy officers; the Emperor Dom Pedro II. of Brazil; Prince Oscar of Sweden; the Count de Rochambeau, grandson of the Count de Rochambeau who aided Washington in the siege of Yorktown; Sir Edward Thornton, the British Minister at Washington; the foreign commissioners at the Centennial International Exhibition, and the clubs and trades of the city. On the approach of the procession to Independence Hall, at midnight, the new Liberty Bell in the spire of that old historic building opened the clanging chorus, which was taken up by steeple after steeple in the city. Amid the brazen din came the shrieks of steam whistles, reports of artillery and small arms, along with the racket of fire crackers let off by impatient Young America. On the morning of the 4th there was a grand military parade on Broad and Chestnut streets, in which the *Centennial Legion*, composed of select companies from the Old Thirteen States, made an imposing appearance. Among the distinguished guests present at the ceremonies on Independence Square were the Emperor Dom Pedro II. of Brazil; Sir Edward Thornton, the British Minister at Washington; Generals Sherman, Sheridan, Hooker and McDowell, and a number of Governors of States. The Declaration of Independence was read from the original document by Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, grandson of the Richard Henry Lee who offered the resolution of Independence in the Continental Congress in

1776. Bayard Taylor recited an inspiring poem composed by himself; and the Hon. William Maxwell Evarts, of New York, a grandson of Roger Sherman, delivered a grand oration. The ceremonies on Independence Square closed amid the wildest enthusiasm. In the evening there was a brilliant pyrotechnic display in East Park, at which fifty thousand persons were present.

Dom Pedro's Visit.

In April, 1876, Dom Pedro II., Emperor of Brazil, arrived in New York, on a visit to the United States. During a period of three months he visited many portions of the country, crossing the continent to California and endeavoring to learn something of the industries and resources of the Nation. He was present at the opening ceremonies of the Centennial International Exposition at Philadelphia on May 10th, and at the ceremonies on Independence Square on July 4th. In July he sailed for Europe.

Admission of Colorado.

On March 4, 1875, Congress passed an act for the admission of Colorado into the Union as the thirty-eighth State. Colorado having at length complied with the enabling act of Congress and formed a State Constitution, President Grant issued a proclamation, July 4, 1876, declaring Colorado a State of the American Union. Thus Colorado became the "Centennial State."

War with the Sioux Indians in Montana.

For several years there were repeated troubles with the Sioux Indians under their famous chiefs—Sitting Bull, Crazy Horse, Red Fox, Red Dog, Rocky Bear, Living Bear, Bearskin, Bear-Stand-Up and Black Moon. In 1872 Sitting Bull was repulsed in two attacks upon the United States troops under General George Armstrong Custer, the dashing young cavalry officer in the Civil War. In 1873 Sitting Bull was repulsed in a night attack upon Colonel Baker. In 1874 he drove the Crow Indians from their reservation and made war on all peaceable Indians. The continual intrusion of the whites, especially after the discovery of gold in the Black Hills, in Montana Territory, had excited the cupidity of gold seekers, led to serious troubles with the Sioux, the Cheyennes and other Indian tribes. In the summer of 1875 a number of chiefs visited Washington and offered to sell their lands for one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, but as the government refused to pay more than twenty-five thousand they returned to their various tribes dissatisfied. The Sioux determined to defend their lands by force of arms. In the summer of 1876 an expedition under General Alfred Howe Terry, assisted by Generals Custer, Crook, Gibbon, Merritt and others took the field against the Sioux. Crook defeated the Sioux on the Rosebud river, June 17, 1876. On June 25, 1876, General Custer and his entire command of three hundred and seven men fell into an ambush on the Little Big Horn river, and all were massacred by four thousand Sioux under Sitting Bull. On the

same and the next day Major Reno attacked the Indians, who retired after the arrival of General Terry. The war continued several months longer; but after General George Crook had completely defeated the Sioux and captured a Sioux camp, September 9, 1876, the Sioux agreed to a treaty of peace relinquishing a portion of the Black Hills, September 22, 1876. Hostilities were renewed afterward, and Sitting Bull and his band were defeated, whereupon they fled into the British dominion, where they remained for several years, during which they were notified by the Canadian authorities that if they recrossed into the United States with hostile intent they would have the British as well as the Americans to fight.

Disputed Presidential Election of 1876.

On June 16, 1876, the Republican National Convention at Cincinnati nominated Governor Rutherford Birchard Hayes, of Ohio, for President of the United States, and William Almon Wheeler, of New York, for Vice President. On June 28th the Democratic National Convention at St. Louis nominated Governor Samuel Jones Tilden, of New York, for President, and Governor Thomas Andrews Hendricks, of Indiana, for Vice President. The National Greenback party, which demanded an additional issue of paper money by the National government, nominated Peter Cooper, of New York, for President, and Samuel Fenton Cary, of Ohio, for Vice President. The Prohibition party, in a National Convention at Cleveland, Ohio, May 17, 1876, nominated General Green Clay Smith, of Kentucky, for President, and Gideon Tabor Stewart, of Ohio, for Vice President. The American National, or Anti-Secret Society party nominated James B. Walker, of Illinois, for President, and D. Kirkpatrick, of New York, for Vice President. The election, November 7, 1876, was claimed by both parties. Three Southern States—Louisiana, Florida and South Carolina—were in dispute; and prominent leaders of both parties went from the North to Louisiana to watch the counting of the vote of that State by the State Returning Board. The Returning Boards of the three disputed States declared their States to have gone for the Republican National and State tickets, but the claim was disputed by the Democrats. In Florida a recount of the votes resulted in favor of the Republican Presidential ticket and the Democratic State ticket. In Louisiana and South Carolina two State governments were organized. In Oregon, where the Republican Electors were chosen, a difficulty arose concerning the eligibility of one of the Electors, and the Governor gave a certificate of election to one of the Democratic Electoral candidates, thus further embarrassing the situation.

Electoral Commission.

When Congress assembled, in December, 1876, committees were appointed in both Houses to proceed to the three disputed States to investigate the affairs of the election. In January, 1877, a joint com-

mittee of the two Houses of Congress agreed upon a bill for counting the Electoral vote. This bill provided for the decision of the cases of the disputed States by an *Electoral Commission*, composed of five Senators, five Representatives and five Supreme Court Judges. This bill was speedily passed by overwhelming majorities of both Houses of Congress, and received the President's signature January 30, 1877. The members of the Electoral Commission were chosen immediately and entered upon their duties February 1, 1877, when both Houses met in joint convention to count the Electoral vote. The case was argued ably before the Commission by William Maxwell Evarts, of New York, counsel for Hayes and Wheeler, and by Jeremiah Sullivan Black, of Pennsylvania, counsel for Tilden and Hendricks. The Commission, which was composed of eight Republicans and seven Democrats, decided, by a strict party vote, not to take evidence concerning the popular vote in the disputed States. The Commission also decided, by a strict party vote, to give the Electoral votes of all the disputed States to Hayes and Wheeler. The decisions of the Electoral Commission caused intense dissatisfaction among the Democrats, and a large number of Democratic Representatives resorted to filibustering to prevent the completion of the count of the Electoral vote by the joint convention of the two Houses of Congress; but the count was completed successfully at four o'clock on the morning of March 2, 1877, and Hayes and Wheeler were declared elected by a majority of one Electoral vote, or by 185 to 184. The elections of 1876 again gave the Democrats a majority in the National House of Representatives.

President Hayes, A. D. 1877–1881.

Governor Hayes was sworn into office as President by Chief Justice Waite on March 3, 1877, the 4th coming on Sunday. The other inauguration ceremonies were performed on the 5th, when Mr. Wheeler took the oath of office as Vice President. President Hayes selected an able Cabinet, with William Maxwell Evarts, of New York, his chief counsel before the Electoral Commission, as Secretary of State; Senator John Sherman, of Ohio, as Secretary of the Treasury, and David McKendree Key, of Tennessee, a Democrat and ex-Confederate, as Postmaster-General. President Hayes endeavored to improve the civil service, which was one of the reforms he sought to promote.

Democratic State Governments in Louisiana and South Carolina.

The question which first engaged the attention of the new administration was the settlement of the domestic troubles in Louisiana and South Carolina, in each of which two State governments had been organized. The question was settled within less than two months by President Hayes' action in withdrawing the United States troops from the capitals of those two States, whereupon the Republican State governments ceased to exist, and the authority of the Democratic Gov-

ernors was undisputed. Thus Francis T. Nichols became Governor of Louisiana, instead of Stephen B. Packard, and General Wade Hampton became Governor of South Carolina, instead of Daniel H. Chamberlain, who already had served one term.

Great Railroad Riots.

About the middle of July, 1877, many of the employees of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad resisted a reduction of wages; and at Martinsburg, West Virginia, the affair assumed such serious dimensions that the State authorities were unable to deal with it, and Governor Matthews, of West Virginia, was obliged to call upon the National government for aid in suppressing domestic violence, whereupon President Hayes issued a proclamation calling upon the rioters to disperse and sent United States troops to restore quiet. The employees on all the Grand Trunk lines in the Northern States resisted the reduction of wages and allowed no freight train to move for several weeks; and large portions of the laboring classes, sympathizing with the railroad strikers, inaugurated great riots in many of the leading cities of the Northern States. On July 20th and 21st there was a serious riot in Baltimore, and the 6th Maryland regiment and a small body of United States troops were stoned by a furious mob; but President Hayes sent United States troops at the call of Governor Carroll, of Maryland, and the disturbance was quelled after a number of lives had been lost. On July 21st and 22d the most serious of all the rioting occurred at Pittsburg, where an infuriated mob attacked the Philadelphia militia who had been sent to preserve order, and were fired upon, many being killed and wounded on each side. The Philadelphia troops retreated to the round house, which was besieged and set on fire by the mob, who finally dislodged the troops and drove them from the city. The Pittsburg mob destroyed about one hundred and twenty-five locomotives and burned almost a thousand cars, and the Pennsylvania Railroad Company sustained a total loss of seven million dollars. The Governors of Pennsylvania and Ohio called upon the President for military aid. Bloody riots also occurred at Reading, Buffalo, Columbus, Chicago, St. Louis, San Francisco and other cities.

War with the Nez Perces Indians in Idaho.

About the middle of June, 1877, the Nez Perces, a powerful Indian tribe in Idaho Territory, led by their chief, Joseph, and exasperated at the violation of a treaty by the whites, commenced a fierce war against the white settlers on the Salmon river by a bloody massacre of men, women and children at Mount Idaho. The Indians attacked and defeated the United States troops sent against them with a loss of twenty-seven killed. General Oliver Otis Howard fought the Nez Perces four days on the Cottonwood, July 2 5, 1877, but they finally escaped. General Howard defeated Chief Joseph at the mouth of the Cottonwood, July 13, 1877, the Indians being shelled from their posi-

tion and put to flight. General John Oliver Gibbon fought the Nez Perces at the Big Hole River, August 9, 1877; but the Indians finally escaped, after losing one hundred killed and wounded, while seven of Gibbon's troops were killed and wounded. General Howard pursued and overtook Chief Joseph, but in an indecisive engagement the Indians seized General Howard's horses and made a rapid flight. General Sturgis defeated the Nez Perces in a running fight of over one hundred miles, September 13 and 14, 1877. General Nelson Appleton Miles defeated them on September 30, 1877. A few days later Joseph surrendered, and the war ended, October, 1877.

More Revolutionary Centennial Anniversaries.

During the years 1877 and 1878 the centennial anniversaries of various Revolutionary events were celebrated with appropriate ceremonies at the places where those events occurred. Thus the centennial of the battle of Bennington was celebrated, August 16, 1877; President Hayes being present. The centennial of the battle of Brandywine was celebrated September 11, 1877, and the centennial of the Massacre of Paoli, September 20, 1877. The centennial of the battle of Monmouth was celebrated June 28, 1878. There was a centennial celebration at Valley Forge, June, 1878. The centennial of the Massacre of Wyoming was celebrated with imposing ceremonies at Wyoming and Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, July 3 and 4, 1878; President Hayes and part of his Cabinet being present. The centennial of the Massacre of Cherry Valley, New York, was also celebrated in the year 1878.

War with the Bannack Indians in Oregon.

At the beginning of June, 1878, the Bannacks and Shoshones, two Indian tribes of Northern Oregon, began a murderous war against the whites; but after a bloody war of three months these savage tribes were subdued by United States troops under Generals Howard and Miles, at the beginning of September, 1878.

War with the Cheyenne Indians in Colorado.

In September, 1878, the Cheyennes left their agency in Indian Territory and committed frightful massacres in Eastern Colorado, but were severely defeated by United States troops, after which they fled into Nebraska. They were imprisoned at Fort Robinson, Nebraska, whence they escaped in January, 1879; but they were soon surrounded, and, refusing to surrender, were all but exterminated.

Yellow Fever in Memphis.

In the fall of 1878 Memphis, Tennessee, was stricken with yellow fever, which carried off thousands of its inhabitants. The people from all sections of the country responded nobly to the cry for help from the stricken city, and the horrors of the pestilence finally were ended upon the approach of cooler weather.

Elections of 1878.

In the elections of 1878 the National Greenback-Labor party polled over a million votes and elected several dozen Congressmen. Those elections again gave the Democrats a majority in the National House

of Representatives; and from March 4, 1879, to March 4, 1881, the United States Senate had a Democratic majority also.

Resumption of Specie Payments.

The people of the United States were still suffering from the business prostration caused by the disastrous effects of the panic of 1873. In February, 1878, a bill remonetizing the silver dollar was passed by both Houses of Congress over President Hayes's veto. On January 1, 1879, specie payments were resumed, in accordance with the provisions of the Specie Resumption Act, passed by Congress in January, 1875. A general improvement in business affairs became apparent; and for the next few years the general industrial and business prostration which had weighed down upon the Nation for almost six years had disappeared in a large measure, and the American people enjoyed a short season of prosperity.

War with the Ute Indians in Colorado.

In September, 1879, N. C. Meeker, the Indian agent at White River, on the western frontier of Colorado, appealed to the National government for protection against the Ute Indians, under Chief Ouray, who resisted his agricultural operations. Major Thornburgh, with three companies of United States cavalry, while marching to the station, fell into an ambuscade near Milk River, in Colorado, and the commander and eleven soldiers were killed and twenty wounded by a band of Utes, September 29, 1879. The Indians burned a wagon train and killed about three-fourths of the horses belonging to the troops. The troops fell back and intrenched. There was great excitement in Colorado over this disaster. Captain Payne, with colored troops, reinforced the defeated troops and engaged the Utes at the scene of Thornburgh's disaster, October 1, 1879. Agent Meeker and all the white men at the White River agency were massacred by the Utes, and the women and children were carried into captivity. After a forced march, Colonel Merritt rescued the whole command, who had been besieged for six days at Milk River, and the Utes were repulsed October 5, 1879. The Indians surrendered Mrs. Meeker and her daughter and the other women to General Adams. After months of negotiation, the Utes engaged in the massacre of Agent Meeker and others at the White River agency were surrendered; and by a treaty of peace between the United States government and Chief Ouray the Utes sold their lands, September, 1880.

During the years 1879 and 1880 the Apache Indians, led by their chief, Victorio, committed numerous depredations and massacres in New Mexico Territory and in the Mexican State of Chihuahua. The military forces of the United States and Mexico made great efforts to capture Victorio and his band, but the wily chief always eluded pursuit after his encounters with United States and Mexican troops. Victorio was finally killed and his entire band killed or captured on Mexi-

can territory by a body of Mexican troops, about the middle of October, 1880.

Ex-President Grant's Tour of the World.

For two years and a half, 1877-1879, ex-President Grant made a tour around the world, being received everywhere with most distinguished honors. He first went to Great Britain, where he was entertained magnificently, being granted the freedom of the city of London in May, 1877. He next visited France, Germany, Italy, Russia and other countries of Europe; after which he traveled through Egypt, Turkey, Persia, India, China and Japan, and returned home by way of San Francisco. A most magnificent reception was given him in Philadelphia, December 15, 1879, accompanied by a pageant which was viewed by hundreds of thousands of spectators.

Election of Garfield.

The Republican National Convention which assembled at Chicago, June 2, 1880, was one of the most memorable party conventions in the history of American politics. A faction of the Republican party, called *Stalwarts*, headed by United States Senators Roscoe Conkling of New York, James Donald Cameron of Pennsylvania and John Alexander Logan of Illinois, attempted to force the nomination of General Grant for a third term; but, after a session of a week and thirty-six ballotings, they were defeated in their efforts by the supporters of Senator James Gillespie Blaine, of Maine, the chief rival candidate, and Senator-elect James Abram Garfield, of Ohio, was nominated for President, with Chester Allan Arthur, of New York, for Vice President, June 7, 1880. The Democratic National Convention at Cincinnati, June 24, 1880, nominated General Winfield Scott Hancock, of Pennsylvania, for President, and William H. English, of Indiana, for Vice President. The Greenback-Labor National Convention, in Chicago, June 10, 1880, nominated General James B. Weaver, of Iowa, the Greenback leader in Congress, for President, and Benjamin J. Chambers, of Texas, for Vice President. The National Prohibition Convention, in Cleveland, Ohio, June 17, 1880, nominated Neal Dow, of Maine, the author of the celebrated Maine anti-liquor law, for President, and Rev. H. A. Thompson, of Ohio, for Vice President. Garfield and Arthur were elected November 2, 1880. At the same time the Republicans secured a majority in the House of Representatives for the first time in six years, while enough States Legislatures were carried by the same party to restore its control of the United States Senate.

President Garfield, A. D. 1881.

President Garfield was inaugurated March 4, 1881. His Cabinet was headed by the popular idol of the Republican party, James Gillespie Blaine, of Maine, as Secretary of State, who had been Speaker of the House of Representatives for a number of years, and afterward United States Senator. Senator William Windom, of Minnesota,

was made Secretary of the Treasury, and Robert Todd Lincoln, of Illinois, son of Abraham Lincoln, was made Secretary of War.

Star Route Investigation.

One of the first actions of the new administration was the investigation and prosecution of persons implicated in certain fraudulent transactions for the carrying of the mails, known as the "Star Route" contracts, by which the National government was defrauded to a considerable extent. After a trial of over a year the accused individuals were acquitted by a Washington jury.

Party Contest in the United States Senate.

At the beginning of Garfield's administration there was an unseemly contest for spoils and a few petty offices, as well as the control of the United States Senate, between the Republican and Democratic Senators; but there was a greater and far more serious contest for spoils within the Republican party itself—a fight which rent the party into two hostile factions and had the most disastrous effects upon the party for several years.

Republican Factional Controversy.

This factional controversy originated in a contest about appointments to office. The Stalwarts, headed by Senator Conkling, claimed the right to dictate appointments in their respective States; but the President, backed by Secretary Blaine, the head of the other faction, claimed the right to make appointments as he saw fit. When the President appointed William H. Robertson Collector of the Port of New York against the protest of Senator Conkling, that Senator and Thomas Collier Platt, the other United States Senator from New York, resigned, and appealed to the Legislature of their State for vindication by reëlection, May 16, 1881; but the New York Legislature refused to reëlect them and chose two other Senators in their stead, July 23, 1881, after a bitter contest of two months, while in the meantime the Nation had been startled by a mortal attack on the President's life.

Assassination of President Garfield.

On July 2, 1881, President Garfield was shot in the Baltimore and Potomac Railroad Depot in Washington, by Charles Jules Guiteau, a disappointed office-seeker from Illinois; and, after suffering eleven weeks, with the most heroic fortitude, he finally died September 19, 1881, at Long Branch, the famous sea-side resort on the New Jersey coast, whither he had been taken from Washington two weeks before. His death caused the most intense grief among the American people; and in England he was mourned as if he had been an English prince, and Queen Victoria and her court went in mourning for one week, while the whole civilized world expressed its sorrow. The funeral obsequies at Washington, September 23d, and at Cleveland, Ohio, where his remains were interred, September 26th, were most imposing and impressive, and the funeral day was duly observed throughout the United States.

Public Grief.

Obsequies.

President Arthur, A. D. 1881–1885.

Vice President Chester Allan Arthur was inaugurated President, September 20, 1881. The centennial anniversary of the surrender of Cornwallis was celebrated with imposing ceremonies at Yorktown, Virginia, October 19, 1881, war vessels of France and England participating, and the Hon. Robert Charles Winthrop, of Massachusetts, being the orator of the occasion. Apparently Yorktown had grown very little in a century, as its population in 1881 was only about two hundred. Guiteau, the assassin of President Garfield, was tried and convicted, and was hanged June 30, 1882.

Yorktown Centennial.

Elections of 1882.

President Arthur's administration was quiet and uneventful. In the fall of 1881 all of President Garfield's Cabinet, except Robert Todd Lincoln, Secretary of War, were superseded by a Cabinet composed of the new President's Stalwart supporters. The Senate retained its Republican majority, but the elections of 1882 gave the Democrats an overwhelming majority in the House of Representatives, and that party carried most of the States of the Union, electing General Benjamin Franklin Butler Governor of Massachusetts, also electing Grover Cleveland Governor of New York by almost two hundred thousand majority.

Brooklyn Bridge.

Among the noted works of the time was the great East River Bridge, between the cities of New York and Brooklyn—then the largest wire suspension bridge in the world, being over a mile in length, and the span from pier to pier being over a third of a mile. In 1884 Alaska was constituted a regularly-organized Territory of the United States.

Alaska Territory.

Cleveland's First Election.

On June 6, 1884, the Republican National Convention, in Chicago, nominated James Gillespie Blaine, of Maine, for President, and General John Alexander Logan, of Illinois, for Vice President. The Democratic National Convention, in Chicago, July 11, 1884, nominated Governor Grover Cleveland, of New York, for President, and Thomas Andrews Hendricks, of Indiana, for Vice President. The National Prohibition Convention, in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, July 24, 1884, nominated ex-Governor John Peter St. John, of Kansas, for President, and William Daniel, of Maryland, for Vice President. The Greenback-Labor National Convention, in Indianapolis, Indiana, May 30, 1884, nominated General Benjamin Franklin Butler, of Massachusetts, for President, and A. M. West, of Mississippi, for Vice President. The election resulted in the choice of the Democratic nominees and returned a Democratic majority in the House of Representatives.

World's Fair at New Orleans.

A World's Fair at New Orleans was opened December 16, 1884, and lasted several months. President Arthur, in the East Room of the White House, in the National capital, was addressed from New Orleans, through the telegraph, by Colonel Richardson, the President of the Exposition, and replied through the same medium, declaring the

Exhibition to be open; and, touching a button of the electrical instrument, he set in motion the great Corliss engine of six hundred horse-power at New Orleans, a thousand miles distant from Washington, thus starting the vast series of machinery in the Exposition.

Monument to Washington in the National Capital.

Washington's birthday in 1885 was signalized by the celebration of the completion of the great monument to the Father of his Country at the National capital, the corner-stone of which had been laid in 1848. This gigantic structure is five hundred and fifty-five feet high, seventy-five feet higher than the great Pyramid of Cheops in Egypt, and cost about one and a half million dollars. The dedication ceremonies on Saturday, February 21, 1885, were of the most imposing character; the orator of the occasion being the Hon. Robert Charles Winthrop, of Massachusetts, who also had been the orator at the laying of the corner-stone of the monument in 1848.

President Cleveland, A. D. 1885–1889.

Cleveland and Hendricks were inaugurated President and Vice President, March 4, 1885; and for the first time in twenty-four years a Democratic National administration was in power. After the Senate's confirmation of the Cabinet, headed by Senator Thomas Francis Bayard, of Delaware, as Secretary of State, the new administration entered upon its duties. President Cleveland inaugurated a new policy in the distribution of the government patronage by putting many officials and clerks under the new civil service law, refusing to make wholesale removals for mere partisan reasons, thus offending many politicians of his own party.

Civil Service Reform.

Expedition to Panama.

In a few days a naval expedition was sent to protect the lives and property of United States citizens on the Isthmus of Panama against the threatened attacks of the revolutionists who had taken up arms against the Colombian government, and this small United States naval expedition utterly defeated the Panama revolutionists and forced them to respect the lives and property of United States citizens.

Protection to Indians.

In the summer of 1885 President Cleveland interfered to protect the Indians against the encroachments of the cattlemen who grazed their herds on the lands of the Indian Territory, and when the cattlemen asked for an extension of time the President refused to grant it and ordered General Sheridan to use the army to remove them at once.

Ex-President Grant's Death.

Ex-President Grant died at Mount McGregor, New York, after a long and painful illness, July 23, 1885. His remains were honored with a most imposing funeral pageant in New York city, August 8, 1885; and that day was marked by appropriate funeral services throughout the country. Among his pall-bearers were the Confederate Generals Joseph Eccleston Johnston and Simon Bolivar Buckner, both of whom he had fought more than twenty years before. General Joseph Eccleston Johnston was also a pall-bearer at General Sher-

man's funeral six years later, just three weeks before his own death. Vice President Hendricks died suddenly November 25, 1885. Ex-President Arthur died November 18, 1886, and Senator John Alexander Logan died December 26, 1886.

Suppression of Polygamy in Utah.

The United States authorities in Utah made determined efforts in the early part of 1886 to suppress polygamy in that Territory; and many of the polygamous Mormons were arrested, tried, convicted and imprisoned. These trials and convictions exasperated the Mormons, and on several occasions violent outbreaks were prevented only by the presence of United States troops.

Dispute with Mexico.

During the summer of 1886 the United States had disputes with both its northern and southern neighbors. The trouble with Mexico was caused by the arrest and detention of an American journalist named Cutting at El Paso, Mexico, by the Mexican authorities, and the Texans called loudly for war; but the affair was soon settled by the release of Cutting by the Mexican authorities.

Dispute with Canada.

The trouble with Canada was caused by the action of the Dominion authorities in seizing American fishing vessels on charges of violating the Canadian revenue laws and coming within the three-mile limit. The Maine fishermen were exasperated intensely; but the matter subsided, and the United States and British governments proceeded to settle the affair by negotiation. The treaty negotiated for that purpose was rejected by the United States Senate in August, 1888.

Earthquake at Charleston.

On the night of August 31, 1886, a dreadful earthquake shock visited the eastern portion of the United States, and was felt most severely at Charleston, South Carolina, inflicting great damage upon that city and destroying the lives of about sixty of its inhabitants. Liberal contributions were sent from all parts of the country to the relief of the stricken people of Charleston and to aid in repairing the damage inflicted upon the city. Earthquake shocks were experienced frequently thereafter at Charleston for many months.

Statue of Liberty.

The year 1886 witnessed the completion of the great Bartholdi Statue of *Liberty Enlightening the World*, on Bedloe's Island, at the entrance to New York harbor. This great statue is the work of the French sculptor, Frederic Auguste Bartholdi, and was presented by the French Republic to her great sister Republic in the New World. The statue was officially presented to the United States in Paris, July 4, 1884, by Count Ferdinand de Lesseps on the part of the French Republic, and was formally accepted by the American Minister, Levi Parsons Morton, on the part of the United States. After several years' work, and at an expense of three hundred thousand dollars, one-third of which was raised by the enterprising and public-spirited exertions of the New York *World*, a large pedestal was erected for the statue. The

American committee of the statue was headed by William Maxwell Evarts as chairman. M. Laboulaye was chairman of the French committee, which had among its members such illustrious names as Henri Martin, M. Waddington, M. de Tocqueville, Paul de Remusat, M. Simon, M. Bartholdi, the sculptor, and Oscar de Lafayette, the grandson of the renowned marquis who aided Washington and his compatriots in the establishment of American independence. The inauguration ceremonies of the statue were performed on October 26, 1886, in the presence of President Cleveland and his Cabinet, Senators and Representatives in Congress and a French delegation; and M. Bartholdi saw the completion of his work. The ceremonies were of an imposing character, and General Schofield acted as Grand Marshal. This immense statue—"the Eighth Wonder of the World"—is made of repousse copper one-eighth of an inch thick, kept in position by iron plates and braces riveting it to a framework consisting of four angle iron corner posts united by horizontal and diagonal pieces. The statue itself is one hundred and fifty-one feet high; the pedestal is eighty-nine feet high, and the top of the torch is three hundred and seven feet above the mean low-water mark. The head will accommodate forty persons and the torch twelve persons. The torch is reached by a spiral staircase and contains five electric lamps of thirty thousand candle power.

President Cleveland's Marriage.

President Cleveland was married at the White House to Miss Frances Folsom, in June, 1886. The elections of 1886 again returned a Democratic majority in the House of Representatives. The centennial anniversary of the framing of the Constitution of the United States was celebrated by a three days' pageant in Philadelphia, September 15, 16 and 17, 1887. A million people viewed the great industrial parade on the first day and the military parade on the second day. The third day was devoted to addresses and orations on Independence Square by President Cleveland and others, which were listened to by many thousands of persons.

Constitutional Centennial.

Chicago Anarchists.

During a strike and labor troubles at Chicago, early in May, 1886, the attempt of the police to disperse an Anarchist meeting was followed by the throwing of a bomb among the police, many of whom were killed and wounded. The Anarchist leaders were arrested, imprisoned and tried for murder; and seven of them were sentenced to be hanged. All appeals of the condemned were unsuccessful, as all the Illinois Courts decided against them, and the United States Supreme Court decided that it had no jurisdiction. One of the condemned committed suicide in prison by means of a bomb. The sentences of two were commuted to imprisonment for life by Governor Oglesby; and the other four were hanged, November 11, 1887.

Apache War

In 1888 the fierce Apache Indians of Arizona and New Mexico, who had been so often at war with the United States, were subdued by United States troops; and their able chief, Geronimo, was taken prisoner and held in captivity.

Election of Benjamin Harrison.

In his annual message to Congress in December, 1887, President Cleveland recommended a reduction of tariff duties, and the tariff question became the issue in the Presidential campaign of 1888. The Democratic National Convention at St. Louis, June 7, 1888, after a session of three days, nominated President Cleveland for reëlection, with Allen Granberry Thurman, of Ohio, for Vice President. The Republican National Convention, in Chicago, June 25, 1888, after a session of six days, nominated General Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, grandson of President William Henry Harrison, for President, with Levi Parsons Morton, of New York, for Vice President. The Prohibitionists, in their National Convention in Indianapolis, May 31, 1888, nominated General Clinton Bowen Fisk, of New Jersey, for President, and John A. Brooks, of Missouri, for Vice President. The Union Labor party nominated Alson J. Streeter, of Illinois, for President, and C. E. Cunningham, of Arkansas, for Vice President. The United Labor party nominated Robert H. Cowdry, of Illinois, for President, and W. H. T. Wakefield, of Kansas, for Vice President. The American party nominated James L. Curtis, of New York, for President, and James B. Greer, of Tennessee, for Vice President. The election resulted in favor of the Republican candidates, with a small Republican majority in the new House of Representatives. Chief Justice Waite having died early in 1888, Melville Weston Fuller, of Chicago, was appointed his successor during the summer of the same year.

Dismissal of the British Minister.

The British Minister to the United States, Cornwallis West, Lord Sackville, having violated diplomatic courtesy by allowing himself to be inveigled by a political trick into answering a question as to whom American citizens of English birth ought to support in the Presidential campaign, was dismissed by President Cleveland; and the British mission at Washington was vacant until the next administration.

Trouble with Hayti.

In December, 1888, the authorities of the Republic of Hayti seized an American steamer on the ground that she was aiding the revolutionists of that republic. The United States government sent Admiral Luce with two vessels to demand the surrender of the captured vessel, and the Haytian authorities complied with the demand.

Controversy with Germany about Samoa.

For several years the Germans had interfered in the civil war in the Samoan (formerly Navigator's) Islands, in the South Pacific Ocean, which was under the joint protection of Germany, Great Britain and the United States. On January 5, 1889, German warships burned American houses and flags at Apia, the Samoan capital, tore

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down the United States flag, seized some American citizens in Apia harbor and took them as prisoners on board the German men-of-war. A boat's crew from a German vessel shot at the captain and lieutenant of a British man-of-war. Americans were stabbed by German sailors. German warships bombarded villages, imperiling the lives of American citizens. The German insult to the American flag aroused great indignation in the United States. Great Britain and the United States each sent several war vessels to Samoan waters; and Commander Seavy, of the steamer *Adams*, boldly told the German consul that he would protect American citizens and their property at all hazards, and was answered that they would not be molested. The British and American consuls declined to recognize the right of the Germans to establish martial law in Samoa. On January 30, 1889, President Cleveland sent a message to Congress concerning affairs in Samoa. Prince Bismarck retreated from his former position and proposed a conference between the United States, Great Britain and Germany on Samoan affairs. This proposal was agreed to by the United States and Great Britain, and all trouble passed away.

North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana and Washington.

On February 22, 1889, President Cleveland signed a bill passed by both Houses of Congress for the admission of North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana and Washington into the Union as States; and these States were duly admitted after complying with the enabling acts of Congress.

President Benjamin Harrison, A. D. 1889–1893.

Harrison and Morton was inaugurated March 4, 1889; and the new President selected a Cabinet with James Gillespie Blaine, of Maine, as Secretary of State, and William Windom, of Minnesota, as Secretary of the Treasury, both of whom had held the same positions in President Garfield's Cabinet, and neither of whom lived to the end of this administration, Mr. Blaine having resigned some months before his death. The new President placed a large number of officials and government employees under civil service rules. The Samoan controversy was soon settled, in a conference with Great Britain and Germany at Berlin, on terms honorable to the United States.

Samoan Settlement.

Centennial of Washington's Inauguration.

The centennial of Washington's inauguration—April 30, 1889—was celebrated in New York city, President Harrison and his Cabinet being present. On the previous day there had been a grand naval review in the harbor. The centennial day was celebrated by literary exercises at the Sub-Treasury, and by a military parade of fifty thousand soldiers, viewed by a million spectators. The next day, May 1st, there was a great industrial parade.

Johnstown Calamity.

The most appalling catastrophe in the realm of nature that ever afflicted the United States was the destruction of Johnstown, Pennsylvania, by a flood caused by the bursting of the dam of a large

artificial lake thirteen miles above the town, on the afternoon of Friday, May 31, 1889, in consequence of the accumulated waters which poured into the lake after several days of heavy rains. By this awful catastrophe about three thousand five hundred human beings were swept into eternity. The American people and the civilized world responded nobly to the cry for help from the desolated Conemaugh Valley, and millions of dollars were raised for the relief of the distressed survivors, while contributions of food and clothing were also sent. Large sums were likewise raised in England, France, Germany and other European countries and from far-off Australia. After many weeks of labor, the débris was cleared away under the auspices of the State authorities of Pennsylvania.

Pan-American Congress at Washington.

In the fall of 1889 there was a Pan-American Congress at Washington, composed of delegates from all the republics of North and South America, the design of which was to promote friendly political and commercial relations among all these republics. After the meeting in Washington the delegates were taken in excursions over the United States to make them acquainted with the country and its varied material resources.

Tariff and Silver Acts.

Congress, during its session in 1890, passed what is known as the McKinley Tariff Act, from its author, William McKinley, of Ohio, which was signed by the President and became a law in October, 1890. During the same session of Congress the Sherman Silver Act, framed by Senator John Sherman, of Ohio, providing for the coinage of four and a half million silver dollars per month, was also passed and signed by the President. Congress also, at this session, passed bills for the admission of Idaho and Wyoming into the Union as States and for the erection of a new Territory called Oklahoma out of the western half of Indian Territory.

Admission of Idaho and Wyoming.

Elections of 1890.

The elections in the fall of 1890 resulted in overwhelming victories for the Democrats, who carried all but ten States and elected a majority of over one hundred and fifty in the next National House of Representatives.

War with the Sioux Indians in South Dakota and Nebraska.

In November, 1890, the Sioux Indians, excited by the preaching of the Indian Messiah, became warlike. The National government proceeded to stop the Indian war dances; and Sitting Bull, the famous Sioux chief, was shot dead when he refused to surrender, December 15, 1890. A bloody war followed; and after a number of sanguinary battles in the Bad Lands, in the south-western part of South Dakota and the north-western part of Nebraska, during December, 1890, and January, 1891, the Indians were subdued by the United States troops under General Nelson Appleton Miles, and quiet was restored. In the battle of Wounded Knee Creek the loss was heavy on both sides, and

many Indian squaws and children were among the slain. Like all other Indian wars, this war was wholly the fault of the white man.

New Orleans Lynching Trouble with Italy.

The acquittal, by a jury in New Orleans, March 14, 1891, of eleven Italians belonging to a murderous society called the *Mafia*, which had assassinated David C. Hennessy, Chief of Police of that city, on October 17, 1890, was followed by the lynching of the acquitted Italians by an infuriated mob. Italy was so offended that she recalled her Minister at Washington, Baron Fava; and for many months the United States refused the reparation demanded by Italy, declining dictation, and shirking responsibility on the weak plea that the National government could not control a State in such case. No lynchers were punished for their lawlessness.

Valparaiso Incident Difficulty with Chili.

After the overthrow and suicide of President Balmaceda in Chili and the establishment of a new government there by the triumphant revolutionists, some American sailors were killed and wounded by a furious mob in Valparaiso, in a disreputable part of the city where they had no business, October 16, 1891. The new Chilian government angrily resented the American demand for reparation, refusing dictation, but offering to punish the murderers after an investigation; and afterward it did punish two—two more than were punished for the New Orleans lynching. The United States prepared for war, and finally sent an *ultimatum* to Chili demanding an apology and indemnity, January 21, 1892. Thereupon Chili apologized and paid an indemnity of seventy-five thousand dollars. An Italian newspaper said that the United States had one rule for Italy and another rule for Chili. Seeing its inconsistency, the United States then paid to Italy an indemnity of twenty-five thousand dollars. At a reception to the Diplomatic Corps in Washington, Secretary of State Blaine said vehemently that Italy had more reason to complain of the United States than the United States had to complain of Chili; whereupon the Marquis Imperiali, the Italian Charge d'Affaires, bowed courteously.

Seal Fisheries Controversy with Great Britain.

For several years the peaceful relations of the United States and Great Britain had been disturbed by the seizure of Canadian sealing vessels by the United States revenue cutter *Rush* for catching seals within the maritime jurisdiction of the United States in Alaskan waters. The United States claimed the right to protect the seals even beyond the maritime three-mile limit—a claim which Great Britain contested. In 1892 the controversy was adjusted temporarily by a *modus vivendi*, which was renewed afterwards.

Strike at Homestead, Pennsylvania.

A strike of the employees in the iron works of the Carnegie Company at Homestead, near Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, was followed by a battle between the strikers and three hundred Pinkerton detectives, with a number killed and wounded on both sides, July 6, 1892; and the Penn-

Other Strikes.

sylvania militia were called out to preserve the peace. A strike of the miners at Cœur d'Alene, in Idaho, was followed by the sending thither of United States troops to prevent violence. A railroad strike at Buffalo was soon followed by the calling out of the New York militia to prevent violence there. The violence of the strikers in coal mines on Coal Creek, East Tennessee, was suppressed by the Tennessee militia.

Cleveland's Second Election.

On June 10, 1892, the Republican National Convention, in Minneapolis, nominated President Harrison for reëlection, with Whitelaw Reid, editor of the *New York Tribune*, for Vice President. On June 24, 1892, the Democratic National Convention, in Chicago, nominated ex-President Grover Cleveland, with Adlai Ewing Stevenson, of Illinois, for Vice President. The People's party, in a National Convention in Omaha, July 4, 1892, adopted a platform denouncing monopolies and corporations, and nominated General James B. Weaver, of Iowa, for President, and General James G. Field, of Virginia, for Vice President. The Prohibition party, in a National Convention in Cincinnati, June 30, 1888, nominated General John Bidwell, of California, for President, and J. B. Cranfill, of Texas, for Vice President. The Socialist-Labor party nominated Simon Wing, of Massachusetts, for President, and Charles Horatio Matchett, of New York, for Vice President. The election resulted in the choice of the Democratic candidates, who had a majority of one hundred and ten in the Electoral College; while a Democratic House of Representatives was elected with a majority of almost ninety. The People's party carried Kansas, Colorado, Nevada and Idaho, and had twenty-two Electors. Several months after his reëlection, ex-President and President-elect Cleveland attended the funeral of ex-President Hayes, at the latter's home at Fremont, Ohio. James Gillespie Blaine, who had retired from President Harrison's Cabinet early in June, 1892, died January 27, 1893.

Revolution in Hawaii.

By a revolution in the Hawaiian, or Sandwich Islands, January 19, 1893, the native queen of those islands was overthrown, and a provisional government was established with Sanford Ballard Dole at its head, by the leaders of the descendants of American missionaries. United States Minister John L. Stevens proclaimed an American protectorate over the Islands, and the new provisional government entered into a treaty with the United States government for the annexation of Hawaii to the United States. President Harrison sent the treaty to the United States Senate for ratification, but that body delayed action thereon.

Cleveland and Stevenson were inaugurated March 4, 1893. Cleveland was the first President with a term intervening between his first and second administrations. After the confirmation of his Cabinet,

headed by Walter Quinton Gresham, of Indiana, a former Republican, as Secretary of State, the new administration entered upon its duties. Ambassadors, instead of Ministers, now for the first time were sent by the United States to Great Britain, France and Germany; and Thomas Francis Bayard, formerly United States Senator from Delaware and Secretary of State during Cleveland's first administration, was appointed United States Ambassador at London. President Cleveland put a large number of government officials and employees under the civil service law.

President Cleveland's Second Term, A. D. 1893–1897.

Late in February, 1890, Congress decided upon Chicago as the place, and 1893 as the year, for holding a *World's Columbian Exposition*, in honor of the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America. Great preparations were made for this great international exhibition, or World's Fair, and invitations were sent to all the nations of the earth to participate. Immense exhibition buildings were erected on Jackson Park for the Exposition. The largest building on the grounds was the Manufactures and Liberal Arts Building. Other noted buildings were the Administration Building and the Woman's Building. The various State buildings were creditable structures. Congress finally made an appropriation of two and a half million dollars. The World's Columbian Exposition was opened with imposing ceremonies, May 1, 1893; three hundred thousand people being present. President Cleveland declared the Exhibition open. The day ended in the scintillating glare of myriads of electric lights which flashed from the mighty buildings along the lagoons. An interesting feature of the Exposition was the Midway Plaisance, covering eighty acres and illustrating the manners and customs of various civilized and uncivilized nations of the earth. During the fall immense crowds attended the Exposition daily. The highest number was on Chicago Day, when eight hundred thousand persons visited the grounds. In all over twenty-one million visitors attended the Exposition, which was about twelve million short of the Paris Exposition of 1889. The total cost of the Exposition was over thirty million dollars. The total income from receipts and concessions was over thirty-two million dollars. So there was a surplus of about two million dollars. The Exposition was unsurpassed among World's Fairs in the size of the buildings and in the extent of its exhibits. The various nations of the earth, great and small, displayed their manufactures and arts and their products of the soil and the mine. In connection with the Exposition a number of Congresses were held, such as the Literary Congress, the Educational Congress, the Congress of Republics, etc. The most interesting of these gatherings was the *World's Parliament of Religions*, which met for three weeks in September, at which Christians, Jews, Moham-

World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago.

medans, Buddhists, Brahmans, Confucians, etc., for the first time met in friendly concourse. The Exposition closed October 30, 1893, after being open six months; the closing days being signalized by the burning of some of the Exposition buildings and by the assassination of Carter Henry Harrison, Mayor of Chicago, who was shot and killed in his office by a man named Prendergast, who was tried, convicted and hanged for his crime.

Seal Fisheries Arbitration with Great Britain.

In the spring of 1893 a Court of Arbitration for the settlement of the Behring Sea seals dispute between the United States and Great Britain met in Paris. The Arbitrators were Associate Justice John Marshall Harlan, of the United States Supreme Court, and United States Senator John Tyler Morgan, of Alabama, on the part of the United States; Lord Hannen, and Sir John Thompson, of Canada, on the part of Great Britain; the Baron de Courcel, a French Senator, on the part of France; the Marquis Emilio Visconti Venosta, on the part of Italy, and M. Gregors Gram, on the part of Sweden and Norway. The Baron de Courcel, the French Arbitrator, was President of the Court. The case was argued ably by Messrs. Phelps, Coudert and Carter, the counsel for the United States, and by Sir Charles Russell, Sir Richard Webster and Mr. Robinson, the counsel for Great Britain. The Court rendered its decision August 15, 1893. On every broad principle of international law the Arbitrators decided wholly in favor of Great Britain. The absurd claims of the United States to exclusive jurisdiction in Behring Sea were rejected, even Justice Harlan voting against his own country on this point, and Senator Morgan being the only Arbitrator who voted for the American claim on this point. The other equally-absurd claim of United States to an exclusive right of property in the seals frequenting the Pribyloff Islands was also rejected by the Court, the two American Arbitrators being the only ones voting in favor of the American claim. Thus on these two points the French, Italian and Swedish Arbitrators justly agreed with the two British Arbitrators in rejecting the preposterous claims of the United States. On these two points the victory of Great Britain and the defeat of the United States was complete, and justly so, as this decision maintained the freedom of the seas, in accordance with long-established principles of international law. The Court, however, prescribed regulations for the protection of the fur seals from total extinction under the joint authority of the United States and Great Britain.

Panic of 1893.

The year 1893 was characterized by a financial panic as disastrous as that of 1873. During the summer quite a number of banks failed all over the country, and business was prostrated, the wheels of industry stopped and labor thrown out of employment. The condition

of the National treasury and the public finances engaged the attention of the administration, and President Cleveland summoned Congress to meet in extra session on August 7, 1893. When it met the President's message recited the condition of affairs and recommended the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the Sherman Silver Act of 1890. The House of Representatives promptly complied with the President's request by passing an act to that effect, but the Senate delayed action for several months. As soon as the act passed the latter body it received the President's signature and became a law.

Repeal of the Silver Act.

The silver States west of the Mississippi were agitated greatly, especially Colorado, which was one of the States in which the Populists were in power; and Governor Waite was very vehement in his expressions. Colorado was also distracted by labor troubles in the mining regions; and, as Governor Waite refused to put down the striking miners by use of the State militia, the mine-owing classes proceeded to take the law into their own hands "to put down anarchy and lawlessness"—in other words, to suppress anarchy and lawlessness by resorting to anarchy and lawlessness; and struggles occurred in the mining regions, especially at Bull Hill.

Labor Troubles in Colorado.

Upon his inauguration, President Cleveland withdrew the treaty for the annexation of Hawaii, which his predecessor had sent to the Senate, and appointed ex-Congressman James H. Blount, of Georgia, to go to Hawaii as commissioner to investigate matters there. Mr. Blount made a report unfavorable to the provisional government of Hawaii, but the action of the administration in Hawaiian affairs was denounced by the press and was very unpopular. In the meantime Hawaii became a republic in name, but an oligarchy in fact, as ninety per cent. of the population was disfranchised by a property qualification for the suffrage.

Hawaiian Annexation Treaty Withdrawn.

In January, 1894, Admiral Benham, in command of several United States war vessels at Rio Janeiro, Brazil, warned Admiral da Gama, in command of the Brazilian rebel fleet bombarding the city, against reckless firing endangering the lives and property of American citizens. Admiral da Gama sent a defiant answer and continued his reckless firing; whereupon Admiral Benham fired a broadside into the rebel admiral's fleet, practically dispersing his fleet. Admiral Benham was sustained by his government and by the American people.

Admiral Benham's Action in Brazil.

The Legislature of South Carolina had passed a *Dispensary Act*, providing for the dispensing of liquors to the people of that State by States dispensaries, which could be established in any locality only by petition of the inhabitants and which prohibited all private traffic in liquors. As the great majority of the people of the State, who were opposed to the liquor traffic, did not petition for the establishment of

Dispensary Trouble in South Carolina.

dispensaries in their midst, most of the State was practically under prohibition of the liquor traffic, and drunkenness decreased seventy-five per cent. throughout the State, while the law was very popular. The law had been a favorite measure of Governor Tillman, and was intensely obnoxious to the liquor interest and its sympathizers. In April, 1894, a lawless outbreak at Darlington quickly followed the action of constables in seizing liquor held by private individuals in violation of the law; and two constables and two lawless citizens were killed. Thereupon Governor Tillman, who was a man of great firmness and moral courage, vindicated the majesty of the law and his oath of office by sending State militia under Generals Richbourg and Farley to suppress anarchy and rebellion, instructing the militia to shoot to kill. Some of the militia cowardly refused to obey orders; but others responded with alacrity and proceeded to the scene of trouble with cheers "for Farmer Ben. Tillman," and anarchy in South Carolina was quickly stamped out and law and order vindicated, amid the plaudits of all right-thinking people. Strange to say, the press of the country, usually on the side of law and order and ever ready to denounce foreign Anarchists and lawless laborers or strikers, generally sympathized with the South Carolina anarchists, who defied a law of that State; thus showing that these newspapers were opposed to anarchy only when the anarchy was committed by certain classes and that they were in favor of anarchy and lawlessness when committed by certain other classes.

Wilson Tariff Act.

On February 1, 1894, the National House of Representatives passed the Wilson Tariff Act, so named from its author, William Lyne Wilson, of West Virginia; but the Senate delayed action on the measure for six months, and under the lead of Senator Arthur Pue Gorman, of Maryland, passed a tariff bill of its own, making a less reduction in the tariff than did the Wilson bill. In August, after a bitter controversy between the two Houses of Congress, the House of Representatives finally surrendered by accepting the Senate bill, which became a law without the President's signature, after being in his possession beyond the Constitutional limit of ten days. During this session of Congress, Utah, having adopted an anti-polygamy State constitution, was admitted into the Union as a State.

Admission of Utah.

Great Railway Strike at Chicago.

In July, 1894, occurred the most gigantic strike of railroad employees ever known in the United States. The American Railway Union ordered a strike and boycott on all Pullman cars in aid of the strikers in the shops at the suburb of Pullman, in Chicago. There was a blockade on the railways leading from Chicago and on the Santa Fé and Pacific systems. The United States government interfered to prevent interference with the running of the mails, and President Cleve-

land sent United States troops under General Nelson Appleton Miles to Chicago. Injunctions were also issued by the United States Court at Chicago, and the leading officials of the American Railway Union were arrested, including its president, Eugene Victor Debs. Trains were soon run and the strike and blockade ended. After six months, the United States Court finally sentenced the American Railway Union officials to imprisonment for violating injunctions, January, 1895; but they were released on bail. Their trial for conspiracy then began; but the evidence was all in favor of the defense, the officers who made the arrests for incendiarism in burning cars asserting that all the incendiaries they caught in the act of firing cars wore badges as deputy marshals under their coats, thus showing that railway officials themselves had ordered the burning of worthless freight cars. This astounding evidence dumfounded the jury completely, and the Court adjourned over noon; and when it reassembled announcement was made that a juror had taken ill suddenly, whereupon Court adjourned, and the trial was closed abruptly. The prosecution could not go on with its case, as the sick juror never recovered from his illness, and, so far as known, is sick to this day, as the newspapers have made no announcement of his recovery or even of his convalescence, the indications being that his illness may exceed in duration Rip Van Winkle's famous sleep. The commission appointed by President Cleveland reported that the evidence was all in favor of the defense. In May, 1895, the United States Supreme Court decided that the American Railway Union officials would have to serve the terms of imprisonment to which they had been sentenced by the United States District Court for disobeying injunctions.

Elections of 1894.

The elections in November, 1894, like those of a year previous, resulted in overwhelming Republican victories in every Northern State; and a Republican majority of over one hundred and forty in the new House of Representatives was chosen, the hitherto-strongly Democratic States of Kentucky and Missouri choosing a number of Republican Congressmen. The Republicans were universally victorious in the elections in the Northern States in the fall of 1895.

Great Britain's Disputes with Nicaragua and Venezuela and the Monroe Doctrine.

The expulsion of Mr. Hatch, the British consul, from Bluefields, Nicaragua, in the spring of 1895, involved that little Central American republic in a serious dispute with Great Britain, as the British government demanded an indemnity of fifteen thousand pounds sterling for the expulsion of its consul. As the Nicaraguan government at first refused to pay the indemnity demanded, the British threatened to seize the Nicaraguan port of Corinto and collect sufficient revenue from the receipts at the custom house there to pay the indemnity. Thereupon Nicaragua came to terms and agreed to pay the indemnity

demanded, the payment of which was guaranteed by the United States government, which had intervened in the interest of the little republic; and the trouble ended. Great Britain was also involved in a dispute with Venezuela about the boundary between that South American republic and the colony of British Guiana, and the United States also interested itself to prevent a serious rupture. The United States government had interested itself in these affairs to prevent any violation of the principles of the Monroe Doctrine.

Allianca Trouble with Spain.

In March, 1895, the American steamer *Allianca* was fired upon by a Spanish vessel in Cuban waters, as she failed to answer a signal. The United States government demanded an apology and reparation, which, after an investigation of some weeks, Spain finally granted, as it was fully proven that the *Allianca* was outside the maritime jurisdiction of Spain. In the meantime the Spanish and Hawaiian Ministers to the United States were handed their passports by Secretary of State Gresham for official impropriety in criticising the Secretary of State through the newspapers and in giving official information to certain newspapers. Secretary of State Gresham died May 28, 1895, and was succeeded by Attorney-General Richard Olney.

Dismissal of Spanish and Hawaiian Ministers.

Atlanta Exposition.

On September 18, 1895, the Cotton States and International Exposition at Atlanta, Georgia, was formally opened with imposing ceremonies, when the immense machinery of the Exposition was set in motion by President Cleveland touching an electric button at his seaside resort at Gray Gables, Rhode Island, more than a thousand miles distant. The Exposition lasted three months and presented a very elaborate display of the products of the Southern States, as well as of the products of other States of the Union and of foreign countries, and was visited by hundreds of thousands of people. One of its beneficent results was the fostering of a friendly feeling between the lately-estranged sections of the Union.

British-Venezuelan Controversy.

The last time when it was thought by many that an attack was aimed at the Monroe Doctrine was in 1895, when an old boundary dispute between Venezuela and British Guiana assumed serious proportions—the United States claiming that Great Britain's course was a violation of the Monroe Doctrine; Great Britain claiming that the trouble was only a boundary dispute and that the principle of the Monroe Doctrine was not involved. The controversy dated back as far as 1814, when Great Britain acquired the provinces of Demarara, Essequibo and Berbice by a treaty with Holland. Venezuela originally claimed her boundaries to be the same as those when she was a captain-generalcy under the Spanish dominion, but in a spirit of concession she finally contented herself with the Essequibo river as the correct boundary. Great Britain seemingly asquiesced until 1840, when she

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105 Longitude West 100
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28
Longitude West
PACIFIC OCEAN
1867
DOMINI
SASKATCHEWAN
1885
RIEL REBELLION
1872 San Juan Ist.
WASHINGTON
(Wash) Ter See Map VI
MONTANA
1864 ANNEXED TO DAKOTA
1868 Female Suffrage
1861 Ter See Map VI
D A K O
1861
(Dak Ter See Map VI)
OREGON
IDAHO
1863
T E R R I T O
1872 Modoc War
(1873 Canby and)
(Thomas Killed)
1861 NEVADA TERRITORY
Same as State when
first admitted
PACIFIC
1869
22 NEV.
1868
Annexed to Nevada
OGDEN
1861 Ter See Map VI
Sherman
24 NEB.
NEBRAS
1861 COLORADO TERRITORY
SAME AS PRESENT STATE
(See Map VI)
Platte
(Neb. Ter. S
OAKLAND
SAN FRANCISCO
NEVADA
(Utah see Map VI)
UTAH
COLORADO
25 COL.
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(See
1866 Annexed to Nevada
1863
ARIZONA
TERRITORY
ARIZONA
New Mexico Ter See Map VI
NEW MEXICO
UNORG. TER.
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S E C
T E X
1870
1873 Annexed to Montana
ARCTIC OCEAN
1867
ALASKA
Purchased of Russia
for $7,200,000 in Gold
BRITISH
POSSESSIONS
ASIA
BEHRING'S
SEA
1868 Alaska District
See Map & P. VIII
Downfall of Maximillian
1867
M E X I C O
ATLANTIC
OCEAN
Aleutian Islands
Included in Alaska Purchase
Longitude West
28
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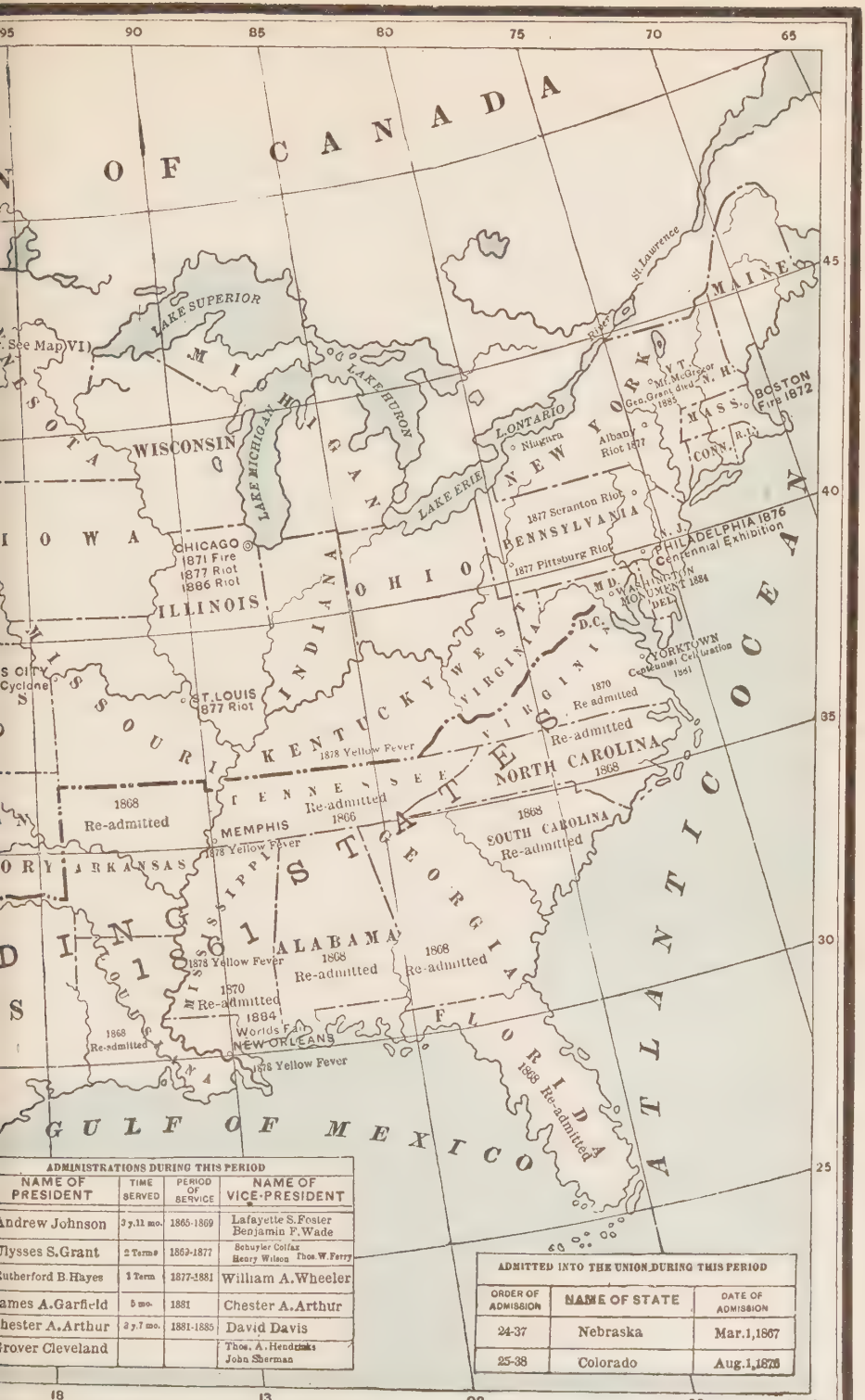

ADMINISTRATIONS DURING THIS PERIOD

NAME OF PRESIDENT	TIME SERVED	PERIOD OF SERVICE	NAME OF VICE-PRESIDENT
Andrew Johnson	3 y. 11 mo.	1865-1869	Lafayette S. Foster Benjamin F. Wade
Ulysses S. Grant	2 Terms	1869-1877	Schuyler Colfax Henry Wilson
Rutherford B. Hayes	1 Term	1877-1881	Thos. W. Ferry William A. Wheeler
James A. Garfield	6 mo.	1881	Chester A. Arthur
Chester A. Arthur	3 y. 7 mo.	1881-1885	David Davis
Grover Cleveland			Thos. A. Hendricks John Sherman

ADMITTED INTO THE UNION DURING THIS PERIOD

ORDER OF ADMISSION	NAME OF STATE	DATE OF ADMISSION
24-37	Nebraska	Mar. 1, 1867
25-38	Colorado	Aug. 1, 1876

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commissioned Sir R. Schomburgk, a German by birth, to draw the boundary line, which he proceeded to do by including a large portion of territory which previously had been regarded by Venezuela as a part of her domain, and to the possession of which by Great Britain she protested vigorously. After much diplomatic negotiation the monuments which Schomburgk had set up were finally removed by order of Lord Aberdeen, who was Prime Minister of Great Britain during the early fifties of the nineteenth century. From time to time other boundaries were suggested, but none were agreed upon, and in 1886 Great Britain resumed her contention of 1840 and claimed all the territory within the Schomburgk line. This was the status in 1894, when Venezuela sent a military force into the disputed territory and this force raised the Venezuelan flag at Yuruan. The next year the British police removed the Venezuelan flag, and were arrested by the Venezuelan authorities for this act, but were finally released, Great Britain demanding reparation somewhat in the nature of an ultimatum.

President Cleveland's Warlike Message and Its Effect.

Thus matters reached a crisis; and in the midst of the acute stage of the controversy between Venezuela and Great Britain a breach appeared imminent between the United States and Great Britain for a few days about the middle of December, 1895, as a direct result of the message sent to Congress by President Cleveland, December 17th, taking a warlike stand on the question at issue as involving the Monroe Doctrine; asking for authority from Congress for the appointment of a commission to investigate the disputed Venezuela-British Guiana boundary, and suggesting that Great Britain be asked to agree to settle her dispute with Venezuela by arbitration. Both Houses of Congress unanimously voted to grant President Cleveland the authority he asked for the appointment of a Venezuelan Boundary Commission, and the President appointed the following-named citizens of the United States as members of the proposed commission: United States Associate Justice David Josiah Brewer, of Kansas; Richard Henry Alvey, of Maryland; Andrew Dickson White, President of Cornell University, Ithaca, New York; Frederick René Coudert, of New York; Daniel Coit Gilman, President of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland. President Cleveland's warlike action caused an unloading of American stocks in London, almost precipitating a panic in Wall street, New York, and resulting in a loss of a billion dollars in one day, a sum equal to one-third of the Civil War debt; for which reason the President was denounced roundly by the financial magnates of the United States whose pocket-books had been touched. This financial scare caused the Democratic President and the Republican Congress to subside at once and to become conciliatory as suddenly as they had become belligerent. Thus wiser counsels prevailed;

and the United States government suggested to Great Britain that the Venezuela-British Guiana boundary dispute be submitted to arbitration. The British government at first resented the proposition as an unwarranted interference in its affairs; but, after considerable diplomatic correspondence, the terms of arbitration were agreed upon in 1896, and were accepted by Venezuela, though with some protest as to certain portions of the stipulations. The entire affair assumed importance from the fact that it embraced a practical admission, by Great Britain, of the integrity and force of the Monroe Doctrine, and furnished gratifying evidence of her readiness to settle international controversies by a resort to friendly arbitration rather than by an appeal to arms.

Proposed British-American Arbitration Treaty.

An incidental result of the amicable adjustment of the Venezuelan controversy was the suggestion that all future disputes between the United States and Great Britain be submitted to international arbitration. This suggestion was acted upon immediately; and, after considerable diplomatic negotiation, a treaty was concluded and signed by the two great kindred nations which provided, practically, that all questions not settled by diplomacy be submitted to international arbitration. The provisions of this treaty covered all disagreements that could be construed by either nation as a *casus belli*, and the press and the public sentiment of both nations appeared strongly to favor arbitration. Nevertheless, the United States Senate was not harmonious on the subject; and, finally, after considerable discussion and various amendments, the treaty was voted upon by the above-named body, May 5, 1897, but failed of ratification for lack of the requisite two-thirds majority vote.

The British-Venezuelan Arbitration Settlement.

Great Britain and Venezuela concluded a treaty for the settlement of the Venezuela-British Guiana boundary dispute, February 2, 1897. In accordance with this treaty five Arbitrators were appointed—two by the government of Great Britain, two by that of the United States and one by that of Russia. The Arbitrators were Professor F. Martens, Professor of International Law in the University of St. Petersburg, on the part of Russia; Melville Weston Fuller, Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, and David Josiah Brewer, Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, on the part of the United States; and Baron Russell of Killowen, Lord Chief Justice of England, and Sir Richard Henn Collins, Lord Justice of Appeals, on the part of Great Britain. The counsel for Great Britain were Attorney-General Sir Richard Webster, Sir Robert Reid and others. The counsel for Venezuela were Benjamin Harrison, ex-President of the United States; General Benjamin Franklin Tracy, Secretary of the Navy in President Harrison's Cabinet; Severo Mallet-Prevost, Secretary of

President Cleveland's Boundary Commission of 1896, and the Marquis de Rojas. Finally, the formal proceedings of the Anglo-Venezuelan Arbitration Tribunal, which met in Paris, began June 15, 1899. The sessions were held in the Salon des Ambassadeurs, in the French Foreign Office—the same hall which had served as the meeting-places of the Behring Sea Arbitration Tribunal in 1893 and the Spanish-American Peace Commission in 1898. M. Delcassé, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, welcomed the Arbitrators in the name of the French government. Professor Martens, the Russian Arbitrator, was chosen President of the Tribunal, and M. Martin, an official of the French Foreign Office, was made Permanent Secretary. The sessions of the Tribunal lasted more than three months, and the case was argued ably by the counsel of both sides. The Tribunal rendered its verdict October 3, 1899, the decision being in the nature of a compromise, giving Great Britain five-sixths of the disputed territory and Venezuela one-sixth. Great Britain obtained the gold district, and Venezuela received the territory which embraced the mouth of the Orinoco river. The new boundary line was based mainly on the old Schomburgk line.

Presidential Campaign of 1896 and Election of McKinley.

The Presidential campaign of 1896 was one of the most important and exciting in the history of the Nation. The Democratic party had been much weakened by its successive overwhelming defeats in the elections of 1893, 1894 and 1895. The Republican National Convention at St. Louis, on June 18, 1896, nominated Governor William McKinley, of Ohio, for President, and Garrett Augustus Hobart, of New Jersey, for Vice President, on a platform declaring for a protective tariff and against the free coinage of silver except by international agreement, after the Silver Republicans headed by United States Senator Henry Moore Teller, of Colorado, bolted the Convention. The Democratic National Convention at Chicago, on July 10, 1896, after a bitter fight and a bolt on the part of the Gold Democratic delegates, nominated William Jennings Bryan, of Nebraska, for President, and Arthur Sewall, of Maine, for Vice President, on a platform declaring for the existing Wilson tariff and for the free and unlimited coinage of both silver and gold at the ratio of sixteen to one. The National Silver Convention at St. Louis, on July 24, 1896, nominated Bryan and Sewall on a plaform declaring for the free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver. The Populist National Convention, in the same city at the same time, nominated Bryan for President, and Thomas E. Watson, of Georgia, for Vice President. The Gold Democratic National Convention at Indianapolis, on September 2, 1896, nominated as their candidates an ex-Union and an ex-Confederate general, namely, General John McCauley Palmer, of Illinois, for President, and General Simon Bolivar Buckner, of Kentucky, for Vice President, on a plat-

form declaring for the gold standard and against the free coinage of silver. The National Prohibition Convention at Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, on May 28, 1896, nominated Joshua Levering, of Maryland, for President, and Hale Johnson, of Illinois, for Vice President, on a platform declaring for prohibition of the liquor traffic and for woman suffrage, after a bolt of a part of the Convention who then formed a National party, nominating Charles Eugene Bentley, of Nebraska, for President, and James Haywood Southgate, of North Carolina, for Vice President, on a platform declaring for prohibition, woman suffrage and the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold. The Socialist-Labor National Convention, in New York city, on July 10, 1896, nominated Charles Horatio Matchett, of New York, for President, and Matthew Maguire, of New Jersey, for Vice President, on a platform demanding the public ownership of all means of conveyance, transportation and communication, the repeal of all sumptuary laws, the abolition of the contract labor system and the public employment of all the unemployed. This great political battle was a struggle of the agricultural and mining classes of the West and South against the money power of the East and the great financial centers of the country. The canvass was a very spirited one and resulted in the election of McKinley and Hobart by a plurality of over six hundred thousand of the popular vote and a majority of ninety-nine in the Electoral College. The election also gave the Republicans a majority in the National House of Representatives, though this majority was much smaller than the Republican majority in the House elected two years previously.

President McKinley, A. D. 1897–1901.

McKinley and Hobart were inaugurated President and Vice President of the United States on March 4, 1897. The new President appointed a Cabinet with Senator John Sherman, of Ohio, as Secretary of State. He at once summoned an extra session of Congress to revise the tariff. Nelson Dingley, of Maine, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, of the National House of Representatives, promptly reported a tariff bill increasing the duties on various imports over the rates in the schedule of the Wilson tariff act; and, after some discussion, this bill was passed by both Houses of Congress and signed by the President, thus becoming a law.

The Dingley Tariff Act.

Greater New York.

In the meantime the New York State Legislature had passed an act, which became a law upon the Governor's signature, consolidating New York city, Brooklyn, Long Island City and the counties of Queens and Richmond (Staten Island) into one great city, which is since known as *Greater New York*, comprising the five *Boroughs* of Manhattan, Brooklyn, Bronx, Queens and Richmond. The first city officials of Greater New York were elected early in November, 1897, and were inaugurated

1. INDIANA (BATTLESHIP) 2. IOWA (BATTLESHIP) 3. COLUMBIA (CRUISER)

on New Year's Day, 1898, which was the birthday of the city government of Greater New York. The flag was raised on the city hall of New York by the touching of an electric button in San Francisco by Mayor Phelan, three thousand miles distant.

SECTION X.—WAR WITH SPAIN (A. D. 1898).

The Cuban Question.

Besides the issues involved in the Presidential campaign of 1896 there was a recurrence of a question in the foreign relations of the country at various times during the last half of the nineteenth century that threatened to involve the United States in a war with Spain. This was the ever-recurring Cuban question. For the sixth time during the nineteenth century an insurrection broke out in Cuba early in 1895; the object of the insurgents in this instance, as in all previous revolts, being the achievement of Cuban independence in the island and the establishment of a Cuban republic. This was the first effort at Cuban independence since the suppression of the previous ten years' revolt of 1868–1878.

Cuban Revolt of 1895.

The revolt of 1895 was the beginning of a cruel, bloody and ruinous war; and its progress was viewed with absorbing interest and growing apprehension by the people of the United States, arousing very general sympathy among the American people for the cause of the struggling Cuban patriots, as the rich and fertile island lay at the very doors of the United States and as vast material interests were involved there. More than fifty million dollars of American money were invested in Cuban mines, railroads and plantations, and the annual American trade with Cuba was valued at almost one hundred million dollars. Cuban revolutionary adventurers made use of the ports of the United States to fit out military filibustering expeditions, composed of Cuban rebels and American sympathizers, to go to Cuba to aid the armed insurgents there in fighting the Spanish troops; and these filibustering expeditions the United States government, while at peace with Spain, was obliged to stop, at great expense to itself, under the provisions of international law and in accordance with the principles of the comity of nations. During McKinley's administration thus far, as well as during the previous administration of President Cleveland, the United States government faithfully observed its obligations as a neutral power and arrested all such filibustering expeditions as did not elude the vigilance of the United States authorities at the various American ports; but, in spite of all precautions, with the aid of sympathizing Americans, some filibustering expeditions got to Cuba, thus landing men and arms for the insurgents.

Approaching Crisis.

This Cuban question was gradually reaching a serious crisis, as public sentiment was gradually forming in the United States in favor of demanding that Spain either properly govern Cuba or grant the island its independence. Some Americans were in favor of purchasing Cuba from Spain. Others took the ground that the United States should recognize the so-called Cuban republic. Others held that the United States government should intervene in the struggle even at the risk of war. Thus urged on, the United States Congress, in 1896, voted in favor of granting the Cuban insurgents belligerent rights in American ports and asked President Cleveland to request Spain to recognize Cuban independence. Early in 1897 the National House of Representatives recommended that the independence of Cuba be recognized by the United States government. But President Cleveland's administration did not act on either recommendation, and thus the matter stood at the time of President McKinley's inauguration. In the meantime the mild and generous Martinez Campos had been succeeded as Captain-General of Cuba by the more energetic and more cruel General Valeriano Weyler, whose tyrannical and brutal measures caused him to be generally execrated and his name to be held in reproach among the Cubans.

Case of Dr. Ruiz.

The imprisonment and death of Dr. Ricardo Ruiz, a native Cuban, who had become a naturalized American citizen, and his death in a Cuban prison, where he was believed to have been murdered by his Spanish jailers, created intense and prolonged excitement and indignation in the United States, which finally induced President Cleveland's administration to take action, and the United States Minister at Madrid was instructed to ask the Spanish government to make a thorough investigation of the case. As Spain took no satisfactory action in response to this demand, President McKinley appointed W. J. Calhoun, of Illinois, special counsel to Consul-General Fitzhugh Lee at Havana, to investigate the circumstances of Dr. Ruiz's imprisonment and death; and, as a result of the investigation, Consul-General Lee reported that Dr. Ruiz died from congestion of the brain produced by a blow on the top of his head. The investigation did not clearly establish whether the blow was caused by a club in the hands of the jailers or whether it was self-inflicted while Dr. Ruiz was temporarily crazed by his inhuman imprisonment; but, nevertheless, his unjust imprisonment killed him. The investigation showed that he was not guilty of any offense; that his trial by court-martial and his imprisonment were in violation of his rights of American citizenship; that he was refused communication with his family and friends; and that, although a strong, robust man, his corpse was taken from his cell in a fortnight after his arrest.

Spanish Outrages.

In the meantime other outrages upon American citizens by the Spanish authorities in Cuba were constantly reported by American newspaper correspondents in the island until it became the general conviction in the United States that some definite action must soon be taken by the United States government to protect the rights and lives of American citizens resident in Cuba.

Reconcentrados.

By an order of Captain-General Weyler, issued February 16, 1896, the Cuban people residing outside the fortified towns had been required, upon a week's notice, to abandon their homes and farms and concentrate themselves in the garrisoned towns. The immediate effect of this order was to furnish the Spanish officials in Cuba with a pretext to begin a war of extermination on the *pacificos*, as the Cuban noncombatants were called. So short a time was given to move that thousands of them were ignorant of the issuance of such order, and the first intimation thereof that they received was the approach of Spanish troops with firebrands to burn their dwellings and cruel machetes to hack them to death. Their fate, however, was more humane than that of those who received the notice in time to flee from their homes and concentrate themselves in the fortified towns, where many thousands of these *reconcentrados*, as they were called, died of starvation and cruel exposure.

Horrible Accounts.

The dreadful accounts of starvation and death, through neglect and sickness, of helpless women and children imprisoned in the fortified towns, were graphically related by American newspaper correspondents in Cuba; and snap-shot pictures of their emaciated and dying bodies were published in American journals. An irresistible tide of popular indignation spread throughout the United States. So horrible and sickening were the tales of outrage, massacre and starvation that thousands of worthy people in the United States refused to believe them and accused the newspapers which published them of being guilty of sensational journalism. But still the dreadful stories were repeated and still the popular indignation in the United States went on increasing.

Consul-General Lee's Reports.

Finally Consul-General Lee at Havana sent his official reports that American citizens, as well as Cubans, were the victims of death from starvation, exposure and disease due to Captain-General Weyler's cruel order of concentration. These reports aroused the whole American people to action from patriotic considerations as well as from motives of humanity.

Congressional Appropriation.

On May 17, 1897, President McKinley sent a message to Congress asking for an appropriation for the relief of the destitute and suffering American citizens in Cuba. Both Houses of Congress passed a bill making the appropriation recommended by the President, who signed the measure without delay, May 24, 1897.

Relief for Sufferers.

The duty of distributing food, medicine and clothing among the destitute Americans in Cuba was assigned to Consul-General Lee and the American consuls in the island and was performed faithfully and conscientiously. This duty brought the consuls in contact with the suffering reconcentrados and placed them in a position to obtain information concerning the horrible accounts related by the newspaper correspondents of the outrages and sufferings inflicted upon them through the enforcement of Captain-General Weyler's cruel order of concentration.

Affairs Growing Worse.

During the summer of 1897 the state of affairs in Cuba was growing worse gradually, and meanwhile protests from the United States in regard to the inhuman prosecution of the war in Cuba reached Spain. The United States Minister at Madrid presented a note to the Spanish government courteously but firmly warning Spain that American neutrality could not be maintained permanently in the face of the dreadful situation in Cuba and the injury to American interests in consequence thereof.

Change of Ministry in Spain.

The Conservative Ministry then in office in Spain paid no attention to the note of the American Minister in Madrid; but when a Liberal Ministry under Señor Sagasta came into power, October 4, 1897, the situation in Cuba at once received some consideration at the hands of Spain, and three days later, October 7, 1897, the new Spanish Ministry announced that autonomy under Spanish suzerainty would be granted to Cuba, and, as an evidence of the Ministry's good faith in making this announcement, Captain-General Valeriano Weyler was at once recalled from Cuba and Marshal Blanco was appointed Captain-General of Cuba in his stead.

Promised Cuban Autonomy.

But Captain-General Blanco's rule proved to be no material improvement upon the administration of his predecessor. The promised plan of autonomy turned out to be a mere sham that never was intended seriously, but simply as a device for delay, as was proven by an intercepted letter of the Spanish Minister at Washington, Señor Dupuy de Lome, in which the fact was practically admitted. Reports still reached the United States from newspaper correspondents in Cuba that the reconcentrados were dying by thousands, thus arousing the American people.

American Patience.

The United States government was still disposed to give the Spanish authorities credit for good faith concerning their promises of reforms and autonomy for Cuba; and President McKinley still adhered to the policy announced in his message to Congress, December 6, 1897, that Spain "should be given a reasonable chance to realize her expectations and to prove the asserted efficacy of the new order of things to which she stands irrevocably committed."

American Consular Reports.

But reports from the American consuls in Cuba commenced to come in confirming everything that the newspaper correspondents had written concerning the suffering and starvation of the reconcentrados. President McKinley was so impressed with the horrible truths disclosed by the consular reports that he took immediate precautions to be prepared for the war which many felt would be inevitable when these official reports were submitted to Congress and the Nation. Early in January, 1898, he sent some of the most formidable warships in the United States navy to Cuban waters to be prepared for any emergency.

DeLome's Recall.

About this time Señor Dupuy de Lome, the Spanish Minister at Washington, was guilty of an indiscretion in alluding to President McKinley as "a low politician," intimating that he was ready to pander to the low instincts of "jingo" mobs in order to secure popularity—an indiscretion for which the Minister's recall was demanded by the United States government, which the Spanish government at once complied with, appointing Señor Polo y Bernabe in his place. The word "jingo" had been applied in England to war howlers.

Disorders at Havana.

Finally the greatest disorders began to prevail in Havana, where the Spanish volunteers were carrying things with a high hand and threatening the lives of Americans and all sympathizers with the insurgents; and the United States battleship *Maine*, under Captain Sigsby, proceeded to the harbor of Havana to protect the lives of American citizens if necessary. Thereupon the Spanish government sent the cruiser *Vizcaya*, under Captain Ulate, into New York harbor, with the permission of the United States authorities.

Destruction of the Battleship Maine.

When President McKinley was about to send the consular reports on the situation in Cuba to the United States Senate the terrible news reached the United States that the battleship *Maine*, while peacefully anchored in Havana harbor, had been destroyed by an explosion which caused the death of two hundred and sixty-six American sailors, on the night of February 15, 1898. The general belief among the American people was that this terrible disaster was caused by the treacherous deed of the Spanish officials in Cuba, and a general cry of popular indignation arose all over the country.

American Indignation.

The excitement and indignation aroused in the United States by the destruction of the *Maine* induced President McKinley to delay transmitting the consular reports to Congress, lest that body, under the double excitement caused by that disaster and by the sufferings of the reconcentrados, might be incited to declare war against Spain and thus imperil the lives of all the United States consuls and other Americans in Cuba. A Naval Board of Inquiry was appointed at once to make an investigation to ascertain the cause of the disaster to the *Maine*.

Congressional Grant Voted.

On March 8, 1898, the United States House of Representatives unanimously voted a grant of fifty million dollars to be placed at the discretionary disposal of the President as an emergency fund for the National defense, and the next day the United States Senate took similar action. The President at once approved the act, and warlike preparations were pushed vigorously, while the excitement and indignation of the American people were constantly on the increase, this war feeling being fanned by sensational journals.

Effect of Senator Proctor's Statement.

The calm and convincing statement of the Hon. Redfield Proctor, of Vermont, in the United States Senate, on March 17, 1898, of the horrible sufferings of the reconcentrados which he had witnessed while on a semi-official visit to Cuba, whence he had just returned, had so aroused the people of the United States and their servants in both Houses of Congress that a general public demand arose for forcible intervention in Cuba. Fiery speeches were made in favor of an instant declaration of war against Spain. It was clear that the President must act very soon or Congress would take the matter off his hands entirely. But the President pleaded with members of Congress for delay, apparently with the design of giving the American consuls in Cuba a chance for their lives.

Report on the Maine Disaster.

The American people waited patiently for about six full weeks for the result of the *Maine* investigation; and when finally, on March 28, 1898, the President submitted the report of the Naval Board of Inquiry to Congress, and the report showed clearly that the explosion was caused from without, the Nation was in a ferment of excitement and indignation, and clamored for an immediate declaration of war against Spain. The voice of the American people found expression in both branches of Congress, where overwhelming majorities were in favor of war.

President McKinley's Conciliatory Attitude.

Still the President was disposed to be conciliatory, and in his message transmitting the report of the Naval Board of Inquiry to Congress he expressed the hope that "the sense of justice of the Spanish nation would dictate a course of action suggested by honor and the friendly relations of the two governments."

Warlike Preparations.

Meanwhile warlike preparations were pushed actively. All warships of the United States were ordered to be painted dark, preparatory for war. The United States government purchased new warships from other nations, among the most noted being the *Amazonas* from Brazil, the name of which was changed to *New Orleans*. The War and Navy Departments at Washington showed great activity. The railroads were employed busily in moving the United States regular troops and their equipments to points from which embarkation for Cuba would be easy.

Consul-General Lee's Return.

In the midst of this feverish excitement and preparations for war in the United States, Consul-General Lee and the other American consuls in Cuba sailed from Havana for the United States on April 9, 1898. Upon embarking at Havana these retiring American officials were jeered and hooted by a Spanish mob. To these insults the Consul-General replied: "Wait till we return; then you will sing another tune." To this the mob responded with additional insults. The returning consuls landed at Tampa, Florida, and proceeded northward to Washington. All along his route through the Southern States, from Tampa to Washington, Consul-General Lee was the recipient of the most enthusiastic popular demonstrations, and his entire journey was one continued popular ovation. He was the hero of the hour, and upon reaching Washington he was welcomed by veterans of both sides in the Civil War.

President McKinley's Special Message.

On April 11, 1898, President McKinley transmitted a special message to Congress stating facts tending to prove that every effort to end the intolerable situation in Cuba by diplomatic negotiation with Spain had proven abortive, also stating that the only hope of relief from an intolerable condition was in the enforced pacification of the island, and asking Congress to authorize the President to use the military and naval forces of the United States to secure a cessation of hostilities in Cuba and to establish "a stable government capable of maintaining order and observing its international obligations, insuring peace and tranquillity and the security of its citizens as well as our own."

European Efforts for Peace.

In the meantime the Six Great European Powers were using their influence for the maintenance of peace; and on April 17, 1898, the diplomatic representatives of Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy and Russia called upon President McKinley in a body to present a joint note expressing the hopes of their respective governments for the preservation of peace between the United States and Spain. To this note the President at once gave his reply, which contained the following words: "The government of the United States appreciates the humanitarian and disinterested character of the communication now made on behalf of the Powers named, and, for its part, is confident that equal appreciation will be shown for its own earnest and unselfish endeavors to fulfill a duty to humanity by ending a situation the indefinite prolongation of which has become insufferable."

Congressional Demands on Spain.

On April 19, 1898, after several exciting sessions and disagreements between the two Houses, Congress finally acted on the President's suggestions and requests contained in the message of April 11th by adopting a series of resolutions declaring "that the people of the island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent"; demanding that "the government of Spain at once relinquish its authority and

government in the island of Cuba and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters"; directing and authorizing the President to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States and the militia of the several States for this purpose if necessary; and closing with a self-denying resolution "that the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction or control over said island, except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination when that is accomplished to leave the government and control of the island to its people."

President McKinley's Ultimatum and the Diplomatic Rupture.

On April 20, 1898, President McKinley approved the resolutions of Congress and on the same day transmitted an ultimatum to General Stewart Lyndon Woodford, the United States Minister at Madrid, for presentation to the Spanish government, formally demanding that Spain at once should relinquish her authority and government in Cuba and withdraw her land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters, and finally intimating that unless a full and satisfactory response, "whereby the ends of peace in Cuba shall be assured," were not received by noon on the 23d the President would proceed, without further notice, to use the power and authority conferred on him to the extent necessary to carry the resolutions into effect. Señor Polo y Bernabe, the Spanish Minister at Washington, received a copy of the resolutions of Congress and of the President's ultimatum on the same day; and he at once demanded and received his passports, whereupon he left for Canada. On the morning of the 21st Minister Woodford replied to the State Department at Washington that before he could communicate the ultimatum to the Spanish government the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs notified him that by the withdrawal of the Spanish Minister at Washington diplomatic relations between the two nations were broken off and that all official communications between their diplomatic representatives had ceased thereby. The American Minister accordingly applied for and received his passports, turning the American legation over to the British embassy, and started for France, reaching Bayonne on the morning of April 22d. It was announced semi-officially in Madrid that the Spanish government regarded the President's ultimatum as a declaration of war, and therefore made no reply to it, but awaited the expiration of the time stated in the ultimatum previous to the outbreak of hostilities between the two nations.

American Blockade of Cuba and Outbreak of War.

President McKinley regarded the abrupt severance of diplomatic relations as a recognition by Spain of the existence of a state of war between the two nations; and on April 22, 1898, he proclaimed a blockade of the northern coast of Cuba from Bahia Honda to Cardenas, and of Cienfuegos, on the southern coast. The next day he officially informed

Congress of the rupture of diplomatic relations with Spain and asked for a formal declaration of war. Congress at once declared that war had existed between the United States and Spain since April 21, 1898, and authorized the President to call for volunteers. The President at once issued a proclamation calling for one hundred and twenty-five thousand volunteers to serve for two years unless sooner discharged. The number of volunteers called for was raised in a few days. The President appointed a number of major-generals from among those who had served on either side during the Civil War, the first four appointed being Generals William Joyce Sewell and James Harrison Wilson, of the Union army, and Generals Fitzhugh Lee and Joseph Wheeler, of the Confederate army. To meet the expenses of the war Congress passed a revenue bill, which was signed at once by the President. A bill was passed raising the regular army to sixty-one thousand men, and a naval appropriation bill also was passed. The Legislatures and Governors of the various States adopted measures to strengthen and equip the militia of the respective States.

Patriotic War Feeling in Spain.

A patriotic war feeling also manifested itself in Spain, enthusiastic war demonstrations being made in Madrid and other large cities throughout the kingdom. The figure of the American eagle was torn down from a building in the Spanish capital and thrown into the street and smashed to pieces, and the Spanish flag was hoisted over the building in place of the Stars and Stripes. Hostile demonstrations were made against all the offices of American business corporations in the Spanish capital, and the American ensigns in that city were removed at once.

Attitude of the European Nations.

The Spanish government issued a circular to the other Powers explaining the attitude of Spain in this crisis and placing the responsibility for the war on the United States. The sympathy of the Continental European Powers was with Spain, as was that of the Spanish American republics; while Great Britain was in sympathy with the United States, and as a result a very friendly feeling sprang up between the two great English-speaking nations of the world. The English, Welsh and Scotch were very generally on the American side with their sympathy, while the Catholic and Home-Rule Irish were generally with Spain in feeling. The press and people of France, Germany and Russia, especially, were very hostile to the United States. It was rumored several times that the Continental Powers—France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy and Russia—were about to unite in a naval demonstration against the United States, and that Great Britain had been asked to join in the demonstration, but that she refused to interfere unless it were to use her navy to aid the United States. Canada, Australia and the other self-governing British colo-

nies followed the Mother Country in sympathizing with the United States.

American Unity of Feeling. The most beneficial result of the war was the final closing of "the bloody chasm," or estranged sectional feeling which had prevailed for more than half a century between the northern and southern sections of the American Union, as a result of the slavery question, the Civil War and the reconstruction measures. Both sections were united heartily against the common foreign foe, and prior to the breaking-out of the war the South seemed to be more anxious for the contest than the North. The eminent ex-Confederate generals, Fitzhugh Lee and Joseph Wheeler, bore a conspicuous part in the war as commanders; the former having been the United States diplomatic representative in Cuba before the rupture and the commander of the Seventh American Army Corps, and the latter having been the chief assistant to the American commanding general in the invasion of Cuba. Thus the war with Spain tended to heal the wounds caused by the Great Civil War a third of a century before and to make the American people one in sympathy, feeling and National sentiment. The Southern States responded with as much alacrity to the President's call for volunteers as did the Northern States.

Blockade of Havana. Hostilities practically began on the morning of April 22, 1898, when the American squadron under Captain and Acting Rear-Admiral William Thomas Sampson left Key West to blockade the Cuban coast. During that day and several succeeding days the American blockading ships captured ten Spanish merchant ships, which were held as prizes, the first capture being that of the *Buena Ventura*, which was taken by the *Nashville*. On the very day of the arrival of the American blockading squadron the guns of Morro Castle at Havana fired ten shots at the American ships, but all shots missed their mark, and no shots were returned by the American vessels.

American Prizes.

Fire from Morro Castle.

Bombardment of Matanzas. For several days the American blockading ships drew the fire of the Spanish shore batteries at Matanzas, but the shots all missed their mark. On April 27th three of the American vessels bombarded the shore batteries at Matanzas and demolished the earthworks; while the return fire from a Spanish fort on the other side of the harbor was totally harmless, as all the Spanish shots went wide of their mark.

Battle of Manila Bay. While these minor incidents were occurring on the Cuban coast an event of far greater magnitude transpired in another hemisphere. On the outbreak of hostilities the American squadron under Commodore George Dewey left Hong Kong and proceeded toward the Philippine Islands to attack the Spanish squadron under Admiral Montojo in Manila Bay. Commodore Dewey's squadron consisted of the flagship *Olympia*, the protected cruisers *Boston*, *Raleigh*, *Concord* and *Petrel*

MORRO CASTLE, SANTIAGO, CUBA

and the dispatch-boat *Manocari*. Admiral Montojo's principal ships were the *Mindanao* and the cruisers *Castilla, Reina Cristina, Don Juan de Austria, Ulloa, Isla de Luzon* and *Isla de Cuba*. The American ships entered Manila Bay early on Sunday morning, May 1, 1898, to the surprise of the Spaniards, and took a position opposite the city of Manila, the capital and metropolis of the Philippine Islands. Upon the appearance of the American squadron during the hour of midnight the Spanish batteries at the entrance to the harbor announced Dewey's arrival by firing upon the ships; whereupon the American squadron shifted its position near to Cavité, engaging in a fierce fight with the Spanish squadron and the forts early in the morning, the conflict lasting four hours and ending in the total annihilation of the Spanish squadron, the *Ulloa* being sunk, the *Castilla* and the *Mindanao* totally burned and the *Reina Cristina* and the *Don Juan de Austria* seriously damaged. Several of the smaller vessels were scuttled by their crews to avoid capture, and the others took refuge in Bakor creek. Captain Don Luis Cadarso, of the *Reina Cristina*, was killed. The entire Spanish loss in killed and wounded was about six hundred, while the Americans did not lose a man or a ship. The arsenal at Cavité and the forts at the entrance to the bay were also captured by the American squadron; but Dewey's demand upon the Spanish Governor-General of the Philippine Islands for the surrender of all the smaller craft in the harbor, a demand made through the British consul at Manila, was rejected by the Governor-General, Augustini, who replied: "If the Yankee admiral wants these craft, let him come and take them." The Governor-General declared that he would resist to the utmost and would not be intimidated by Dewey's threat to bombard Manila. For his great victory Commodore Dewey received the thanks of Congress and was promoted to the rank of Rear-Admiral, and afterwards he was given for life the full rank of Admiral.

Effects of Dewey's Victory.

Dewey's victory in Manila Bay presaged the doom of Spain's dominion in the Philippines and produced unbounded joy in the United States and gloom and sorrow in Spain. Great excitement and indignation were manifested in Madrid, Barcelona and other Spanish cities; and the country was menaced with violent revolutionary outbreaks and civil war, the Republicans and the Carlists being very restive. There was still a determination to continue the war to a final conclusion and not to submit to the demands of the United States. As a result of Dewey's brilliant victory, the United States government determined to send a land expedition to the Philippines under General Wesley Merritt, to take military possession of the islands; and supplies of coal and ammunition were sent to Dewey's victorious squadron. The young Filipino leader, Emilio Aguinaldo, had come in American ships from

Hong Kong to begin a new insurrection in the Philippines against Spanish authority, and he was supplied with arms by the Americans for that purpose.

Sampson's and Schley's Squadrons.

Meanwhile the blockade of Havana and the neighboring towns on the north coast of Cuba continued by the American squadron under Captain and Acting Admiral William Thomas Sampson, while the American Flying Squadron under Commodore Winfield Scott Schley at Hampton Roads soon sailed for West Indian waters, and Admiral John Adams Howell's squadron patroled the Atlantic coast of the United States. There were occasional slight volleys, cannonades and bombardments at points along the blockading line.

American Invasion of Cuba.

Meanwhile preparations had been made for sending American troops to invade Cuba. Early in May, 1898, a small expedition effected two landings in Cuba, one detachment landing in Santa Clara province and another at Mariel, the *Wilmington* shelling a Spanish cavalry force while landing the troops, the Spaniards losing sixteen killed and sixty wounded. The party which landed in Santa Clara province was driven back by the Spaniards and compelled to reëmbark, the Spaniards losing four wounded. The American transport *Gussie* attempted to land supplies on the Cuban coast for the Cuban insurgents, but abandoned the attempt in consequence of the energetic patrolling of the coast by Spanish troops. An American detachment landed near Cabanas, but was forced to reëmbark after a skirmish with Spanish troops, the Spaniards losing three killed and four wounded.

Fight at Cardenas.

On May 11th the American gunboats *Wilmington* and *Hudson* and the torpedo-boat *Winslow* entered the harbor of Cardenas to ascertain the exact position of the shore batteries and to attack the Spanish gunboats in the harbor. The Spanish shore batteries at once opened a heavy fire on the American vessels, and an engagement followed, lasting an hour, at the end of which the American vessels were driven back, the torpedo-boat being disabled by a shot through her boiler, and the Americans losing five killed and several wounded. A Spanish shell which burst on the deck of the *Winslow* killed Ensign Worth Bagley on the spot and wounded half a dozen others, three mortally. Ensign Bagley, a young officer, was the first American killed in the war with Spain and was buried at his home, Raleigh, North Carolina. The *Hudson* was pierced with bullet-holes, and her cabin decks were smashed and splintered. The American gunboats, although finally driven off, had made dreadful havoc in the town and harbor of Cardenas, destroying a large part of the town near the wharves, burning a gunboat and destroying two torpedo-boat destroyers. While the action against Cardenas was in progress the American gunboat *Machias* shelled the battery and barracks on the Diana Cay, twelve

miles off Cardenas harbor, demolishing the barracks; and Ensign Willard, with an armed boat's crew, pulled ashore, took possession of the ruins and hoisted the American flag over a blockhouse.

Fight at Cienfuegos.

On the day of the fights at and near Cardenas—May 11, 1898—three American vessels, the cruisers *Marblehead* and *Windom* and the gunboat *Nashville* steamed up the harbor of Cienfuegos, on the southern coast of Cuba, and cut the cable connecting Havana with Santiago de Cuba, after a sharp engagement with the thousands of Spanish troops who lined the shore, concealed behind some improvised breastworks. One seaman of the *Marblehead* was killed outright, and other Americans were severely wounded, while a number of the *Marblehead's* crew were slightly wounded. As several shots were fired upon the American vessels from the lighthouse, the American ships for a moment concentrated their fire upon the lighthouse and blew it to pieces, killing and wounding many Spaniards. Captain Maynard, of the *Nashville*, was slightly wounded by a bullet which had passed through his ensign's shoulder; while Lieutenant Winslow was shot through the hand. By the cutting of the cable in the harbor of Cienfuegos, Captain-General Blanco was cut off from all communication with eastern Cuba and with Europe—a consummation which was regarded as essential by the United States government.

Fighting on the Cuban Coast.

An American boat attempting to destroy torpedoes at the mouth of the canal at Cardenas was blown up and ten men perished. On May 13th the Spanish troops prevented the landing of an American force at Acuas and Salado beaches, in the province of Pinar del Rio. On May 14th a severe engagement occurred off the harbor of Havana between three American ships and two Spanish vessels, the gunboat *Nueva España* and the cruiser *Venadito;* each cannon-shot from the Spanish vessels being followed by cheers from the crowd on the shore, who shouted: "Viva España!" The American ships were finally driven off, one of them being seriously damaged. On May 17th several American warships appeared off Caibarien and were soon encountered by four Spanish gunboats from Havana Bay, which fired thirty shots at the American vessels, driving them away.

Bombardment of San Juan, Porto Rico.

On May 12th Rear-Admiral Sampson, with nine vessels of his squadron, bombarded San Juan, the capital of Porto Rico, concentrating his attack on the batteries defending the city at daylight; the engagement lasting three hours and doing much damage to the batteries, but little injury to the city. The Americans sustained slight injury. One American was killed on board the *New York*, and seven were wounded in the squadron. The Spanish loss was four killed and thirteen wounded. One citizen was killed and thirty were wounded. The Spanish steamer *Rita* was captured by the American auxiliary

cruiser *Yale*, which took her crew on board. The foreign consuls and thousands of the inhabitants sought refuge in the interior of the island. Two Spanish soldiers were killed at Morro Castle, and several were wounded at San Cristobal. A shell entered the prison, slightly wounding four persons. Most of the shells fell in the bay. One struck the gangway of the steamer *Manuela*, and another the pilot-house of the *Alfonso XII.* The hospital, the cathedral, the town-hall, the barracks, the seminary of San José church and sixteen dwellings were struck. Mr. Brown, a British subject, was killed by a bursting shell on the wharf.

Cervera's Spanish Fleet.

For several weeks a Spanish fleet under Admiral Cervera had been hovering around the Cape de Verd Islands and had at last disappeared, its destination being unknown to the Americans. The fleet consisted of the cruisers *Cristobal Colon*, *Maria Teresa*, *Vizcaya* and *Almirante Oquendo* and the torpedo-boat destroyers *Pluton* and *Furor*. On May 12, 1898, this Spanish fleet reached the West Indies, arriving off the French island of Martinique on that day, thus setting all doubts at rest. Upon hearing of the appearance of Admiral Cervera's fleet in West Indian waters the American squadron under Acting Rear-Admiral Sampson sailed from Porto Rico in search of it. The Spanish torpedo-boat destroyer *Furor* entered the harbor of Fort de France, in Martinique; but the remainder of Cervera's fleet, after coaling from four ships that waited outside, steamed westward into the Caribbean Sea, and arrived off the Dutch island of Curaçoa, obtaining more coal there, May 14, 1898. The next evening the Spanish fleet sailed westward, the *Vizcaya* and the *Maria Teresa* taking on board seven hundred tons of coal and a vast quantity of provisions. Lieutenant Blue, of South Carolina, in a secret land journey along the harbor, discovered the Spanish ships.

Bombardment of Harbor Forts at Santiago de Cuba.

On the night of May 29, 1898, two Spanish torpedo-boats emerged from the harbor of Santiago de Cuba, but were discovered and driven back by the united American squadrons under Acting Admiral Sampson and Commodore Schley, which bombarded Morro Castle and the other forts at the entrance to the harbor on May 31st. The united American squadrons consisted of fifteen battleships, cruisers, gunboats and other vessels, namely, the *Iowa*, the *Oregon*, the *Texas*, the *Massachusetts*, the *New York*, the *Brooklyn*, the *New Orleans*, the *Minneapolis*, the *Marblehead*, the *Scorpion*, the *Vesuvius*, the *Harvard*, the *Yale* and the *Eagle*.

The Oregon's Voyage.

The battleship *Oregon* just had arrived in West India waters, after a voyage of about fifteen thousand miles from San Francisco, down the Pacific, around Cape Horn and up the Atlantic, in the course of a month, during which the American people felt considerable anxiety

for her safety. The harbor of Santiago was mined very extensively. On May 26th an American steamer landed four hundred and fifty Cubans at another point, with a large supply of arms, ammunition and provisions for the insurgents.

Sinking of the Merrimac.

On June 3, 1898, the most gallant exploit of the war was performed by a little band of American sailors from the united squadrons before Santiago harbor. In order to prevent the escape of Admiral Cervera's warships from the harbor and to complete the blockade, Naval Constructor Richmond Pearson Hobson, of Alabama, and a volunteer crew of seven men took the collier *Merrimac* to the entrance of the harbor, and, amid a rain of shot and shell from the Spanish forts, sank the vessel in the channel. The gallant little band escaped with their lives, but were captured by the Spaniards, who held them as prisoners of war for a short time, until they were exchanged. Dewey and Hobson were regarded as the leading heroes of the war.

Renewed Bombardment of Santiago Harbor Forts.

On June 7th the American squadrons again bombarded the forts at the entrance to the harbor of Santiago de Cuba, causing very considerable damage to the forts and batteries, Morro Castle being practically reduced to a heap of ruins, thus completing the ruin and destruction begun by the previous bombardment.

Skirmish at Guantanamo.

Meanwhile the Americans were preparing to invade Cuba in force by way of Santiago, to be in close touch with the squadrons of Sampson and Schley. On June 10th a force of six hundred American marines landed at Guantanamo, about forty miles from Santiago de Cuba, and repulsed night attacks upon their position, losing four men killed and several wounded, among the killed being the surgeon, Dr. Gibbs, of Richmond, Virginia.

American Preparations.

After considerable preparation the United States government was ready to send an army of eighteen thousand men under General William Rufus Shafter to invade Cuba in the neighborhood of Santiago. In addition to the one hundred and twenty-five thousand volunteers called for on April 23d, the President, on May 25th, issued another call for seventy-five thousand additional volunteers, making the total of two hundred thousand volunteers. This second call, like the first, was responded to quickly, and the required number was soon made up. Each State was called upon to furnish its proportional quota, and in many cases the militia regiments of the various States were assigned to this purpose, but the greater part of the army was newly recruited. One of the most noteworthy organizations was the *Rough Riders*, organized mainly through the energy and largely at the expense of Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, who himself became its lieutenant-colonel, Dr. Leonard Wood being the colonel. This regiment was made up of cowboys from the Western Plains and

athletic young men from New York's fashionable society, and it was one of the most effective fighting organizations in the American army. Camps of instruction and discipline were established at Camp Alger, near Washington, D. C.; at the old battlefield of Chickamauga, in northern Georgia; at Jacksonville and Tampa, Florida, and other places. At these camps troops were prepared for the invasion of Cuba and the Philippines.

American Expedition to Cuba.

On June 13th an expedition of sixteen thousand men, under the chief command of Major-General William Rufus Shafter, embarked on transports at Tampa, Florida, for the invasion of Cuba. Under General Shafter served Generals Joseph Wheeler, Henry Wade Lawton, Adna Romanza Chaffee, Samuel Baldwin Marks Young, Jacob Ford Kent, William Ludlow and others. This expedition reached Biaquiri, in the vicinity of Santiago de Cuba, on June 20, 1898, and landed there on the 22d, 23d and 24th. These troops were mostly regulars, and landed under the protection of the squadrons of Sampson and Schley, which kept up an incessant bombardment of the Spanish forts and batteries, while they had the coöperation of the Cuban insurgents under General Calixto Garcia.

Movement against Santiago de Cuba.

After landing their whole force of sixteen thousand men the Americans were ready to march against Santiago de Cuba, the largest city in Cuba, next to Havana, and the metropolis of eastern Cuba. The city was garrisoned by eight thousand Spanish troops under General Linares, lying behind strong intrenchments, and ready to offer a desperate resistence, with the aid and coöperation of Admiral Cervera's warships in the harbor.

Battle of La Quisina.

On the morning of June 24, 1898, while marching in the direction of Santiago de Cuba, and upon reaching the Pont La Quisina, about four miles west of Siboney, where a skirmish had occurred on the preceding day between Cubans and Spaniards in which one Cuban was killed and eight were wounded, the American advance encountered twelve hundred Spaniards posted behind stone walls on a very high and steep hill; and the battle of La Quisina followed. While the Rough Riders under Colonel Wood were engaged on the top of the plateau, the regulars under General Young were fighting on the hillsides several miles distant. The Spaniards had assembled at these points to block the American advance against Santiago; and the Americans proceeded to dislodge them, but failed to get the coöperation of the Cubans until the fight was almost ended. The regulars faced the Spaniards on the flank, while the Rough Riders opposed them in front. While marching along a narrow trail through thick, high underbrush and grass, where the Spaniards were lying in ambush and protected by a strong barbed-wire fence, the body of a dead Cuban

ROOSEVELT AT SAN JUAN, CUBA

From the Painting by E. J. Delahaye

was found in the road. The Spaniards opened fire from their ambushes upon the two American columns about the same time, killing and wounding quite a number. The Americans fired into the thickets in which the Spaniards were concealed, and desperate fighting occurred at both points. Lieutenant-Colonel Roosevelt led his men into a thicket, amid the deadly volleys from the Spanish Mauser rifles. After a terrible fight in the thicket the Spaniards were driven from their ambush into the more open ground, where they were routed and sought refuge in a blockhouse, which they abandoned on the approach of the Rough Riders under Colonel Wood and Lieutenant-Colonel Roosevelt; while General Young's regulars drove the other Spanish detachment from their ambush to seek shelter in the blockhouse, from which they were dislodged by the Rough Riders; and the battle of La Quisina ended in an American victory. The conflict was deadly, and the losses in killed and wounded were heavy on both sides. Sergeant Hamilton Fish, Jr., was the first American killed in the battle, being shot through the heart and dying instantly. Captain Capron and Major Brodie were also among the Americans killed. The American loss was twenty-two killed and about eighty wounded.

On to Santiago.

The next day the Americans occupied the high ridge of Savilla, from which they beheld the city of Santiago, five miles distant. The advance continued on the 27th. The remainder of the American expedition landed during the next two days, General Shafter and his staff going ashore on the 29th; and the entire American army was ready to attack the Spanish positions around Santiago.

Three Days' Land Battle of Santiago.

On July 1, 1898, the whole American army was engaged from morn till sunset in fierce fighting with the Spanish troops who held the outer earthworks in the defenses around Santiago. General Lawton's division and General Chaffee's brigade advanced against the strong Spanish position at the village of El Caney, two miles north of Santiago, garrisoned by five hundred Spanish troops, who fired upon the advancing Americans, when a fierce conflict of eight hours ensued, ending in the capture of El Caney by the Americans at four in the afternoon. General Val Del Rey, the Spanish commander at El Caney, was shot through both legs just as his troops were firing their last round of ammunition and as he gave the order to retreat. A moment later he was shot through the head and killed. While the fighting at El Caney was in progress, General Kent's division and the cavalry were engaged with the Spaniards who occupied San Juan Hill, in which the Rough Riders were led in a determined charge up the hill by Lieutenant-Colonel Roosevelt; and, after the most sanguinary fighting and the most resolute courage on both sides, the Americans finally captured San Juan Hill with heavy loss. The Americans,

Capture of El Caney and San Juan Hill

however, failed in their efforts to get possession of Aguedores. The next day—July 2, 1898—the Spaniards made desperate but unsuccessful efforts to recapture El Caney and San Juan Hill, opening the day's fighting by firing from their defenses upon the American trenches and killing and wounding many American troops; and fierce artillery and infantry fighting continued all day until late at night, when the Spaniards made a furious sortie from Santiago, which the Americans soon silenced by a heavy return fire from their batteries. On the third day—Sunday, July 3, 1898—there was somewhat desultory firing on both sides around El Caney and San Juan Hill, lasting from dawn until near ten in the forenoon, when the continuous sound of the big guns in the naval fight at the harbor entrance was heard. In this three days' battle the whole American army of eighteen thousand men under General Shafter, and four thousand five hundred Cubans under General Calixto Garcia, fought thirteen thousand Spaniards under General Linares. The entire American loss in killed, wounded and missing during the three days was two thousand and two. The Spanish loss in killed and wounded was almost two thousand. General Linares himself was wounded, so that the command of the Spanish army finally devolved on General Toral y Velasquez. The land battle of Santiago, fought on the first three days of July, 1898, occurred on the thirty-fifth anniversary of the battle of Gettysburg, fought on the first three days of July, 1863.

Sea-Fight of Santiago Harbor Entrance.

On the third and last day of the land battle of Santiago—Sunday, July 3, 1898—was fought the second and last great and decisive sea-fight of the war, at the entrance to Santiago harbor—an American naval victory as great as that of Dewey in Manila Bay, and which sounded the doom of Spanish dominion in the West Indies, as that of Dewey had proved to be the death-knell of Spain's power in the Far East. On the morning of that memorable Sunday, Admiral Cervera attempted to escape from Santiago harbor with his squadron, sending his two torpedo-boats some miles east to draw the American ships there, while he issued from the harbor entrance with his four cruisers to escape into the open sea. Acting Rear-Admiral Sampson had gone eastward some miles to confer with General Shafter; and in his absence Commodore Schley, with the two combined American squadrons, destroyed the four Spanish cruisers; the *Maria Teresa*, the *Almirante Oquendo* and the *Vizcaya* being soon reduced to burning wrecks, and would have been sunk had they not been driven ashore; while the *Cristobal Colon*, in attempting to escape westward, was pursued, overtaken and wrecked by the *Oregon* and the *Brooklyn*, whose crushing fire compelled her to pull ashore and haul down her colors. The two Spanish torpedo-boats, the *Pluton* and the *Furor*, were de-

stroyed by the destructive fire of the *Gloucester*, under Lieutenant-Commander Richard Wainwright. Not a shot from the guns of the Spanish ships told, while every shot of the American vessels produced telling effect. The battleship *Iowa*, under Captain Robley Dunglison Evans, and the battleship *Texas*, under Captain John Philip, were among the most conspicuous American vessels in this great sea-fight. The Spanish loss in killed and wounded was about three hundred, many of them officers; Admiral Villamil, the second in command, being among the killed. Admiral Cervera, who was wounded in the arm, and about eighteen hundred of his men were made prisoners. Not one American vessel was damaged seriously, and only one American was killed. Up to the masthead of the *Oregon* went a pennant. The signal officer read the words: "Remember the *Maine*." Schley answered: "Tell them we have." There was a roar as the answer went up. When the men of the *Texas* cheered as the Spanish ships lay as helpless, burning wrecks, Captain Philip stopped them, saying: "Don't cheer, boys; the poor devils are dying!" At the close of the fight he said: "I want to make public acknowledgment here that I believe in God the Father Almighty. I want all you officers and men to lift your hats and from your hearts offer silent thanks to the Almighty." All hats were lifted, and after several moments of absolute silence the crew gave three hearty cheers for their beloved commander. Admiral Cervera was received on board the *Gloucester* by Lieutenant-Commander Wainwright, who grasped the hand of the gray-bearded Spanish admiral, saying to him: "I congratulate you, sir, upon having made as gallant a fight as ever was witnessed on the sea." The next day—Monday, July 4, 1898—Admiral Cervera's last ship, the old cruiser *Reina Mercedes*, while attempting to escape from the harbor, was quickly sunk by a pouring rain of shot and shell from the American ships. Admiral Cervera was taken to the United States, where he was received very courteously and generously, being allowed every freedom and treated more as a guest than as a prisoner, and being shown every mark of respect by the American people, who looked upon him as a gallant and generous foe.

Capture of Admiral Cervera.

The great American land and naval victories in the vicinity of Santiago made the final surrender of that city and its Spanish garrison only a question of time. The Spanish commander, General Toral y Velasquez, who commanded in place of the wounded General Linares, vainly endeavored to delay the inevitable advance of the victorious American army within bombarding distance of the city. After two weeks of negotiation about the terms of surrender—Toral vainly seeking for the most favorable terms, at first asking Generals Shafter and Wheeler to be allowed to march out with the honors of war, and after-

Surrender of Santiago.

ward asking to be sent back to Spain—he finally agreed to an unconditional surrender, after General Nelson Appleton Miles arrived upon the scene and insisted upon such terms; and on July 14, 1898, he surrendered the city of Santiago, with the eastern end of Cuba and a Spanish army of nearly twenty-five thousand men, to General Shafter, the United States agreeing to convey the Spanish troops home to Spain in American transports. Three days later—July 17, 1898—after the Spanish troops had marched out and grounded their arms, the Stars and Stripes were raised over Santiago.

Capture of Nipe.

On July 21, 1898—the thirty-seventh anniversary of the first battle of Bull Run—a short and decisive naval engagement took place at Nipe, on the north-eastern coast of the province of Santiago and west of the province surrendered to General Shafter; four American vessels —the *Topeka*, the *Annapolis*, the *Wasp* and the *Leyden*—sinking a Spanish gunboat, dispersing a detachment of Spanish troops, silencing three Spanish forts and raising the Stars and Stripes over the City Hall of Nipe, all within an hour.

Camara's and Watson's Squadrons.

On June 17, 1898, a Spanish squadron under Admiral Camara sailed from Cadiz eastward through the Mediterranean, arriving at Port Said, Egypt, on June 26th, evidently destined for the Philippines to fight Dewey. The next day the announcement came from Washington that a powerful American squadron under Commodore John Crittenden Watson would be sent against the coast of Spain itself if Camara proceeded on his eastward journey. Camara's fleet paid the heavy expense of sailing through the Suez Canal on July 5th, but was refused permission to coal by the British authorities, and soon returned through the canal and sailed back to Spain.

Conquest of Porto Rico.

General Nelson Appleton Miles, the American commander-in-chief, had landed in Cuba on July 11, 1898; and on the 21st he sailed with an army on transports and a naval convoy for Porto Rico. On July 25th his first landing was effected at Guanica, where the Spanish troops made a spirited resistance; but Lieutenant-Commander Wainwright, of the *Gloucester*, raised the American flag over the town. General Miles occupied Ponce on July 29th, the Spanish troops fleeing on his approach. All the towns on his route had submitted, the inhabitants welcoming the invaders. At Yauco the Americans were welcomed in an address by the Alcalde (Mayor) and a public proclamation was issued dated: "Yauco, Porto Rico, United States of America, July 27th." Major Webb Hayes, of the Sixth Ohio regiment, son of President Hayes, hoisted the Stars and Stripes on the palace amid the cheers of the populace. At Ponce the Americans were also welcomed with shouts and cheers from men, women and children. General Miles issued a proclamation assuring the inhabitants that the Americans had come

to give them liberty and deliver them from oppression. Colonel Hulings occupied the town of Juana Diaz, on the road to San Juan, July 31st, and entered Coamo, eight miles farther on, August 1st, the inhabitants everywhere welcoming the Americans. On August 2d another American expedition, under General John Rutter Brooke, landed at Arroyo, sixty miles east of Ponce. General Stone made a dashing reconnoissance northward toward Arecibo, entering Adjuntas with five troops and four correspondents, August 1st, and the next day advancing along the Utanado road, being welcomed by the inhabitants of all the towns through which he passed, women and children strewing the streets with flowers and waving American flags from houses and town halls. On August 5th the foreign consuls at San Juan advised the Spanish authorities to surrender the island to the American troops, but the Spaniards resolved on resistance, whereupon the foreign consuls determined to establish a neutral zone. The Americans occupied Guayama, August 5th, after a slight skirmish; and General Wilson captured Coama, August 9th, with a loss of seven men wounded. General Schwan occupied Mayaguez, August 11th, after the Spaniards had evacuated the town. On August 12th, while a severe action was in progress near Coamo, news arrived of the signing of the peace protocol and the suspension of hostilities; but two days later, unaware of the protocol, the Spaniards attacked General Schawn's column between Mayaguez and Lares.

American Expedition to the Philippines.

Soon after Dewey's naval victory in Manila Bay the United States government decided to send a land expedition under General Wesley Merritt to the Philippines. The first contingent, numbering twenty-five hundred troops, under General Thomas McArthur Anderson, sailed from San Francisco in the transports *Australia*, *City of Sydney* and *City of Pekin* on May 25, 1898, being joined at Honolulu by the armored cruiser *Charleston*, which had left San Francisco on May 22d to reinforce Dewey's victorious squadron; and the whole contingent reached Cavité on June 30, 1898, having taken formal possession of the Ladrone Islands on the way, Captain Leary being left with a small American garrison on the island of Guahan, or Guam, while the Spanish governor and garrison were taken along as prisoners of war. The second American contingent, under General Francis Vinton Greene, a descendant of relatives of the American Revolutionary General Nathaniel Greene, sailed from San Francisco on four transports on June 15th and arrived at Cavité on July 20th. The third American contingent, numbering four thousand troops, under General Arthur MacArthur, left San Francisco in the transports *Ohio*, *Indiana*, *City of Para* and *Morgan City* on June 27th; being followed two days later by the transports *Valencia* and *Newport*, which conveyed General Mer-

ritt and Batteries H and K, of the Third United States Artillery, and the Astor Independent Battery. The expedition arrived at Honolulu on July 8th, and sailed from there the next day, arriving at Cavité on July 26th. The fourth American contingent, under General Elwell Stephen Otis, started from San Francisco in the transport *City of Puebla* on July 15th and the transports *Pennsylvania* and *City of Rio Janeiro* a few days later; and a fifth contingent was in preparation for the same destination.

German Warships at Manila.

The presence of German warships under Admiral von Diederichs in the harbor of Manila gave rise to disquieting rumors of possible interference. An incident was reported to have occurred on July 6th, to which some significance was attached. Emilio Aguinaldo, the Filipino insurgent chief, had sent an armed steamer to Subig Bay to take possession of La Isla Grande, which was garrisoned by a Spanish force, and the German steamer *Irene* intervened to prevent the proposed Filipino occupation of the islet; whereupon Admiral Dwey sent the *Raleigh* and the *Concord* to Subig Bay to take possession of the islet. The *Irene* quietly sailed away when the two American vessels appeared, and the islet was speedily taken by the Americans and handed over to the insurgents. The Spanish garrison of five hundred men were driven from the islet to the mainland of Luzon. The Americans occupied Cavité, while the Filipino insurgents had full possession of the country around Manila. Meanwhile Lieutenant E. W. Clarke, of General Anderson's staff, made a daring reconnoissance, in which he made a complete detour of Manila and obtained a thorough observation of the Spanish works.

Capture of Manila.

The arrival of General MacArthur's contingent on July 31st gave General Merritt an army of almost eleven thousand men. That night about three thousand Spaniards attacked the American lines, but were repulsed with heavy loss, while the Americans lost only eleven killed and thirty-seven wounded. On August 13, 1898, the day after the peace protocol had been signed, but before the news of this event had reached the Philippines, the American land and naval forces under General Merritt and Admiral Dewey made a joint attack on the Spanish forts and intrenchments at Malate, on the south of Manila, and drove away the Spaniards; and at five o'clock in the evening of that day the Spanish Governor-General, Augustini, surrendered Manila and its Spanish garrison of seven thousand men to the American military and naval commanders. In this land and naval attack on and capture of Manila the Americans lost forty-six killed and about a hundred wounded. The Spanish loss was about two hundred killed and about four hundred wounded. Thus the last important battle of the Spanish-American War—like the last important battle of the War of 1812—was fought

after peace had been actually concluded between the two belligerent nations.

Peace Protocol.

In the meantime the Great European Powers advised Spain to make peace on such terms as the United States demanded, and Prime Minister Sagasta was skillfully bringing the Spanish people around to favor peace. M. Cambon, the French Ambassador at Washington, presented credentials fully authorizing him to act at once with decision for peace for Spain on terms acceptable to the United States. The American terms of peace were made known to him on July 30th. These terms embraced the following conditions: The immediate evacuation of every Spanish dependency in the New World; the relinquishment of all Spanish claims to sovereignty in Cuba; the cession of Porto Rico and the other Spanish West India Islands, except Cuba, to the United States; the occupation of the city and harbor of Manila by the United States military and naval forces pending settlement, by peace commissioners of the two nations, of the future disposition and government of the Philippine Islands. On August 12, 1898, a protocol providing for peace between the United States and Spain, on the foregoing conditions, was signed at Washington by Secretary of State William Rufus Day, for the United States, and by M. Cambon, the French Ambassador, for Spain.

Cost of the War.

Thus ended the Spanish-American War, which had lasted three months, three weeks and three days, and which had cost the United States about one hundred and fifty million dollars, of which ninety-eight million dollars already had been paid. The total American loss in killed in battle did not amount to three hundred men, though several thousand died of sickness caused by typhoid fever and other diseases contracted in Cuba, resulting from negligence and stale beef.

Address of Spanish Soldiers to the American Soldiers.

On August 21, 1898, a Spanish soldier—Pedro Lopez de Castillo—on behalf of eleven thousand Spanish fellow-soldiers sent addresses to General Shafter and his troops, as follows:

"To Major-General Shafter, Commanding the American Army in Cuba:

"Sir: The Spanish soldiers who capitulated in this place on the sixteenth of July last, recognizing your high and just position, pray that through you all the courageous and noble soldiers under your command may receive our good wishes and farewell, which we send them on embarking for our beloved Spain. For this favor, which we have no doubt you will grant, you will gain the everlasting gratitude and consideration of eleven thousand Spanish soldiers, who are your most humble servants. "Pedro Lopez de Castillo,

"Private of Infantry.

"Soldiers of the American Army:

"We would not be fulfilling our duty as well-born men in whose breasts there live gratitude and courtesy should we embark for our beloved Spain without sending to you our most cordial and sincere good wishes and farewell. We fought you with ardor, with all our strength, endeavoring to gain the victory, but without the slightest rancor or hate towards the American nation. We have been vanquished by you (so our generals and chiefs judged in signing the capitulation), but our surrender and the bloody battle preceding it have left in our souls no place for resentment against the men who fought us nobly and valiantly. You fought and acted in compliance with the same call of duty as we, for we all represent the power of our respective states. You fought us as men face to face and with great courage, as before stated, a quality which we had not met with during the three years we have carried on this war against a people without religion, without morals, without conscience, and of doubtful origin, who could not confront the enemy, but hidden, shot their noble victims from ambush, and then immediately fled. This was the kind of warfare we had to sustain in this unfortunate land.

"You have complied exactly with all the laws and usages of war as recognized by the armies of the most civilized nations of the world; have given honorable burial to the dead of the vanquished; have cured their wounded with great humanity; have respected and cared for your prisoners and their comfort; and, lastly, to us, whose condition was terrible, you have given freely of food, of your stock of medicines, and you have honored us with distinction and courtesy, for after the fighting the two armies mingled with the utmost harmony.

"With the high sentiment of appreciation from us all, there remains but to express our farewell, and with the greatest sincerity we wish you all happiness and health in this land, which will no longer belong to our dear Spain, but will be yours, who have conquered it by force and watered it with your blood as your conscience called for, under the demand of civilization and humanity; but the descendants of the Kongo and of Guinea, mingled with the blood of unscrupulous Spaniards and of traitors and adventurers, these people are not able to exercise or enjoy their liberty, for they will find it a burden to comply with the laws which govern civilized communities.

"From eleven thousand Spanish soldiers,

"Pedro Lopez de Castillo,
"Soldier of Infantry.

"Santiago de Cuba, August 21, 1898."

British Consul Ramsden.

A true friend of the Americans died in Jamaica while the Spanish-American War was still in progress, catching a deadly disease chiefly through his zeal in their behalf. This was Mr. Ramsden, for many years the British consul at Santiago de Cuba. A quarter of a century before—in 1873—when the Spanish authorities were shooting the crew of the American steamer *Virginius*, he suddenly appeared after fifty-three of the crew had been shot, and, stepping up to the Spanish officer who had ordered the shooting, he said: "Now, if there is another man shot I will call in Her Majesty's warships and blow Santiago de Cuba off the face of the earth." He thus put an end to the shooting.

Disease in the American Army.

By the time hostilities had ceased yellow fever and other diseases were spreading havoc in the ranks of the American army in Cuba, and the leading commanders saw the necessity of recalling the army from the island without delay. The troops were speedily brought home to the United States in transports and were taken to Montauk, at the east end of Long Island, and other healthful resorts during the hot season; but thousands of them died in a short time. Thus most of the American mortality in this war was from disease and not from the casualties of battle.

Annexation of Hawaii.

One of the results of the Spanish-American War was the annexation of Hawaii to the United States, which was accomplished while hostilities were still in progress. The sentiment of the American people had undergone a wonderful change in this respect during this war. Ever since 1893 the so-called Republic of Hawaii had been vainly seeking annexation to the United States. But with the partial occupation of the Philippines and the impending acquisition of Porto Rico the American people looked more favorably upon the extension of American sovereignty beyond the American mainland. Accordingly, both Houses of Congress passed the resolution introduced by Representative Newlands, of Nevada, in favor of the annexation of Hawaii, and this resolution received the President's signature on July 7, 1898; and the formal recognition of the transfer of Hawaii to the United States was made on August 12, 1898, the very day on which the peace protocol between the United States and Spain was signed. Congress afterwards adopted a Territorial form of government for the Hawaiian Islands, which were erected into the Territory of Hawaii, June 14, 1900; and President McKinley appointed the late Hawaiian President, Sanford Ballard Dole, Governor of the newly-established Territory.

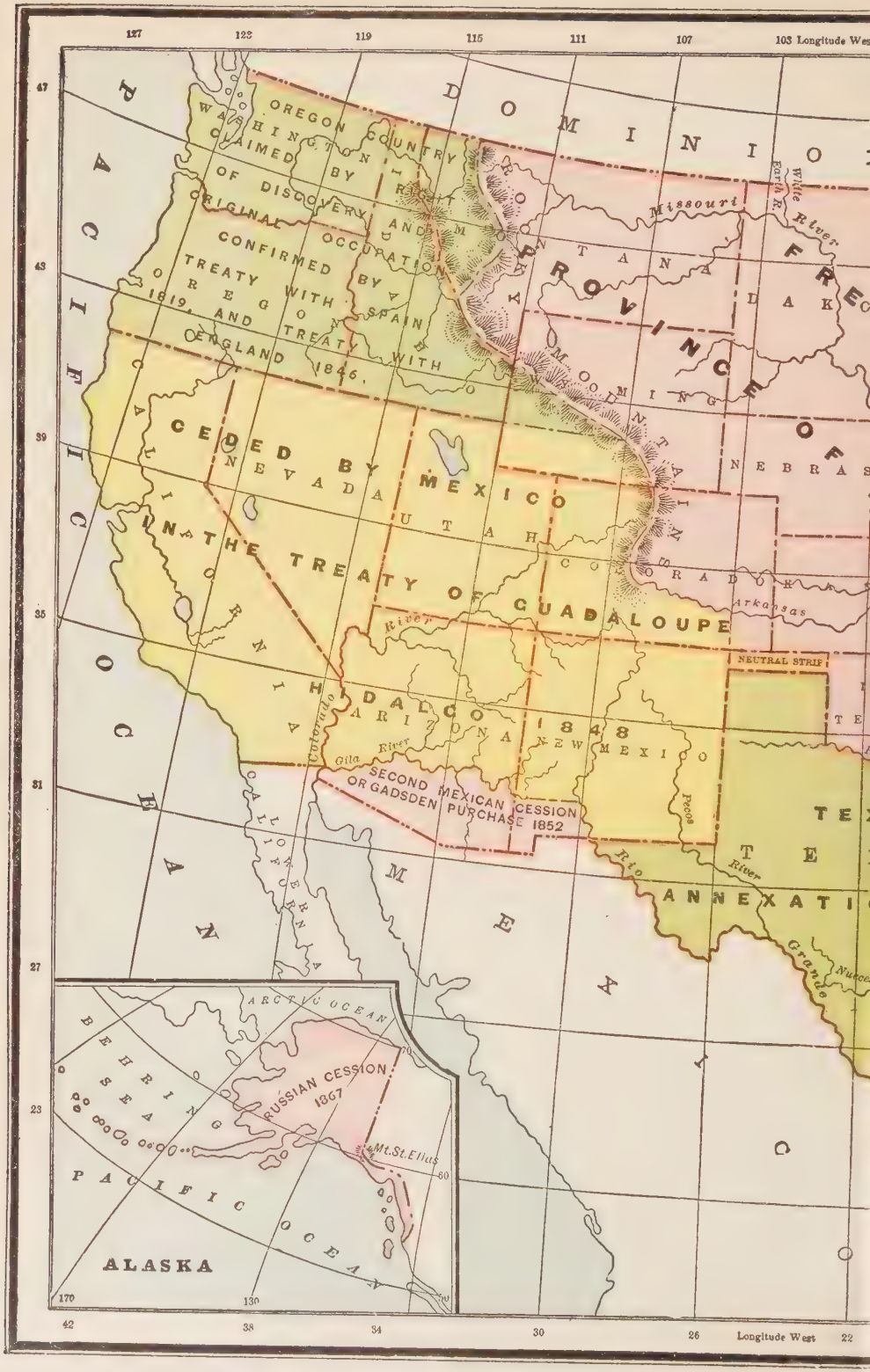
Definitive Peace of Paris.

At length peace commissioners on the part of the United States and Spain assembled in Paris for the negotiation of a definitive treaty of peace between the two nations. The American commissioners were ex-Secretary of State William Rufus Day, of Ohio; Whitelaw Reid, of New York, and United States Senators Cushman Kellogg Davis, of

Minnesota; William Pierce Frye, of Maine, and George Gray, of Delaware. The Spanish commissioners were Don Eugenio Montero Rios, President of the Spanish Senate; Don Buenaventura de Abarzuza, Spanish Senator and Cabinet Minister; Don José de Garnica, Deputy to the Spanish Cortes and Associate Justice of the Spanish Supreme Court; Don Wenceslao Ramirez de Villa-Urrutia, Spanish Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Belgium, and Don Rafael Cerero, General of Division in the Spainsh army. After several weeks of negotiation, these American and Spanish peace commissioners signed a definitive treaty of peace on December 10, 1898, which provided that Spain should relinquish her title to Cuba and cede Porto Rico, the island of Guam, in the Ladrones, and the entire Philippine archipelago to the United States; the United States to pay Spain twenty million dollars for the Philippines. The treaty thus negotiated and signed was submitted to the governments of the two nations for ratification, but it encountered some opposition in both. In the United States special objections were made to the acquisition of the Philippines without the consent of the native inhabitants of the islands; many of whom, under the leadership of Emilio Aguinaldo, previously had rebelled against Spain and were now demanding complete national independence; but the general American sentiment was that the American control of the islands was necessary to prevent civil war, anarchy and foreign complications therein. Accordingly, on February 6, 1899, the treaty was ratified by the United States Senate by a vote of fifty-seven to twenty-seven. Spain likewise accepted the treaty, which was formally proclaimed April 11, 1899. The United States promptly paid the twenty million dollars to Spain, and ordinary diplomatic relations between the two nations were resumed. Thus the last vestige of Spain's once-powerful dominion in the New World disappeared forever.

Spanish Retirement from Cuba.

By the close of 1898 the Spanish evacuation of Cuba was complete, the American army of occupation already having arrived. New Year's Day, 1899, was signalized by the formal relinquishment of Cuba by Spain to the United States, in trust for the Cuban people. Amid imposing ceremonies at Havana, Captain-General Blanco and the other Spanish officials formally turned over the government of Cuba to the military authorities of the United States in that city, and soon took their departure for Spain. The Stars and Stripes were raised over Morro Castle and over the government building in Havana; and Major-General John Rutter Brooke was appointed Military Governor of Cuba by President McKinley, who appointed Military Governors for each of the five provinces of Cuba, Major-General Fitzhugh Lee being appointed Military Governor of the province of Havana, and Major-General William Ludlow being appointed Military Governor of


127
123
119
115
111
107
103 Longitude West
47
43
39
35
31
27
23
OREGON COUNTRY
CLAIMED BY RIGHT OF DISCOVERY AND ORIGINAL OCCUPATION
CONFIRMED BY TREATY WITH SPAIN 1819, AND TREATY WITH ENGLAND 1846.
OREGON
WASHINGTON
CEDED BY MEXICO
IN THE TREATY OF GUADALOUPE
HIDALGO 1848
SECOND MEXICAN CESSION OR GADSDEN PURCHASE 1852
NEUTRAL STRIP
ANNEXATION
PACIFIC OCEAN
DOMINION
PROVINCE OF
MONTANA
WYOMING
NEBRASKA
NEVADA
UTAH
COLORADO
ARIZONA
NEW MEXICO
TEXAS
CALIFORNIA
Missouri River
Yellow Stone River
Arkansas River
Colorado River
Gila River
Pecos River
Rio Grande
MEXICO
ARCTIC OCEAN
BEHRING SEA
RUSSIAN CESSION 1867
Mt. St. Elias
PACIFIC OCEAN
ALASKA
170
160
42
38
34
30
26
Longitude West
22

MAP SHOWING THE
TERRITORIAL GROWTH
OF THE UNITED STATES
1776-1887
ORIGINAL AREA OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES
1783
MASSACHUSETTS CESSION 1785
CONNECTICUT CESSION 1786
VIRGINIA CESSION 1784
NORTH CAROLINA CESSION 1790
SOUTH CAROLINA CESSION 1787
GEORGIA CESSION 1802
LOUISIANA CESSION 1803
1845
SPANISH CESSION 1819
TERRITORY NORTHWEST OF THE OHIO RIVER
TERRITORY SOUTH OF THE OHIO RIVER
MISSISSIPPI TERRITORY 1798
MISSISSIPPI TERRITORY 1812
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
LAKE SUPERIOR
LAKE MICHIGAN
LAKE HURON
LAKE ERIE
LAKE ONTARIO
MAINE
VERMONT
NEW YORK
PENNSYLVANIA
NEW JERSEY
MARYLAND
DELAWARE
CONN.
MASS.
KENTUCKY
TENNESSEE
OHIO
INDIANA
ILLINOIS
MISSOURI
ARKANSAS
WISCONSIN
IOWA
CANADA
Mississippi River
Missouri River
Red River
Sabine River
Rio Grande
Florida
Greenwich 95 91 87 83 79 75 71
47 43 39 35 31 27 23
Washington 18 14 10 6 2

the city of Havana, while Major-General Leonard Wood was appointed Military Governor of the province of Santiago. General Brooke was soon succeeded as Military Governor of the whole island of Cuba by General Wood, whose able administration of affairs in Santiago proved his qualification for such a station.

SECTION XI.—PHILIPPINE REVOLT

THE definitive treaty of peace between the United States and Spain, signed at Paris by the peace commissioners of the two nations, December 10, 1898, was transmitted to the United States Senate by President McKinley, January 4, 1899; but it was ratified only on February 6, 1899, after encountering great opposition from those Senators opposed to the treaty.

The Filipino Republic.

Emilio Aguinaldo, the Filipino leader, and his countrymen, hoped that the United States might be prevailed upon to acknowledge the independence of the Philippine Islands and recognize the Filipino Republic, of which Aguinaldo had been proclaimed President. A Filipino Congress had been assembled at Malolos, which had been made the Filipino capital, and Aguinaldo had surrounded himself with a Cabinet composed of his ablest followers.

Agoncillo's Protest.

The protest of Aguinaldo's diplomatic agent, Felipe Agoncillo, against the cession of the Philippine Islands by Spain to the United States, filed with the American and Spanish peace commissioners at Paris, December 12, 1898, two days after the signing of the peace treaty, gave a complete exposition of the reasons which justified the Filipinos in opposing the efforts of the United States to exercise sovereignty over the islands.

President McKinley's Proclamation.

President McKinley sent instructions to General Elwell Stephen Otis, the American commander in the Philippines after the resignation and departure of General Wesley Merritt soon after the close of hostilities with Spain, to avoid a conflict with the natives of the islands; and on January 5, 1899, General Otis published the President's proclamation stating the reasons actuating the United States in assuming sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and offering to protect the Filipino people in their rights and liberties.

United States Philippine Commission.

In accordance with his design of acting cautiously in regard to the Philippine Islands, President McKinley appointed a United States Philippine Commission to study the islands and make recommendations accordingly; the members of this commission being Admiral Dewey,

General Otis, ex-United States Minister to China Charles Denby, Professor Dean Conant Worcester, of Michigan University, and Professor Jacob Gould Schurman, of Cornell University. After a careful study of the situation and after several ineffectual efforts to make known to the Filipino people the purposes and views of the United States government, the commission returned and submitted its report to the President on November 2, 1899.

Aguinaldo's Proclamation and Philippine Revolt.

In spite of the cautious policy of General Otis in pursuance of President McKinley's instructions, Aguinaldo issued a proclamation to his followers on February 4, 1899, ordering the beginning of hostilities with the Americans; and accordingly the Filipinos arose in rebellion against the Americans for the purpose of securing their independence under a government of their own.

Three Days' Battle at Manila.

The first shot in this rebellion was fired in the evening of the same day (February 4, 1899). General Otis had issued a stringent order forbidding any Filipino to pass the American lines after nightfall. That night a Filipino soldier, followed by several of his fellow-soldiers, came from the Filipino lines and approached the American pickets, refusing to halt after repeated orders from Private Grayson, of the Nebraska regiment. Grayson fired and killed the Filipino soldier, whereupon the latter's companions returned the fire, the Nebraskans promptly responding. This was the signal for firing all along the line from Tondo to Malate. That night the American troops acted on the defensive; but during the three following days they assumed the offensive, driving the Filipinos from their intrenchments and obtaining possession of all the adjacent suburbs of Manila, including the water works at Sautolon. In these three days' battles about thirteen thousand American troops were fighting thirty thousand Filipinos; the American loss being fifty-nine killed and thirty-three wounded, while the Filipino losses were much heavier. The immediate result of the battle was to hasten the ratification of the peace treaty between the United States and Spain by the United States Senate; and Agoncillo, the Filipino commissioner in the United States, who was suspected of having sent information to Aguinaldo which called forth his proclamation, quickly departed from Washington, fleeing to Canada.

Agoncillo's Flight to Canada.

Burning of Manila.

On the night of February 22, 1899, the Filipinos fired Manila, a part of which was reduced to ashes before the Americans were able to extinguish the flames. The defeated Filipinos retreated to Caloocan, where they were defeated again with great loss; after which they fled to Malabon, where they were also defeated. Thenceforth the struggle was practically a running fight between the retreating Filipinos and the pursuing Americans.

Filipino Defeats.

The Oregon and American Reinforcements.

Late in February, 1899, the Americans occupied the islands of Cebu, Negros and Panay. At Admiral Dewey's request the *Oregon* was sent to reinforce his fleet, while reinforcements were likewise sent to the American army in the Philippines; and early in March, 1899, General Otis had about twenty thousand troops under his command. The *Oregon* arrived at Manila, March 18, 1899.

American Victories and Capture of Malolos.

Early in March, 1899, the American force under General Arthur MacArthur began its advance upon Malolos, the Filipino capital; and its progress was signalized by a succession of victories. The Filipinos made a decided stand at the Marilao river, about a mile from Malolos, being intrenched strongly on the opposite bank of the river. As General MacArthur's troops approached Malolos, Colonel Frederick Funston and twenty other troops of the Twentieth Kansas regiment plunged into the river and swam across. These men put their muskets on logs and pushed the logs before them. On the other side of the stream the little band charged and captured eighty Filipinos, the main body of the insurgents retreating to Malolos, where they made a determined stand. The Americans under General Lloyd Wheaton captured Malolos, March 31, 1899; Aguinaldo and some of his followers escaping, after firing the government buildings.

Battle and Capture of Calumpit.

After the capture of Malolos, Aguinaldo established his capital at San Fernando, and General MacArthur began a march against that city April 25, 1899. A battle was fought at Calumpit, where the Filipinos were intrenched, the Americans gaining a victory, and taking possession of the city on April 27, 1899. Among the Americans killed at Calumpit were Colonel Stotsenberg and Lieutenant Sisson, of the Nebraska regiment. A brilliant feat at the capture of Calumpit was the swimming of the Rio Grande river by Colonel Frederick Funston, of the Twentieth Kansas regiment, in the face of the insurgents' fire. The bridge over the Rio Grande had been wrecked, and for three miles the opposite bank of the river was occupied by Filipino soldiers behind strong intrenchments. Funston called for volunteers to swim the stream and carry a rope to the opposite side. From the many volunteers who offered themselves he selected two, and he and these two volunteers swam across the river, in the face of a galling fire from the Filipinos, and fastened the rope to a tree, while the other end of the rope was fastened on the bank occupied by the American troops. By means of this rope the Kansas and other troops were enabled to cross the stream on a raft, and, by an enfilading fire, compel the Filipinos to retire from their outer intrenchments. Then the whole of the Twentieth Kansas regiment and the First Montana regiment were able to

cross on the broken bridge and face the Filipinos in a stubborn fight, driving them from their intrenchments and thus capturing Calumpit.

Capture of San Fernando.

General MacArthur's brigade then marched against San Tomas and San Fernando, General Wheaton's brigade making a parallel advance, and the insurgents resisting the American advance at every point. General MacArthur captured San Fernando, May 5, 1899.

General Lawton's Victories.

General Henry Wade Lawton led an expedition to San Isidro on April 22d and returned to General MacArthur's lines on May 24th, after marching one hundred and twenty miles, taking twenty-eight towns and destroying three hundred thousand bushels of rice, having lost only six men killed and thirty-five wounded. On June 10th General Lawton led an expedition from San Pedro Macati, on the Pasig river, to drive the Filipinos under General Pio del Pilar from their positions on the east side of Manila Bay; and severe fighting occurred on June 10, 11, 12 and 13, 1899. The battle of the 13th, fought at Zapate bridge, near Bacoor, was said to have been the bloodiest of the war, the Filipinos numbering about four thousand and losing about one-third of their force in killed, wounded and prisoners. The battle lasted from sunrise to sunset, the American navy taking part therein. The Filipinos retreated to Imus, abandoning the whole coast region. In these four days' battles the Americans lost only ten killed and forty wounded. The insurgents made another stand at Imus, from which the Americans drove them on June 15, 1899. General Wheaton then marched to Perez daz Marinas, about twelve miles southward, where he encountered the Filipinos, driving them to the hills beyond. General Robert Henry Hall captured Calamba, an important strategic point, June 16, 1899. These energetic operations drove the insurgents from the province of Cavité.

Decline of the Revolt.

As the rainy season approached in Luzon the fighting become gradually desultory, the insurgents mainly resorting to guerilla warfare; and, although they still showed considerable vigor at times, it was evident that their power was broken.

American Reinforcements.

On June 8, 1899, General Otis cabled for thirty thousand more troops, and two weeks later (June 22, 1899) the President decided to call for more volunteers for the Philippines. Thereafter at various times during the last half of 1899 reinforcements were sent from the United States to the islands. On July 5, 1899, the Secretary of War authorized the enlistment of ten regiments for service in the Philippines; and a week later General Joseph Wheeler sailed from the United States for the islands. During the wet season military operations were partially suspended; but General MacArthur captured Angeles, August 16, 1899, and during the same month there were engagements at Laguna de Bay and San Fernando.

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BEFORE A NATIVE STORE

PARAÑAQUE, ISLAND OF LUZON, PHILIPPINES

Treaty with the Sultan of Sulu.

In the meantime General Otis sent General John Coalter Bates to the Sulu Islands, with authority to make a treaty with the Sultan of those islands, a Mohammedan monarch. General Bates was successful in his mission. He met the Sulu Sultan, August 21, 1899, and, after some days' discussion with him, concluded a treaty with him by which the Sultan acknowledged the sovereignty of the United States, agreed to fly the American flag above his own and to fly it when abroad, and gave the Americans the right to occupy convenient places for military purposes. The Sultan was given a present of ten thousand dollars, and was promised a pension of four thousand six hundred dollars a year and guaranteed non-interference with his monarchical government, with the Mohammedan religion, with slavery and with polygamy in his dominions. The Sultan himself had twelve wives, and he and his subjects were all Mohammedans. Thus the United States had a Mohammedan monarch as its vassal, and in this distant possession the Stars and Stripes floated over four institutions which did not exist in the home territory of the United States—Mohammedanism, monarchy, slavery and polygamy; the first two of which never existed in the United States, and the last two being suppressed within the last half of the century. There was a clause in the treaty which provided that slaves could purchase their freedom for twenty dollars; but, as they had to work all their lives without a cent of pay, they never would be able to earn any money to buy themselves free. The toleration of monarchy, slavery and polygamy aroused severe criticism in the United States, as there was just then a crusade against a polygamous Congressman from Utah, and as the laws of the United States forbade polygamy anywhere within its territory, while the Constitution of the United States did not tolerate monarchy or slavery, the last-named institution being excluded by the Thirteenth Constitutional Amendment, which reads thus: "Section I.—Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or *any place subject to their jurisdiction*. Section II.—Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation." Even if the Philippines are not a part of the United States, but only a possession of the United States, and even if the Constitution does not follow the flag, the Philippines being under American jurisdiction, slavery is as much a violation of the Thirteenth Constitutional Amendment in the Philippines as it would be in Virginia or Louisiana. The two great parties of the Nation seemed to have assumed contradictory attitudes on the slavery clause in the Sulu treaty; the Democrats, the pro-slavery party of former days, now denouncing the treaty and thus taking anti-slavery ground;

while the Republicans, the party which had overthrown slavery in the United States, defended the treaty on grounds of expediency, thus practically taking a pro-slavery stand. Such were the party inconsistencies produced by the course of events.

Battle of San Jacinto.

General Wheaton severely defeated the Filipinos at San Jacinto, November 14, 1899, seventy-seven of the insurgents being left dead on the field. Among the Americans killed in this engagement was Major John A. Logan, son of the famous Illinois general and statesman of the same name. Major Logan was shot while leading his battalion through a well-nigh impenetrable region against the insurgent intrenchments east of Dagupan.

Death of General Lawton.

The Americans suffered a great loss in the morning of December 19, 1899, when General Henry Wade Lawton was shot and killed by a Filipino sharpshooter while standing in front of his troops while leading an attack on the insurgents under Geronimo at San Mateo, north-west of Manila. He was walking along the firing line, within three hundred yards of a small sharpshooters' trench, conspicuous in the big white helmet he always wore and a light yellow raincoat. He was also easily distinguished because of his commanding stature. The sharpshooters directed several close shots, which clipped the grass near. His staff officers called his attention to the danger to which he was exposing himself, but he merely laughed, with his usual contempt for bullets. Suddenly he exclaimed: "I am shot!" Clenching his hands in a desperate effort to stand erect, he fell into the arms of a staff officer. Orderlies rushed across the field for surgeons, who dashed up instantly, but their efforts were unavailing. The body was taken to a clump of bushes and laid upon a stretcher, the familiar white helmet covering the face of the dead general. His death came as a great shock. His troops were stricken with sorrow at his death, and many of them shed bitter tears. His remains were buried temporarily at Manila, and afterwards were conveyed to the United States for permanent interment. Instructions had been received from the President just the previous night to prepare General Lawton's commission as a brigadier-general in the regular army to fill one of the existing vacancies, and the Adjutant-General's clerks were engaged on the commission when the sad intelligence of his death was received at the National capital. He had been hitherto wonderfully fortunate in battle during a period of forty years, having been in many conflicts in the Civil War; in hundreds of engagements with the Indians for more than thirty years; in the battle before Santiago de Cuba in the war with Spain, and in many actions of the Philippine war. He was noted especially as an Indian fighter; and his pursuit and capture of Geronimo, the notorious

Apache warrior, had been regarded as one of the most remarkable campaigns ever undertaken with a small force in command. General Miles had selected General Lawton to lead the chase after Geronimo, upon whose trail Lawton hung like a bloodhound ceaselessly, day and night, through every vicissitude of weather and personal suffering, for three months, until the savage warrior was captured; and for the first time in a quarter of a century south-eastern Arizona was free from the depredations of the fierce Apaches. Thus the brave commander who conquered Geronimo, the Apache, came to an untimely end in a conflict with Geronimo, the Filipino.

Progress of Pacification.

By the end of 1899 the island of Luzon was cleared of all important Filipino bands, and nearly all of the ablest insurgent leaders, except Aguinaldo himself, who was then in concealment somewhere in the island, had become prisoners to the Americans. There were at this time over sixty thousand United States troops in Luzon.

Commission's Report.

On February 2, 1900, President McKinley transmitted the report of the United States Philippine Commission to Congress. The Commission, without qualification, recommended a government for the Philippines resembling that of a Territory of the United States, with a Governor appointed by the President; declaring that the United States could not withdraw from the islands, as that would expose the islands to anarchy and civil war, the natives being wholly unprepared for national independence and self-government. The Commission suggested that as the Sulu archipelago called for special arrangements with the Sultan of those islands they did not require any consideration in this report.

Wheaton's and Schwan's Successes.

On New Year's Day, 1900, the American columns under Generals Wheaton and Schwan attacked the insurgent positions on the shores of Laguna de Bay; and after a week's fighting, the insurgents were driven from their positions at Binan, Carmona, Silang, Indang, Imus and Bacoor, which were occupied by the Americans. Colonel Bullard captured the strong post of Santo Tomas, south of Calamba, January 9, 1900, while in the meantime an insurgent force was dispersed at Mount Arayat, January 5, 1900; and by the middle of January the whole province of Cavité was occupied by General Wheaton's command, while the province of Batangas was in the possession of General Schwan.

Continued Skirmishing.

Skirmishes continued daily throughout Luzon, and an American pack-train was ambushed by insurgents between Santo Tomas and San Pablo, in the middle of January, 1900. Sharp fights occurred in the island of Cebu, and Colonel Byrne captured an insurgent camp in the island of Negros, while the islands of Samar, Leyte and Panay were

still held by the insurgents. Early in February, 1900, the Americans took formal possession of Subulu and Cagayan islands, of the Sulu group, and of the Babuyan and Batanes groups of islands, to the north of Luzon.

New Philippine Commission.

By the close of February, 1900, the President appointed a new United States Philippine Commission, consisting of Judge William Howard Taft, of Ohio, as President; Professor Dean Conant Worcester, of the University of Michigan, a member of the old Commission; General Luke E. Wright, of Tennessee; Henry Clay Ide, of Vermont, and Bernard Moses, of the University of California. The new Commission arrived at Manila early in June and soon succeeded the old Commission in office.

Guerrilla Warfare.

The war everywhere throughout the archipelago now had assumed a complete guerrilla character, as the insurgents had broken up into small bands, which often ambushed the Americans and their Filipino adherents. The insurgent propaganda was active everywhere and skirmishes were of daily occurrence. Small bands of insurgents surrendered to the Americans at various points, as at Tarlac to Colonel Emerson H. Liscum, and at several other points. The American troops under General Frederick Funston and General Frederick Dent Grant, eldest son of General Ulysses Simpson Grant, ceaselessly pursued the insurgents in Luzon. By order of the Secretary of War the Philippines were divided into four military departments. Two Filipino leaders, Morales and Gonzales, were hanged as outlaws at Bayambang, March 30, 1900.

Amnesty Proclaimed.

On June 21, 1900, General Arthur MacArthur, the Military Governor of the Philippine Islands, issued a proclamation of amnesty to all insurgents who would lay down their arms and submit to American authority. On the same day prominent Filipino leaders at Manila formulated the conditions upon which the natives of the islands might accept American sovereignty and enter into amicable relations with the United States, as follows: Amnesty; the restoration of confiscated property by the Americans; employment of the insurgent generals in the militia and navy when peace is established; Filipino revenues to succor needy Filipinos; guarantee of personal rights to Filipinos; local civil governments; expulsion of the friars. General MacArthur assured these Filipino leaders that all the rights guaranteed by the United States Constitution, except the right to bear arms and the right of jury trials, would be granted to the Filipino people.

Filipino Peace Terms.

Liberation of Filipino Leaders.

On June 27, 1900, nine insurgent leaders who had been held as prisoners of war were liberated upon taking the oath of allegiance to the United States government. Among these were Generals Pio del

Pilar, Concepcion and Alvarez. Paterno having published in one of the nativist journals an article ostensibly favoring an American protectorate, but really advocating Filipino independence, his parole was recalled, and a meeting which he had summoned was forbidden to be held. As he afterward took the oath of allegiance, he was released. At the same time General MacArthur outlined the plan of civil government intended by the United States to be given the Filipinos, embracing amnesty, guarantee of individual rights, religious liberty, return of confiscated property, eligibility of former insurgent leaders to positions in the native militia, Filipino funds for needy Filipinos, but no allowance of claims for property destroyed.

General MacArthur's Promises.

The daily skirmishing in the various islands continued, with ambushes and massacres of Americans, and bloody retaliation by the American troops. Bloody conflicts occurred in the islands of Luzon, Cebu, Panay, Leyte, Bohol and Samar. In the latter island the insurgents under General Lukban were harassing garrisons and shooting into towns at night and ambushing small parties. The Americans took signal vengeance at Oroquieta, in the island of Mindanao, for the murder of an American soldier, July 26, 1900.

Ambushes and Reprisals.

Insurgent activity continued; and many amigos, or pacified Filipinos, were assassinated by the rebels. An American detachment under Captain Devereux Shields having been captured by the insurgents in the island of Marinduque, expeditions under Generals Anderson and Hare were sent to that island to chastise the insurgents; and the object of these expeditions was accomplished successfully.

Punitive Expeditions.

On January 10, 1901, Senator Teller, of Colorado, presented a Filipino petition for independence in the United States Senate, in which the petitioners stated their reasons at great length why the islands should be granted full national independence. On December 23, 1900, a Filipino Federal party was formed on the basis of Filipino home rule under the sovereignty of the United States. A Women's Peace League was formed at Manila, February 9, 1901, by Filipino and American women, who united in saluting President McKinley and asked his coöperation in bringing about peace.

Filipino Petition.

Federal Party.

Women's Peace League.

Civil governments were established in a number of provinces in Luzon, in which the administration was lodged in native presidentes chosen by the people, under the supervision and control of the American military commanders.

Civil Rule.

Finally, on March 23, 1901, Aguinaldo was captured by a trick on the part of General Frederick Funston, at Palanan, in the province of Isabela, in Luzon; the capture being effected by a few American officers and a band of friendly native scouts, the Filipino chief being led to be-

Capture of Aguinaldo.

lieve that a band of insurgents were coming to meet him. On April 2, 1901, he took the oath of allegiance to the United States; and on the 19th he issued a manifesto to his countrymen advising them to submit.

General Civil Government.

The work of pacification had progressed so far that on June 21, 1901, President McKinley issued an order for the establishment of civil government in the Philippines; making William Howard Taft, hitherto President of the Philippine Commission, Civil Governor of the islands, investing him with the powers hitherto exercised by the Military Governor, and empowering him to appoint the civil officers previously appointed by the Military Governor or the Commission, with the advice and consent of the Commission. The Military Governor was relieved of the civil duties now conferred on the Civil Governor, but the Military Governor still exercised authority in the districts in which insurrection or lawlessness still prevailed. The order went into effect July 4, 1901, when Governor Taft was installed in office as the first Civil Governor of the Philippines under American rule. On the same day General Adna Romanza Chaffee succeeded General Arthur MacArthur as Military Governor of the islands. The Philippine Commission established a Philippine Supreme Court, consisting of Americans and Filipinos, presided over by Chief Justice Cayetano Arellano.

General MacArthur's Report.

General MacArthur's annual report to the Secretary of War, August 8, 1901, dwelt on the necessity of retaining the islands and the prospects of early pacification, expressing his opinion that the natives eventually would become attached to American rule. The insurrection still lingered. On July 16, 1901, Miquel Malvar, who had been recognized by the Filipino Junta at Hong Kong as Aguinaldo's successor, issued a proclamation giving assurances to his countrymen of the continuation of active warfare and expressing confident hope of final success in the struggle for Filipino independence. Malvar's proclamation accused the Americans of all manner of atrocities. Malvar outlawed General Cailles and threatened him with death for treason to the Filipino cause.

Malvar's Proclamation.

Civil War in Sulu

In the islands of Jolo, or Sulu, the Sultan and some of his chiefs were engaged in civil war among themselves and had many bloody conflicts with much loss of life. Insurgents in the island of Mindoro were led by an American deserter named Howard, who finally was captured by an American cavalry detachment under Lieutenant Hazzard, assisted by a band of native scouts. The insurgent Colonel Martin Cabrera was captured near Taal, in Batangas province, about the middle of August, 1901, by Lieutenant Walter S. Grant, at the head of an American cavalry detachment and native scouts. There were

Capture of Insurgent Leaders.

daily skirmishes in Luzon and other islands; and, to avenge the massacre of an American detachment, the Americans burned the town of Balangiga, in the island of Samar.

American Deserters.

In January, 1902, it became known that many American soldiers already had deserted to the Filipinos and fought in their ranks. There were over fifty with the insurgent leader, Lukban, in the island of Samar, and they would not allow the chief to surrender. When the Filipino peace commission landed at Catabalogan, the principal port of Samar, the rebels fired on the town with heavy artillery. American officers and troops declared that they distinctly heard the voices of American deserters among the rebels.

Progress of Pacification.

In January, 1902, the prospects for the pacification of the whole Philippine archipelago were very promising, as the insurgents everywhere were broken up into small bands, and everywhere they were fleeing for refuge, or were surrendering, or were captured or killed. American expeditions under Colonels Wint and Wells destroyed barracks and hamlets with rations enough to keep twenty thousand Filipinos six months, near Loboo, in Batangas province. A number of insurgent officers surrendered to Generals Bell and Anderson in Batangas province in January, 1902. The native governors and presidentes were coöperating with the American authorities in suppressing the insurgents and the ladrones. The ladrones, or robbers, were very troublesome in many localities of the islands. Small bands of ladrones made raids on towns, and the native constabulary were kept busy in suppressing them.

"Water Cure."

Charges of cruelty against American military officers in torturing Filipinos by administering what was known as the "water cure" aroused indignation in the United States, and the government ordered an investigation, which resulted in implicating several prominent American army officers, who accordingly were tried by court martial, but were acquitted after exhaustive trials.

Waller and Smith Courts-Martial.

There were other charges of cruelty against American army officers, who also were tried by court-martial. Thus Major Littleton W. T. Waller was tried for causing a number of Filipino prisoners to be shot on charges of treachery and cruelty to American soldiers; but, after a long trial, Major Waller was acquitted by the court-martial, April 13, 1902. In the trial of Major Waller the claim was made that he acted under the orders of his superior commander, General Jacob Hurd Smith. That caused President Roosevelt to order a court-martial for the trial of General Smith, who was accused of giving orders to reduce the island of Samar to "a howling wilderness," to kill and burn, to shoot every male native of Samar over ten years of age capa-

ble of bearing arms. The trial ended in the acquittal of General Smith, but President Roosevelt placed him on the retired list.

Crimes of Ladrones.

Ladrones continued active in Luzon, Leyte and other islands, committing many robberies and murders, both upon friendly natives and upon American troops; and the native constabulary found difficulty in coping with them and suppressing them, so that the assistance of the American troops was called in to suppress them.

Moro Revolt.

For some time there had been a critical state of affairs in the island of Mindanao, where a revolt of the Moro tribes was suppressed only after many skirmishes. The Sultan of Bacolod, especially, was very defiant, challenging the Americans to fight. When Colonel Frank D. Baldwin wrote him that the Americans did not want to interfere with the religion, polygamy or slavery prevailing among the Moros the Sultan sent this defiant reply:

Bacolod Sultan's Defiant Reply.

"We ask you to retire to Malabang. We do not want you in the Lake Lamao district unless you will join our religion and adopt our customs. In case you do not so retire, all the dattos will make war on you, because here there is but one religion, that of Stamboul."

Moro Defeats.

The Moro Sultans finally became so hostile that a small American expedition under Captain John J. Pershing was sent to chastise them. After four days' fighting, September 29-October 2, 1902, Captain Pershing took a strong Moro fort by storm, killing a Sultan.

Bacolod Sultan's Defiance.

To General Sumner's friendly overtures the Sultan of Bacolod defiantly answered: "The Sultan of Bacolod desires war forthwith. He wishes to maintain the religion of Mohammed. Cease sending letters. What we want is war. We do not desire your friendship."

Sultan Chastised.

The Sultan fortified his strongholds, and Captain Pershing was sent to chastise him. On the approach of the expedition the Sultan disavowed any hostile intentions; but after the retirement of the expedition he again became hostile, calling the Americans "hogs who eat hogs," and challenging them to fight. The Sultan was finally brought to terms by the storming and capture of the Bacolod fort late in 1902.

Friars' Lands.

The question of the disposition of the friars' lands in the Philippines all along had engaged the attention of the United States authorities. These landholdings were one of the most prolific sources of discontent among the natives and the main cause of their rebellions. By 1902 the friars were disposed to sell their lands provided they could get what they considered a fair price for them. The lands were valued variously at from three million to seven and a half million dollars of United States money. The question was one of the most serious facing the American government, as the Catholic Church outside of the islands was disposed to sympathize with the friars; while the Fili-

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RUSSIAN PRIEST VISITING A MILITARY HOSPITAL NEAR MANILA

pino Christians, nearly all of them Roman Catholics, were bitterly and irreconcilably hostile to the friars, and insisted upon their removal from the islands and the acquisition of their lands. The United States authorities were anxious for a peaceful settlement whereby the lands of the friars could be acquired peacefully on terms of fair compensation to the friars. To accomplish this object, Governor Taft was sent on a diplomatic mission to Rome, and he secured an amicable and fair adjustment of the question with the Pope.

Expansionists and Anti-Imperialists.

Though the administration of President McKinley was sustained in its policy of retaining the Philippines, there was a powerful minority in the United States in favor of granting the Filipinos their independence. Generally, the Republican party favored the retention of the islands, and the Democratic party opposed such retention, though there were exceptions in both parties to the general attitude of these parties on the Philippine question. The expansionists, as they called themselves, advocated the retention of the Philippines for various reasons—for their commercial value, for their mineral wealth, for their valuable woods, for their fruits, for their agricultural products, etc.; for purposes of "benevolent assimilation," the elevation and advancement of the inhabitants, etc. The anti-imperialists, as they styled themselves, advocated granting the Filipinos their national independence as the only just course of dealing with them, as in accordance with the principles of the Declaration of Independence that all just government rests on the "consent of the governed." The anti-imperialists often quoted President McKinley as saying, in the first instance, that "forcible annexation is not to be thought of, as that would be criminal aggression." The champion of the Republican expansionists in the United States Senate was Albert J. Beveridge, of Indiana; and the chief of the Republican anti-imperialists in the same body were George Frisbie Hoar, of Massachusetts; Eugene Hale, of Maine; William Ernest Mason, of Illinois, and George L. Wellington of Maryland. Senator Hoar was especially severe on the Philippine policy of the administration, his speeches in denunciation of that policy being as bold and outspoken as those of the elder Pitt in condemnation of the course of Lord North's Ministry toward the Anglo-American colonies before and during the American Revolution. Thomas Brackett Reed, of Maine, ex-Speaker of the National House of Representatives, was one of the most bitter of the Republican anti-imperialists, and he retired from public life because of disgust at the Philippine policy of his party, and refused to take the stump in the Presidential campaign of 1900. William Jennings Bryan, the Democratic Presidential candidate in 1896 and 1900 against McKinley,

was very diligent in denouncing the injustice of ruling the Filipinos without their consent. John Tyler Morgan, of Alabama, was the great Democratic expansionist in the United States Senate. The newspapers owned by William Randolph Hearst in New York, Chicago and San Francisco were the great Democratic expansion journals, being the exception to the well-nigh universal Democratic anti-imperialist press. It was charged by the anti-imperialists that American military authorities in the Philippines had forbidden Filipinos to read the American Declaration of Independence, on the ground that it is "an incendiary document." Senator Hoar made this charge in the United States Senate, and it was not answered by his expansionist opponents in that body. The expansionists were in the habit of alluding to Jefferson's acquisition of Louisiana in justification of the retention of the Philippines, strangely overlooking the fact that there was no parallel in the two cases, as the Louisianians did not forcibly resist acquisition, and as they were given the rights of American citizenship and their vast province was made an integral part of the United States and converted into States of the Union, while the Filipinos are denied the rights of American citizenship and their islands are held only as American possessions and not as integral parts of the United States. For that reason the anti-imperialists denounced the Republican Philippine policy as imperialism.

Samoan Outbreak of 1899 and Its Settlement.

Under the Tripartite Treaty of Berlin, in 1889, the Samoan, or Navigator's Islands were under the joint protection of Germany, Great Britain and the United States, and the arrangement worked satisfactorily for ten years; after which international interest in the Samoan question was renewed by a new disputed succession to the Samoan kingship and by a rivalry of the commercial interests of Germany with those of Great Britain and the United States. The joint protectorate was administered by the German, British and American consuls—Herr F. Rose, T. B. Cusack-Smith and L. W. Osborne—along with the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Samoa, an American, William Lea Chambers, of Sheffield, Alabama. After the death of King Malietoa Laupepa, in August, 1898, his predecessor, Mataafa, who had been driven from the Samoan throne and exiled in 1893, returned, and was reëlected king by a vote of the Samoan people six times as large as that of his rival, Malietoa Tanus, November 14, 1898; but Mataafa's partisans disputed the election as illegal, because the forms of law had not been observed, and because Mataafa had renounced all title to the throne when he returned. The dispute was referred to Chief Justice Chambers, who, after hearing the arguments of both sides, decided in favor of Malietoa Tanus, on the last day of the year 1898. The

British and American consuls sustained the Chief Justice; but Herr Rose, the German consul, and Johannes Raffel, President of the Town Council of Apia, and Herr Fries, Chief of Police of Apia, both also Germans, supported Mataafa, and civil war at once broke out among the natives. As Malietoa's troops were defeated on New Year's Day, 1899, both Malietoa and Chief Justice Chambers fled to the British warship *Porpoise;* but the Chief Justice was restored to his office by British marines. The United States warship *Philadelphia,* under Rear-Admiral Albert Kautz, arrived March 8, 1899; and, after a conference with the German, British and American consuls, Admiral Kautz issued a proclamation declaring Mataafa's government illegal and ordering his followers to disperse; but Consul Rose issued a counter proclamation in favor of Mataafa, whose followers, thus encouraged, fortified houses in Apia. Thereupon Admiral Kautz issued an ultimatum demanding the evacuation of those houses under penalty of bombardment. As the ultimatum was disregarded, the American warship *Philadelphia* and the British warships *Porpoise* and *Royalist* shelled the villages occupied by Mataafa's followers, firing many towns and doing much damage, March 15, 1899. That night Mataafa's supporters attacked Apia, killing an American sailor and wounding several. Mataafa's partisans were repulsed in an attack on the American consulate, killing an American seaman, March 17, 1899. After the crowning of Malietoa Tanus, March 23, 1899, the British and American consuls sought to persuade Mataafa to relinquish his claims, but without success. At Vailele, April 1, 1899, the British and Americans were defeated and driven back to their ships, leaving their dead and wounded behind them, six British and six Americans being killed, all being beheaded by Mataafa's victorious followers, who lost forty-three killed and fifty wounded. The British and American warships bombarded the fortifications at Vailima, the home of the late Robert Louis Stevenson, the novelist, April 22 and 23, 1899, compelling Mataafa's adherents to retreat.

A German-British-American Joint High Commission, consisting of Baron Speck von Sternberg, C. N. E. Eliot and Judge Bartlett Tripp, visited Samoa early in the summer and settled the trouble by inducing the rival kings to abdicate and establishing a temporary provisional government. Early in November, 1899, Germany, Great Britain and the United States arrived at an understanding concerning Samoan affairs; the tripartite protectorate and the native kingship being abolished permanently, Great Britain retiring from Samoa altogether and the entire Samoan group being divided between Germany and the United States. The United States received the island of Tutuila, on

which was its coaling and naval station of Pago Pago, along with the adjacent islets; while Germany obtained the remainder of the Samoan group, compensating Great Britain by ceding to her the Tonga Islands, Savage Island and the two easterly islands of the Solomon group. The German claims for damages for losses from the British-American bombardments were referred to King Oscar II. of Sweden for arbitration; and three years later—October 22, 1902—that monarch decided in favor of Germany's claim of half a million dollars' damages, sustaining German action in Samoa on every point.

Possessions of the United States.

The detached territorial possessions of the United States—the regions not embraced within the Union of States and the contiguous Territories—now were Alaska, Porto Rico and the American insular possessions in the Pacific, namely: the Hawaiian Islands, Tutuila and the adjacent islets, with Guam, the Philippines and Wake Island. The last-named is about halfway between Guam and the Philippines, and was seized by the United States navy after the occupation of the Philippines and Guam, being held for a coaling station.

The Hague Peace Conference.

In the spring of 1899 the Czar Nicholas II. of Russia proposed a general disarmament of the Great Powers of the world and the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means. In accordance with his suggestion, all the nations of Europe, great and small, along with four Asiatic nations—China, Japan, Siam and Persia, and the two great North American republics—the United States of America and the United States of Mexico, appointed delegates who met in a Peace Conference at The Hague, the capital of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, in the summer and fall of 1899, and, after mature deliberation, agreed upon a plan for the adjustment of disputes between nations through a Permanent International Court of Arbitration sitting at The Hague.

Cuba and Porto Rico.

After the Spanish-American War both Cuba and Porto Rico passed quietly under the military authority of the United States, Cuba being held thus until the establishment of a republican form of government by the Cubans themselves in the spring of 1902, while Porto Rico was governed thus until the establishment of a colonial government by act of the United States Congress, which act went into effect May 1, 1900, thus organizing Porto Rico as a dependency of the United States, with a Governor and Legislative Council appointed by the President and a Legislative Assembly elected by the people of Porto Rico themselves, the island being represented at Washington by a Commissioner, who was not given a seat in Congress, as was the Delegate from the new Territory of Hawaii. The temporary tariff on imports from Porto Rico to the United States and from the United States to Porto Rico was opposed bitterly by the Democrats and by a large number of Re-

publicans, who held that Porto Rico was an integral part of the United States and its people American citizens; that the proposed tariff was therefore unconstitutional, and that the Constitution follows the flag; while the supporters of the administration and the majority in Congress maintained that Porto Rico and the Philippines were not parts, but only possessions, of the United States, and their people not American citizens; that the Constitution does not necessarily follow the flag, and that Congress has full power over the territorial possessions of the United States—a contention which, in the main, was upheld by the United States Supreme Court in May, 1901.

Gold Standard Act.

The most important measure of Congress in 1900 was the Gold Standard Act, which provided that the gold dollar shall be the standard unit of value; that all forms of money issued or coined in the United States shall be kept "at a parity of value" with this gold standard, and that United States notes and Treasury notes shall be redeemed in gold coin, for which purpose a balance of one hundred and fifty million dollars of gold coin or bullion was to be kept in the National treasury.

Presidential Campaign of 1900 and Reelection of McKinley.

We now come to the Presidential campaign of 1900. On June 21st the Republican National Convention at Philadelphia nominated President McKinley for reëlection, with Governor Theodore Roosevelt, of New York, for Vice President, Vice President Hobart having died the previous year; the Republican platform endorsed President McKinley's policy and administration. On July 5th the Democratic National Convention at Kansas City, Missouri, renominated William Jennings Bryan, of Nebraska, for President, and ex-Vice President Adlai Ewing Stevenson, of Illinois, for Vice President, on a platform denouncing imperialism and trusts. On the same day—July 5, 1900—the Silver Republicans, or Lincoln Republicans, in a National Convention also at Kansas City, Missouri, also nominated Bryan and Stevenson for President and Vice President respectively. On May 10th the Regular, or Fusion Populists, in a National Convention at Sioux Falls, South Dakota, nominated Mr. Bryan for President and Charles Arnette Towne, of Minnesota, for Vice President; but after the nomination of Bryan and Stevenson by the Democrats and the Lincoln Republicans, Mr. Towne withdrew in favor of Mr. Stevenson, who then was accepted as the Regular Populist candidate for Vice President. On the very day of the Fusion, or Regular Populist nominations—May 10, 1900—the Anti-Fusion, or Middle-of-the-Road Populists, in a National Convention at Kansas City, Missouri, nominated Wharton Barker, of Pennsylvania, for President, and Ignatius Donnelly, of Minnesota, for Vice President. On the very same day—May 10, 1900—the Socialists, or Social Democratic party, in a National Convention at Indianapolis,

nominated Eugene Victor Debs, of Indiana, for President, and Job Harriman, of California, for Vice President. On June 6th the Socialist-Labor party, in a National Convention in New York city, nominated Joseph Francis Maloney, of Massachusetts, for President, and Valentine Remmel, of Pennsylvania, for Vice President. On June 28th the Prohibition party, in a National Convention at Chicago, nominated John Granville Woolley, of Illinois, for President, and Henry Brewer Metcalf, of Rhode Island, for Vice President. On August 16th the Liberty party, or National Anti-Imperialist League, in a Convention at Indianapolis, nominated Bryan and Stevenson for President and Vice President. On September 5th the National party, Gold Democrats and Republican Anti-Imperialists, in a Convention in New York city, nominated United States Senator Donelson Caffery, of Louisiana, for President, and Archibald Murray Howe, of Massachusetts, for Vice President; but both nominees declined. The Union Reform party for Direct Legislation nominated Seth H. Ellis, of Ohio, for President, and Samuel T. Nicholson, of Pennsylvania, for Vice President. The United Christian party nominated the Rev. Dr. Silas C. Swallow, of Pennsylvania, for President, and the Rev. Charles M. Sheldon, of Kansas, for Vice President. Thus there were eight sets of candidates nominated; but the main interest, of course, centered in the candidates of the two great parties, and the canvass was a very lively one. The Democrats made "Imperialism" the chief issue. The election took place on November 6, 1900, and resulted in the reëlection of President McKinley. The House of Representatives chosen at the same time was Republican by a reduced majority. President McKinley's second inauguration, on March 4, 1901, was a very imposing demonstration; and his old Cabinet was reappointed, and was reconfirmed by the United States Senate, which had been convened in extra session.

Islands Purchased from Spain.

On November 7, 1900, a treaty had been signed at Washington between the American Secretary of State and the Spanish Minister to the United States, by which Spain ceded Cagayan and Sibutu, the only islands in Oceanica remaining in Spain's possession, to the United States for one hundred thousand dollars.

Isthmian Canal Commission.

For many years schemes were on foot for the construction of an isthmian canal through Nicaragua, connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, to be owned or controlled by the United States; and many companies had been organized for the purpose. In 1899 President McKinley appointed a commission, with Rear-Admiral John Grimes Walker as chairman, to examine the Nicaragua and Panama routes and to report as to the feasibility of a canal by either route. This commission presented its preliminary report in the fall of 1900, unanimously

recommending the Nicaragua route, the report concluding with a comparison of the advantages of the Nicaragua and Panama routes. Along with the desire for this isthmian canal there was a demand in the United States for the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, concluded by the United States and Great Britain in 1850 for the joint control of any proposed isthmian canal.

The Hay-Pauncefote Treaties.

The Hay-Pauncefote Treaty for the settlement of this question, negotiated by John Hay, the American Secretary of State, and Lord Pauncefote, the British Ambassador at Washington, in February, 1900, was ratified by the United States Senate, after several weeks of discussion in executive session, by a vote of fifty-three to eighteen, with three amendments which considerably altered the character of the treaty. As the amended treaty was not accepted by Great Britain, a new Hay-Pauncefote Treaty was negotiated after Roosevelt became President. It was confirmed by the United States Senate and accepted by both nations.

Conditions Imposed on Cuba.

In the meantime a Cuban national convention had framed a constitution for the new Cuban Republic. The United States government made demands upon Cuba for coaling stations on the island and for the right to intervene to protect Cuba's independence or to restore domestic order; Cuba must not contract a debt of unreasonable dimensions, must look after the sanitation of her cities in order to prevent outbreaks of diseases like yellow fever that might be carried to the United States, and must insert an expression of gratitude for the aid of the United States in freeing the island from Spanish rule. These terms were distasteful to the Cubans, and the Cuban constitutional convention formally rejected these demands early in April, 1901; but, upon the insistence by the United States upon the acceptance of these terms, the Cuban constitutional convention finally yielded and accepted the foregoing terms as embodied in resolutions in the United States Senate introduced by Senator Platt, of Connecticut, and therefore known as "the Platt Amendment." These conditions were condemned by a large body of the American people as unjust and as being a violation of the pledge made by the United States Congress upon the eve of the Spanish-American War. They practically made Cuba a dependency of the United States.

Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo.

On May 20, 1901, a Pan-American Exposition, in which all the industries and products of the American nations were represented, was opened at Buffalo, amid imposing ceremonies; and it remained open until into the autumn, being attended by many thousands of visitors. President McKinley visited the Exposition early in September, making

Assassination of President McKinley.

an address there September 5th. The next day, Friday, September 6, 1901, while on the Exposition grounds, he was shot by an Anarchist from Detroit named Leon F. Czolgosz; and, after lingering in great pain for eight days, he died there, Saturday, September 14, 1901, to the great grief of the American people. Funeral services were held over his remains at Buffalo, Sunday, September 15th; after which his remains were conveyed to Washington, where funeral obsequies were held, Tuesday, September 17th; after which the remains of the dead President were taken to his home at Canton, Ohio, where they were interred with imposing funeral ceremonies, Thursday, September 19, 1901; the funeral day being observed appropriately by funeral services in the churches all over the country. His death was lamented in foreign lands, and King Edward's court went in mourning for one week. Czolgosz, the assassin, was tried and convicted, and was electrocuted in the State prison at Auburn, New York, on Tuesday, October 29, 1901.

Public Grief.

Obsequies.

SECTION XII.—THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

President Roosevelt.

On the day of McKinley's death Vice President Roosevelt was sworn into office and announced that he would retain his predecessor's Cabinet and would continue his policies. Thus came to power one of the most picturesque and forceful figures in American annals. For more than a decade his biography is practically the history of the United States.

Anthracite Coal Strike.

In May, 1902, a great strike broke out in the anthracite coal region of Pennsylvania, and lasted until late in October, when it was settled by an arbitration commission appointed by President Roosevelt, the commission's verdict being accepted by both sides; but the results of the strike lasted all winter, causing a general coal famine and much suffering throughout the country. The elections of 1901 and 1902 resulted generally in favor of the Republicans, who again secured a majority in the House of Representatives in the elections in November, 1902, which were characterized by a tremendous growth in the Socialist vote.

Elections of 1902.

Cuban Republic.

The United States military control over Cuba ceased on May 20, 1902, when the newly-organized Republic of Cuba began its existence by the inauguration of the newly-elected Cuban President, Tomas Estrada Palma, and the installation of the new government, thus placing a new power among the nations of the earth. After considerable opposition in the United States Senate and after many months of delay, a reciprocity treaty was concluded between the United States and the new island republic.

Reciprocity Treaty.

British-German-Venezuelan Dispute.

In December, 1902, and January, 1903, Germany and Great Britain endeavored to compel Venezuela to pay the long-standing claims of German and British subjects against the Venezuelan government. The defiance of these two Great European Powers by Venezuela led to the blockade of La Guira, the port of Caracas, the Venezuelan capital, and the sinking of Venezuelan war vessels by German and British warships, in December, 1902. Germany took the lead in these activities and intended to seize Venezuelan territory. President Roosevelt insisted that the dispute would be arbitrated. The Kaiser refused, but was brought to terms by Roosevelt's secretly threatening to send the American fleet to Venezuelan waters. The true facts covering the matter were not revealed for more than a decade.

Isthmian Canal Bill.

After the report of President McKinley's Isthmian Canal Commission, late in 1899, the question of an isthmian canal, connecting the two great oceans by way of Nicaragua or Panama, occupied the attention of Congress, the general preference at first being for the Panama route; and measures were passed looking toward the construction of a canal by that route. The friends of the Panama route were quite active to defeat the Nicaragua canal scheme, while the great transcontinental railroads were working quietly against the building of any isthmian canal. On January 9, 1902, the House of Representatives passed a bill in favor of a Nicaragua canal, but the Senate rejected the bill. In March, 1902, a protocol was signed by Secretary of State John Hay and Senor Herran, the Colombian Minister at Washington—therefore called the Hay-Herran Treaty—which provided for the granting of the right of way across the Isthmus of Panama by the Colombian government, in return for the payment of ten million dollars and an annual rental of $250,000. The French company agreed to sell its rights on the Isthmus for $40,000,000. In June, 1902, both Houses of the United States Congress passed an act providing for the construction of an isthmian canal by the Panama route, and the bill was signed promptly by President Roosevelt. The United States Senate speedily ratified the canal treaty between the United States of America and the United States of Colombia. The Colombian House of Representatives favored the treaty; but the Colombian Senate rejected it in August, 1903.

New Republic of Panama.

The failure of the Colombian government to ratify the Hay-Herran Treaty for the building of the Panama Canal by the United States government caused well-nigh universal dissatisfaction in the State of Panama and led to the secession of that State from the United States of Colombia. This secession was the result of a revolution originating in an uprising against the Colombian government in the city of Panama

on the evening of November 3, 1903, when the Colombian commanders there were taken prisoners by the Panama rebels. A Colombian gunboat in the harbor deserted to the insurgents; but another Colombian gunboat, the *Bogota*, bombarded the city of Panama, but was driven off by the fire from the forts and from the other gunboat. Colombia was prevented from reconquering her seceded State by the action of the United States government, which came to the assistance of Panama by sending the cruisers *Nashville* and *Boston*, the former arriving at Colon the day before the Panama outbreak, and the latter reaching the city of Panama on the following day. The Colombian government protested to the United States government and to the whole world against this action of the United States. Colombia was prevented from reaching Panama by sending troops overland on account of impassable barriers, and consequently the new Republic of Panama was established firmly and was recognized at once by the United States and the Great Powers of Europe. The new republic sent a Frenchman, Philippe Bunau-Varilla, as its Minister to the United States; and a treaty was negotiated at once between Panama and the United States for the construction of the Panama Canal. Dr. Manuel Amador was the leader of the Panama secession movement, and a self-constituted junta of three men acted as a provisional government for the new Republic of Panama.

Great Fire in Baltimore.

On Sunday and Monday, February 7 and 8, 1904, a great fire swept over Baltimore, destroying an area of eighty blocks of the business portion of the city, thus reducing over twenty-five hundred buildings to ashes and causing a loss of over seventy million dollars.

Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis.

For some time preparations had been made for a World's Fair, or Louisiana Purchase Exposition, at St. Louis, in honor of the purchase of Louisiana from France in 1803; and this Exposition was opened April 30, 1904, with imposing ceremonies. The Exposition was in session until fall and was visited by millions of people. The various nations of the world made creditable exhibits of their progress in the useful arts; and the general progress of the world since the great World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago, eleven years before, was portrayed very clearly. Especially was the progress in electrical invention fully shown.

Presidential Campaign of 1904 and Reelection of Roosevelt.

The Republican National Convention in Chicago, on June 23, 1904, nominated President Roosevelt for a full term as President, with United States Senator Charles Warren Fairbanks, of Indiana, for Vice-President. The Democratic National Convention in St. Louis, on July 9, 1904, nominated Judge Alton Brooks Parker, of New York, for President, with ex-United States Senator Henry Gassaway Davis, of West Virginia, for Vice-President. The Socialist party, in a National Con-

vention in Chicago, on May 6, 1904, renominated Eugene Victor Debs, of Indiana, for President, with Benjamin Hanford, of New York, for Vice-President, on a platform declaring for the public ownership and operation of industries and public utilities. The Socialist-Labor party, in a National Convention in New York City, on July 6, 1904, nominated Charles H. Corregan, of New York, for President, with William W. Cox, of Illinois, for Vice-President. The Populists, in their National Convention at Springfield, Illinois, on July 5, 1904, nominated Thomas E. Watson, of Georgia, for President, with Thomas H. Tibbles, of Nebraska, for Vice-President. The Prohibitionists, in their National Convention, at Indianapolis, on June 30, 1904, nominated the Rev. Dr. Silas C. Swallow, of Pennsylvania, for President, with George Washington Carroll, of Texas, for Vice-President. As the difference between the two great parties at this time was only a difference in name and in nothing else, the campaign was a very spiritless one, lacking wholly in enthusiasm except for Roosevelt. The result was one-sided, President Roosevelt receiving a majority of almost two hundred in the Electoral College and a popular plurality of over two and a half million, while the Republicans obtained a majority of over one hundred in the new National House of Representatives chosen at the same time, the Democratic party thus meeting with the most crushing defeat in its history. A surprising result of the election was the tremendous increase in the Socialist vote, which reached almost half a million, making the Socialists the third party. The Prohibitionists polled about a quarter of a million votes, the Populists about a hundred thousand and the Socialist-Labor party thirty-three thousand.

Dominican Finances.

By a *modus vivendi* of March 31, 1905, it was agreed with Santo Domingo that until the convention of February 7th was ratified the United States should guarantee the integrity of the Dominican territory and assist in the preservation of order, if allowed to assume control over the finances of the republic. The contraction of debts during disturbed political conditions—some by the regular government and some by the revolution government, and many of which were of doubtful validity—had compelled this move. These debts and claims amounted to over thirty million dollars and the creditors had been unable to enforce collection. Therefore, on March 25, 1905, it was arranged that a United States commissioner should temporarily collect the customs revenues, though it was not until February 25, 1907, that the treaty was ratified. In the meantime, however, the debts had been reduced by about thirteen million dollars—claims for this amount being considered unjustifiable—and in payment of the balance bonds for twenty million dollars were issued, to be retired by an adjustment of the revenues,

certain amounts being paid each month to liquidate the bonds and the balance to the Dominican government.

Other Events in 1905.

In 1905 another world's fair was held at Portland, Oregon, from May till October—the Lewis and Clark Exposition, commemorating the discovery and exploration in 1804-06 of the rivers forming the Columbia. Other events in 1905 were the establishment on April 27, by Andrew Carnegie, of a fund of ten million dollars for pensioning college professors (increased by five million dollars April 3, 1908); the gift, on June 30, by John D. Rockefeller, of ten million dollars to the General Education Board (increased by thirty-two million dollars on February 7, 1907); the teamster's strike at Chicago, April-July; the outbreak of yellow fever in Mississippi and Louisiana during the summer and the consequent dispute concerning jurisdiction of authorities; and the discovery in Paris, on April 14, by Ambassador Porter, of the bones of John Paul Jones. The body was brought to the United States, temporarily interred at Annapolis, July 24, and subesquently reinterred in Bancroft Hall, April 24, 1906, to await the erection of a permanent resting-place.

Life Insurance Investigations.

The year 1905 also witnessed the scandal in connection with life insurance companies in New York. The disclosures were directly the outcome of disputes and subsequent accusations and recriminations between officers of the Equitable Life Assurance Society. An investigation revealed an infamous condition of affairs and finally the controlling stock of the Society, owned by James H. Hyde, was purchased by Thomas F. Ryan and placed in trust with three eminent men as voting trustees, and the administrative departments of the company were completely rehabilitated. These disclosures also compelled an exhaustive investigation of other New York insurance companies by a legislative committee known as the Armstrong Committee. This investigation began on September 6, 1905, and brought to light many questionable transactions. The facts that contributions of huge sums were made to political parties (in one case about one hundred and fifty thousand dollars in three years); that "yellow dog" funds were maintained to influence advantageous and ward off hostile legislation (one company expended eight hundred and eighty-five thousand dollars in five years); that vast sums were paid to persons who rendered no adequate service, and that false reports of conditions were rendered and "fake" entries made in books to cover iniquitous uses of money, were some of the conditions revealed. On February 22, 1906, the Armstrong Committee presented its report to the legislature and many of its recommendations were afterward enacted into laws. Many of the officers, directors and other officials of the companies resigned or were dismissed; many were indicted

and a few convicted for grand larceny and forgery; and numerous suits instituted to recover the misappropriated funds. Some of these funds were returned but only a small portion. Subsequently many of the States enacted such drastic insurance laws that the companies found it unprofitable to continue business within their borders and withdrew.

Convictions of Bank Defaulters and Others.

The misappropriation of funds was not, however, confined to officials of insurance companies. Banks, trust funds, government, state and municipal treasuries, etc., were remorselessly looted, but many of the defaulters were indicted, convicted and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. There were also many instances of bribing of legislators. Prominent among the numerous cases were the following: F. G. Bigelow, president of the First National Bank of Milwaukee, sentenced for ten years, June 10, 1905, for embezzling one million, four hundred and fifty thousand dollars; the sentence of twelve years, imposed August 3, 1906, on ex-Mayor Belcher of Paterson, N. J., for looting a trust fund and building and loan association; F. H. Hipple, president of the Real Estate Trust Company of Philadelphia, committed suicide and on August 28, 1906, the bank failed for ten million dollars; Paul O. Stensland, president of the Milwaukee Avenue State Bank of Chicago, sentenced to ten years on September 26, 1906, for embezzling one million dollars; John R. Walsh, of the Chicago National Bank, in January, 1908, sentenced to a long term for diverting three million dollars to his personal use; the "boodle aldermen" of St. Louis, Mo., in 1904 sentenced to long terms; the conviction, in 1904, of United States Senator Burton of Kansas for accepting a bribe, subsequently serving six months; the conviction of numerous postoffice officials for complicity in defrauding the government; the conviction, on July 6, 1905, of Senator Mitchell of Oregon, in connection with the land fraud cases; the expulsion on February 27, 1905, of four California state senators for accepting bribes, and on June 21, 1906, of a member of the Massachusetts legislature for the same reason; the conviction, on April 13, 1906, of Greene and Gaynor, the Savannah, Ga., harbor improvement defrauders, and sentence to four years and fines of five hundred and seventy-five thousand, seven hundred and forty-nine dollars each; and in January, 1908, the beginning of an investigation into the Pennsylvania state capitol frauds.

Legislation enacted in 1906.

In 1906 many important events occurred. Several much needed laws were passed by Congress, including the Pure Food Bill (taking effect January 1, 1907), prohibiting adulteration of foods, drugs, etc., and compelling the placing of an inspection label on all cans, packages, etc.; the meat inspection law (approved June 30, and confirmed by the act of March 4, 1907), regulating the inspection of meat foods; and the

statehood bill, signed by President Roosevelt June 16, 1906 (Oklahoma afterward ratified her section of the bill and was admitted with Indian Territory as a state in November, 1907, but Arizona voted adversely on the proposition and nullified the provisions enabling her and New Mexico to become a state). During the year numerous race riots occurred—at Springfield, Ohio, February 28, at Springfield, Mo., April 15, and at Atlanta, Ga., in September, the city being placed under martial law. During April and May the coal miners of Pennsylvania were on strike but finally accepted the operators' terms. On April 18 San Francisco, Cal., was wrecked by an earthquake and much of the city destroyed by a fire that raged for two days. The property loss was estimated at over three hundred million dollars and four hundred and twenty-five lives were lost. On May 24 the union of the Presbyterian Church in the United States and the Cumberland Presbyterian Church was effected.

Race Riots.

San Francisco Disaster.

Brownsville Affair.

In a riot at Brownsville, Texas, it was alleged that several soldiers of a negro battalion of the twenty-fifth infantry killed and wounded a number of citizens; after investigation, President Roosevelt, in November, 1906, disbanded the battalion "without honor" though the order was later amended. The whole matter was subjected to a searching congressional investigation.

Japanese Troubles.

In October, 1906, occurred the agitation in San Francisco concerning the exclusion of Japanese subjects from the regular schools. Much excitement prevailed but the controversy was amicably adjusted.

Cuba Again Under United States Authority.

During these years much had transpired in Cuba. President Palma had credibly served through his first term, was again elected, as candidate of the Moderate Party, on September 23, 1905, and reinaugurated in May, 1906. The Liberal Party, however, charged that fraud and corruption were practiced in the elections and soon the island was in a state bordering on revolution. Being unable to adjust their disputes among themselves, Secretary Taft and Assistant Secretary of State Bacon were sent in September, 1906, to arbitrate. They failed to bring matters to a successful issue, and as Palma resigned the presidency, Taft proclaimed the island under United States authority, and on September 29, installed himself provisional governor. He was succeeded, on October 12, by Charles E. Magoon. The insurgents were speedily pacified, and after a census had been taken and published in December, 1907, new elections were ordered to be held in December, 1908. The island was again restored to the Cubans early in 1909.

Panama Canal Progress.

Great progress was made on the Panama Canal after 1903, and many alterations in the plans of construction were made, after much debate Congress finally deciding in favor of the high-level lock type,

and President Roosevelt approving June 29, 1906. Meanwhile the personnel of the Canal Commission had undergone many changes. Finally, in April, 1907, Lieutenant Colonel George W. Goethals, of the Army engineer corps, took charge. Labor difficulties also arose, and as West Indian negroes proved unsatisfactory and as the proposed plan to use Chinese coolie labor was rejected, it was decided to build the canal by contract; no satisfactory bids were received, however, and the government decided to continue the work. The expenditures for purchase, plant, etc., up to May, 1908, amounted to more than one hundred and forty million dollars; more than forty thousand persons were employed on the work, and nearly fifty million cubic yards of earth and stone had been removed.

Self-Government in Philippine Islands and Other Events.

The Philippine Islands had also experienced many changes and great progress. Early in 1904 Governor Taft resigned and was succeeded by Luke E. Wright, who held office until April, 1906, when Henry C. Ide became Governor-General, he in turn giving way, on September 20, 1906, to James F. Smith. After American occupation, order was restored and the insurgent forces speedily conquered and pacified. Beneficial laws were passed and efficient civil government established, with the design of ultimately allowing the Filipinos self-government. Section seven of the Act of Congress of July 1, 1902, provided that should the islands be peaceful for two years after the publication of a census, an election should take place of native delegates to a general assembly to take over the legislative powers exercised by the Philippine Commission. This census was published March 27, 1905, and peaceful conditions having prevailed for two years, President Roosevelt, on March 28, 1907, issued the formal order for the election. This was held July 30, 1907, and on October 16 Secretary Taft opened the new assembly of which the Philippine Commission comprised the upper chamber and the native delegates the lower. The islands are also allowed to send two commissioners to Congress, the first of these being accorded seats in that body in February, 1908. Other events were the opening of the first postal savings bank, October 1, 1906; the approval of a congressional act, March 4, 1907, establishing an agricultural bank; the destruction of Iloilo, Panay, by fire, April 19, 1907; and the passage of a bill prohibiting the importation of opium except for medicinal purposes after March 1, 1908.

Important Events in 1907.

Other events at home in 1907 were the creation, on March 12, by Mrs. Russell Sage, of a fund of ten million dollars for philanthropic work; an additional gift of six million dollars by Andrew Carnegie to the Carnegie Institute at Pittsburgh; the disastrous floods in Pittsburgh and vicinity, inflicting damages of ten million dollars; the ratification

by Congress of eleven conventions of the second Hague Peace Conference held June 15-October 18, the Tercentenary Exposition at Jamestown, Va., April-November; the approval of a new immigration law February 20, increasing taxation on aliens; the opening of the Central American Peace Conference at Washington, November 17; the decision by the Supreme Court that the Isle of Pines (concerning the jurisdiction over which there had been much dispute) was not American territory; the passage by Congress of an act prohibiting contributions to political parties by corporations; and the departure of the naval fleet, on December 16, on a trip around the world.

The Trust Problem.

Meanwhile the subject of industrial and commercial combinations, popularly known as trusts, had been agitating the country, and it was alleged that many of these had been operating in unlawful restraint of trade. One of the first important decisions was rendered on March 14, 1904, when the Supreme Court, by a vote of five to four, declared that the Northern Securities Company was operating in violation of the Sherman anti-trust law and was therefore illegal. In rapid succession during the next three years followed indictments too numerous to specify, but prominent among which were those against the so-called Beef Trust, July 1, 1905; against five Toledo, Ohio, ice dealers, who, on June 25, 1906, were each fined five thousand dollars and sentenced to one year imprisonment; against the harvester trust; against the American Seating Company, March 12, 1907 (fines aggregating forty-three thousand dollars imposed May 20, 1907); against the American Tobacco Company, July 10, 1907; against the Standard Oil Company; against the powder trust, July 30, 1907; and (by the Texas state authorities) against the Waters-Pierce Oil Company, a fine of one million, six hundred and twenty-three thousand, nine hundred dollars being imposed June 1, 1907, and in 1908 the company being prohibited from further transaction of business in the state. Closely allied with these suits were those instituted for violations of the Interstate commerce act and its amendment, known as the Elkins act. Hundreds of cases, involving thousands of counts, were brought against all classes of corporations for rebating, and in several instances convictions were secured.

Rebate Suits.

Standard Oil Case.

Probably the most widely known of the corporations so indicted was the Standard Oil Company and its numerous subsidiary companies, against which a large number of cases were conducted, the most important decision against the company being made on August 3, 1907, when Judge K. M. Landis, in the United States District Court at Chicago, found the Indiana corporation guilty of rebating on one thou-

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sand four hundred and sixty-two counts, and imposed the maximum fine of twenty-nine million, two hundred and forty thousand dollars. The company appealed, however, and on July 22, 1908, the judgment was reversed by the Seventh District Court of Appeals at Chicago. Many of the states also started suits against the company, notably Ohio, Missouri, Kansas, Tennessee and Texas, but with the exception of the last two no actual results were accomplished.

Railway Rate Cases.

The years 1906-'07 were also prolific in enactments by various state legislatures requiring railroads to lower their interstate passenger rates. Many required that a rate of two cents per mile be charged, though some allowed more. Some of these laws, however, were declared by the courts to be unconstitutional, notably that of Pennsylvania, on January 28, 1908, and those of North Carolina and Minnesota, March 23, 1908. Another act passed by Congress, known as the Hepburn act, became operative May 1, 1908, and under its terms common carriers can not lawfully transport from one state to another any commodities in which they have a commercial interest. As this particularly affected the group of allied anthracite coal roads of Pennsylvania, whose earnings in large part came from the mining, transportation, and sale of coal, the law was rigorously attacked, and a decision rendered declaring it unconstitutional.

Financial Panic in New York.

In October, 1907, began a financial panic in New York City. Confidence in the management of several banking institutions had become impaired and runs on a number of these continued for several days, but though several were forced to suspend during this and succeeding months, sufficient aid was extended by the national government, the clearing house association and by private individuals to prevent a more serious disaster. The subsequent exposures of questionable transactions by bank officials caused the suicide and death of several and the indictment of others. The general business activity of the country was seriously affected by the panic for a long time and the recovery was slow and gradual. The financial stringency, however, resulted in legislation looking toward a more elastic currency.

Currency Legislation.

The law, known as the Emergency Currency Bill, was passed by the House on May 27, 1908, and by the Senate May 30, and was a compromise between the bills known as the Aldrich and the Vreeland currency bills. The bill provided for the formation of incorporated national currency associations comprising not less than ten banks each, with power, during financial stringencies, to issue emergency currency up to five hundred million dollars, if proper collateral be deposited. This currency was so taxed as to insure its retirement when its need had passed.

North Pole Reached.

In September, 1909, the world was startled by the report that an American, Dr. Frederick A. Cook, had reached the North Pole on April 21, 1908. According to Cook's story he had made the trip to the Pole from northern Grant Land accompanied by two Eskimos. A week after this astonishing story was cabled frem Denmark, whither Cook had been taken by steamer from Greenland, the ship *Roosevelt* reached Battle Harbor, Labrador, bearing the returning members of the Peary exploring expedition, and Peary sent out word that he had "nailed the Stars and Stripes to the Pole" on April 6, 1909. Immediately there developed a bitter controversy between partisans of the two men. For a time many people believed Cook's story, but ultimately it became clear that he had inflicted a gigantic hoax upon the world. A few years before he had claimed to have climbed Mt. McKinley in Alaska, and in a book about the exploit had even printed a supposed picture of the summit. Later it was proven that the picture was taken at the top of a mountain less than half as tall as Mt. McKinley. When the summit of the great peak itself was finally reached, climbers found that it in no way resembled the description given by Cook. For a time Cook was able to make much money lecturing about his alleged trip to the Pole, but ultimately he was completely discredited. At present he is serving a term in a Federal penitentiary for having used the mails in connection with fraudulent oil schemes.

A Heroic Quest.

For a time Cook's claims deprived Peary of some of the glory to which he was entitled, but ultimately he was universally recognized as the first explorer to penetrate to the boreal center, where there is no east, no west, no north, only south. It was the culmination of twenty years of Arctic endeavor, and the trip was Peary's eighth expedition. Peary, his faithful negro helper Matthew Henson, and four Eskimos, formed the party who actually reached the Pole.

Large Philanthropic Bequests and Gifts.

Notable acts of benevolence were the bequests of John Stewart Kennedy, of New York City, amounting to $25,000,000, to educational, missionary and philanthropic institutions; of Nathan Straus, $500,000 for a tubercular preventorium for children; of John D. Rockefeller of $1,000,000 for the eradication of the hookworm disease; of Miss Caroline Phelps Stokes of $3,000,000 to $5,000,000 for the erection of modern tenements and the education of negroes, Indians, and deserving white students. Princeton University received by the will of Isaac C. Wyman $3,000,000 for the proposed graduate school. William Cooper Proctor also gave $500,000 for the same purpose.

Reclamation Work.

Important policies that will forever be associated with Roosevelt's presidency are reclamation of arid lands and the conservation of natural resources. In 1902, largely through his influence, Congress passed the Great Reclamation Act, which provided for setting aside for irrigation purposes 95 per cent. of the money received from the sale of public lands in the West. In 1908 a special Reclamation Service was established to conduct the work. Many great irrigation projects were begun and vast sums were expended under the first Reclamation Act and under another act of 1910 which appropriated twenty million dollars more for the work. The land thus irrigated was sold to settlers, and the money thus recovered forms a sort of "revolving fund," for use on future projects. Millions of acres have thus been reclaimed, and an annual harvest of hundreds of millions of dollars is the desert's response to the application of water to her sun-burned valleys. Some wonderful dams have been constructed to impound the water; among the most notable being the Roosevelt Dam on Salt River in Arizona and the Shoshone Dam in Wyoming, the last-named being the highest in the world.

American Wastefulness.

Even more important was the movement begun for the conservation of our natural resources. Wastefulness had been one of the worst of America's faults. Much land had been ruined by persistent cultivation of exhausting crops or by failure to prevent erosion; coal was wastefully mined and wastefully burned; natural gas wells were permitted to flow unchecked for months or even years; the logging in forests was done in a wasteful manner and each year fires swept over thousands of square miles, leaving a ruin of blasted trunks and blackened stumps. In many other ways Americans seemed bent on despoiling posterity of its heritage.

Gifford Pinchot.

In 1891 Congress passed a Forestry Reserve Act, under which Presidents Harrison, Cleveland and McKinley set apart about thirty-five million acres of forest. Many men had a part in advancing the forestry movement, but the most prominent of these was Gifford Pinchot. Pinchot studied scientific forestry in Europe and in 1892 began at Biltmore, North Carolina, the first systematic forestry work attempted in the United States. In 1898 he became chief of the Division of Forestry, which had been created by Congress in 1881. The name of this division was changed in 1901 to the Bureau of Forestry, and in 1905 to the Forestry Service. Roosevelt was very active in effecting these changes, and added about 150 million acres to the forestry reserve. Pinchot, as Forester, by 1909, had built up a trained forced of over three thousand men, who protected against fire and thieves a

timbered area greater than the total acreage of Germany. By 1919, there were over 160 national forests, with a total area of 162 million acres.

Roosevelt and Conservation.

President Roosevelt became an enthusiastic advocate of conserving all resources that are limited in amount. He established fifty-one reservations as refuges for birds, and, by so doing, saved some species that were threatened with extinction. In 1907 he persuaded Congress to authorize the appointment of an Inland Waterways Commission to study the interlocking problems of waterways and forest preservation, and to investigate the possibilities of inland water transportation. In May, 1908, he summoned to Washington a conference of governors, scientists, and other prominent men. This conference attracted much popular attention, and helped to make conservation a settled policy in the minds of the people. The idea spread to the states, and within eighteen months, forty-one state conservation commissions had been created. A National Conservation Commission was established, made up of one member from each state and territory, with Gifford Pinchot as chairman. In 1909, a North American Conservation Congress was held, which was attended by delegates from Canada, Newfoundland and Mexico, as well as from the United States. This Congress drew up a program intended to make the natural resources of the continent of greatest use to present and future generations. The National Conservation Commission soon came to an end, because Congress failed to make appropriations for its support; but its place was taken by an unofficial National Conservation Commission, the first president of which was ex-President Charles W. Eliot of Harvard.

Taft Nominated by Republicans.

In 1908, numerous candidates endeavored to secure the Republican nomination for the presidency, but President Roosevelt was anxious to be succeeded by some one who would carry out his policies and managed to bring about the nomination of William Howard Taft, his Secretary of War. As governor of the Philippines, member of the Cabinet, and in service on numerous special missions, Taft had displayed abilities of a high order. The nomination for the Vice-Presidency was given to James S. Sherman, a member of Congress from New York. The platform praised the Roosevelt administration and pledged the party to the amendment of the Sherman Antitrust Act, to currency reform and a revision of the tariff. This last task was to be undertaken by a special session of Congress, immediately following the inauguration of the next President. In speeches made during the campaign, Taft promised that revision would be downward.

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WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT

Twenty-seventh President of the United States

Bryan Candidate for the Third Time.

The Democratic Convention met at Denver, Colorado. William Jennings Bryan had kept himself before the country by lecturing and by publishing a paper called *The Commoner*. For the third time he managed to bring about his nomination for the presidency. John W. Kern, of Indiana, was nominated for the Vice-Presidency. The platform criticized the party in power, promised tariff and currency reform and a more stringent anti-trust act, and declared in favor of limiting the power of Federal judges to issue injunctions in case of strikes.

Republican Victory.

Both Bryan and Taft made long speaking tours, but the campaign was a very quiet one. A majority of the people were well pleased with Roosevelt's administration, and there was no great demand for a political change. In the election Taft received a popular plurality of 1,270,000. The electoral vote stood: 321 for Taft, 162 for Bryan. Debs, the Socialist candidate, received 420,820, an increase of only 18,000 over that of four years before. The Populists, appearing for the last time, polled only 29,146, being surpassed by an ephemeral organization called the Independence party.

Roosevelt's Administration.

The administration that closed on the following 4th of March was one of the most remarkable in American history. As an administrator, Roosevelt had displayed wonderful foresight and remarkable ability to get things done. Judged merely as a specimen of the *genus homo*, he was the most remarkable man of his time—one of the most remarkable of all time. John Morley, a celebrated Englishman who visited in America in this period, said he had been impressed by two great phenomena—Niagara Falls and Theodore Roosevelt.

Roosevelt's African Trip.

Soon after his retirement from the presidency, Roosevelt, accompanied by his son Kermit and a party of scientists, set out for Africa on a hunting and collecting trip. The expedition attracted wide-spread attention, and multitudes of anxious admirers wrote letters to the ex-President adjuring him not to be reckless. Some of the most prominent Englishmen of the time united in purchasing for him a heavy, double-barreled elephant rifle; while an American admirer, John L. Sullivan, ex-heavyweight champion of the world, sent a gold-mounted rabbit's foot. Among Roosevelt's Wall Street enemies the popular toast was supposed to be, "May the lions be biting good!" The party went by way of the Mediterranean, the Suez Canal and the Indian Ocean, landed at Mombasa, in British East Africa, and thence went by railway to Nairobi. Roosevelt had abundant opportunities to gratify his fondness of hunting and of Faunal Zoology. He collected numerous elephants, rhinoceroses and lions, besides much other game, and had

a number of exciting experiences. The party returned to civilization by way of Lake Victoria and the River Nile, collecting on the upper Nile some specimens of the almost extinct white rhinoceros. At Khartoum they were met by Mrs. Roosevelt and numerous newspaper reporters who were anxious to secure interviews with the returning Nimrod. In Europe, Roosevelt made a number of important addresses, visited the rulers of several countries, including the King of Italy and the Kaiser of Germany, and reviewed part of the German army. On his return to New York city, he was greeted by a great popular demonstration. He had been absent from the United States for more than a year, and during that time his successor had had an opportunity to make or mar his administration without interference from his predecessor.

Payne-Aldrich Act.

Soon after his inauguration, President Taft, in accordance with the promises of the party platform, summoned Congress in extra session to revise the tariff. In speeches during the campaign, Taft had promised that revision should be downward, but high protectionists controlled both house of Congress, and the Payne-Aldrich Act, which was passed by Congress and signed by the President, really revised schedules upward. Twenty Republican representatives and seven Republican senators refused to vote for the measure, and there was much public opposition to it, even among Republicans. President Taft, however, defended the measure as the best tariff law ever enacted.

Ballinger Scandal.

Public dissatisfaction with the Payne-Aldrich Act was soon increased by a scandal in the Department of the Interior. To the head of that Department Taft had appointed Richard A. Ballinger, a Seattle lawyer, who had been attorney for the "Cunningham claims," to valuable coal fields in Alaska. Many people, including Chief Forester Pinchot and Messrs. Shaw, Glavis and Price of the Forestry Service, believed these claims were fraudulent, and that they formed part of a scheme of some great financial interests to gobble up the natural resources of Alaska. Believing that Ballinger was betraying conservation, Pinchot and the others ignored bureaucratic red tape and appealed over Ballinger's head to the President and the general public. Taft considered them guilty of insubordination and dismissed them from the service. The controversy caused much public discontent, and many newspapers and magazines of progressive sympathies defended Pinchot and attacked Ballinger. In the end Pinchot's contentions regarding the Cunningham claims proved to be true, and all of them were finally held to be void. Ballinger continued to be the target of violent criticism, and ultimately resigned.

Crisis in Republican Party.

The Payne-Aldrich Act and the Ballinger-Pinchot controversy alienated most prominent Progressives from President Taft before a year of his administration had passed, and while Roosevelt was still in the jungles of Africa. It was apparent that the Republican party was facing the gravest crisis in its history. The Progressive element, most of whom were followers of Roosevelt, had been mainly instrumental in the election of Taft, and they now felt that he had betrayed them.

Political Unrest.

The Republican crisis was all the graver because it was an age of unrest. Many people were demanding not only social and industrial reforms, but changes also in political systems. Criticism of the courts was wide-spread, and it was asserted that they were dilatory, that they were often hide-bound by precedent and swamped by technicalities, that frequently they gave too much weight to property rights and too little to human rights. In the West and Middle West particularly it was believed that reactionary influences often controlled executives, legislators and judges and courts. There was a wide-spread demand for more direct popular control of government. Four devices were deemed promising for securing such control, namely, primary elections, the initiative, the referendum and the recall. The primary system spread rapidly, and the other three devices were adopted in a number of states.

Speaker Cannon.

At first the main wrath of the Progressive element was directed not at President Taft, but at a coterie of very conservative Republicans who controlled Congress. In the House, for example, Speaker Joseph G. Cannon and his fellow "stand patters" ruled so autocratically that Republicans who were out of sympathy with them found they were deprived of all influence. Cannon was a picturesque character from the Danville district of Illinois. He was usually called "Uncle Joe," and had once been popular. Under him the Speaker had become more powerful than ever before in our history. A demand arose that he should be deprived of his autocratic powers. In March, 1910, a combination of insurgent Republicans and Democrats wrested control from Cannon and the standpatters. Cannon was permitted to retain the speakership, but he was shorn of much of his power.

Democratic Victory.

Discontent in the Republican ranks enabled the Democrats to win in the Congressional elections of 1910. They carried such states as Indiana, Ohio, and New York, obtaining a majority of over sixty in the House of Representatives and they considerably reduced the Republican majority in the Senate. For the first time, the Socialists elected a member of Congress, in the person of Victor L. Berger of Milwaukee.

Achievements.

During Taft's administration Arizona and New Mexico were admitted to Statehood. In 1910, a postal-savings system, and in 1912 a parcels post were established. Several arbitration treaties were concluded with foreign powers. A Constitutional amendment authorizing Congress to levy an income tax without the necessity of apportioning it among the states according to population, and another amendment providing for the election of United States Senators by popular vote instead of by the legislators, were submitted to the states for ratification. Both were ultimately ratified. The income tax amendment was proclaimed a part of the Constitution on February 25, 1913. The amendment regarding the election of Senators on the 31st of the following May. A reciprocity pact was negotiated with Canada. It was passed through Congress after a bitter fight, but in Canada an election was held to ascertain the attitude of the votes on the question. It resulted in the defeat of the government that had negotiated it, and reciprocity failed.

Anti-Trust Cases.

In 1911, long pending suits against the Standard Oil Company and the Tobacco Trust were decided by the Supreme Court, which ordered the breaking up of those companies. There was much skepticism regarding the practical value of the decisions, and many people contended that the Sherman Antitrust Act was not a satisfactory solution of the trust problem.

La Follette and Roosevelt.

Long before 1912 it became apparent that the desire of Taft for renomination would meet with bitter opposition. In 1911, some of the leaders of the progressive element in the Republican party formed an organization whose main objects were to promote progressive ideas and defeat Taft. At first many of these leaders looked upon Senator La Follette of Wisconsin as the proper candidate for the nomination. La Follette began an active campaign but it soon became apparent that he would not be able to develop sufficient strength to defeat Taft. A strong demand developed that Colonel Roosevelt should enter the race. Roosevelt was much disappointed with the course of his protegé, and his sympathies were with the Progressive element. He hesitated to seek a third term, however, and it was not until February, 1912, that he yielded to insistent pressure and announced that his "hat was in the ring." He made his fight on a platform of progressive principles, including primary elections, the initiative, the referendum and the recall of elective officers, but, as a substitute for the recall of judges, he proposed a recall of judicial decisions.

Primary Results.

The preconvention battle that ensued was the bitterest in American politics. President Taft's supporters controlled the political machinery

in most of the states, and were able to dictate the appointment of delegates in most places where the old convention system existed. But in a number of states a system of primaries safeguarded by law had been adopted, and Roosevelt carried all but two of these states, in most cases by an overwhelming majority. La Follette, who was still in the field, carried Wisconsin; Taft obtained a small plurality in Massachusetts, but lost the eight delegates at large and ten of the district delegates. More than 200 seats were in dispute.

Standpat Element Controls.

The Republican National Convention met at Chicago on June 18. The National Committee, which was controlled by the standpat element, decided practically all the contests in favor of Taft and enabled his supporters to control the convention. After vain protests, many of the Roosevelt delegates left the hall, and most of those who remained took no further part in the proceedings. The standpat delegates adopted a platform and renominated Taft and Sherman.

Progressive Party.

That night the Roosevelt supporters assembled in Orchestra Hall and informally nominated Roosevelt. A more formal convention met early in August at Chicago and nominated Roosevelt for the presidency, and Governor Hiram Johnson of California for the vice-presidency. The new party took the name of "Progressive," and adopted the "Bull Moose" as its emblem.

Wilson Nominated.

Meanwhile a spectacular contest was being waged for the Democratic nomination. Among the candidates were Speaker Champ Clark of Missouri, Governor Judson Harmon of Ohio, Congressman Oscar Underwood of Alabama and Governor Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey. The convention met at Baltimore on June 25. For many ballots Clark led, and on some he received a majority, but he was never able to obtain the necessary two-thirds. Ultimately, William Jennings Bryan threw his influence to Wilson, and on the fourty-sixth ballot, Wilson was nominated. Governor Thomas R. Marshall, of Indiana, was put forward for the vice-presidency.

Roosevelt Shot.

With the Republican party divided, it was clear that the Democrats would win, and the only real doubt concerned whether Taft or Roosevelt would be second in the race. Roosevelt made a vigorous campaign and received enthusiastic support from his millions of admirers. On the evening of October 14, as he was starting from a hotel in Milwaukee to the Auditorium in which he was to speak, he was shot in the breast by a half-crazed fanatic. The bullet struck a spectacle case and passed through a manuscript that were in the ex-President's pocket and then entered his breast, causing a deep wound and fracturing a rib. However, he went to the hall and spoke to a large and excited au-

dience. Holding up the manuscript and showing the hole through which the bullet had gone, he said: "It takes more than that to kill a Bull Moose!" He was taken to Chicago, and later to Oyster Bay, and was able shortly before the election to appear at two great meetings in New York city.

Democrats Win.

In the election Wilson carried 40 states and won two electoral votes in California; his total electoral vote was 435, and his popular vote was 6,286,214. Roosevelt carried Pennsylvania, Michigan, Minnesota, South Dakota and Washington, and received 11 electoral votes in California; his total electoral vote was 88 and his popular vote was 4,126,020. Taft carried only Vermont and Utah, had 8 electoral votes, and his popular vote was 3,483,922. The Democrats obtained a great majority in the House of Representatives and a working majority in the Senate.

SECTION XIII.—THE WORLD WAR AND AFTER.

Woodrow Wilson.

Woodrow Wilson, who was thus elected to the Presidency, was a native of Virginia, and a graduate of Princeton and of the law school of the University of Virginia. He attempted the practice of law at Atlanta, but became discouraged, took graduate work in Johns Hopkins University, and after receiving the degree of Ph. D. taught history, political science and other similar subjects at Bryn Mawr College, Connecticut Wesleyan and Princeton University, becoming President of Princeton in 1902. He wrote a number of books dealing with history and political science, and in 1910 he was elected Governor of New Jersey.

His Cabinet.

The new President had a gift for language, and his inaugural address contained passages that were much admired. Almost of necessity, he named William Jennings Bryan, Democracy's thrice disappointed leader, as Secretary of State. The other Cabinet appointees included Franklin K. Lane of California, Secretary of the Interior, and William G. McAdoo of New York, Secretary of the Treasury. McAdoo ultimately became Wilson's son-in-law. Five of the members of the Cabinet, the President, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the Democratic leaders in the House and Senate, even some members of the Senate from northern and western states were southern-born. It was truly remarked that the South was "Back in the Union, and in charge of the Union."

On April 7, 1913, in response to a summons from the President, Congress met in extra session. After some months, the Underwood

PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON

Bill, reducing tariff duties on over 900 articles, was enacted into law. This measure also provided for a tax on the profits of corporations and individual incomes in excess of $3,000 in the case of single persons, or $4,000 of married persons. In the regular session Congress passed a new banking-and-currency law. This measure established the present Federal Reserve system. The same Congress also passed two new anti-trust acts. One of these created a Federal Trade Commission, with wide powers of investigating matters connected with interstate trade and more restricted powers of enforcing antitrust regulations. The other measure, the Clayton Act, prohibited inter-locking directorates of banks or other corporations and forbade discrimination in prices when the effect would tend to produce monopoly, and placed under the ban other practices used by monopolists. Agricultural and labor organizations were exempted from the provisions of the act, and the injunction powers of the Federal courts in labor disputes were curtailed.

Tariff Act.

Anti-Trust Acts.

Under Bryan's management arbitration treaties were concluded with many of the powers of the world, but none with Germany or Austria-Hungary. In 1916, we purchased from Denmark for $25,000,000 the Virgin Islands, which lie to the eastward of Porto Rico. A treaty was also negotiated with Colombia, which had nourished a grudge against the United States, because of the Panama revolution. The treaty expressed regret that anything had occurred to mar friendly relations between the two nations and bound the United States to pay Colombia $25,000,000. Opposition in the Senate prevented ratification of the treaty until Harding became President.

Virgin Islands Bought.

Throughout this period conditions in Mexico were a source of much friction. In that country Porfirio Diaz had long ruled with an iron hand. Outwardly Mexico had made much progress in civilization, but the prosperity of the common people had not kept pace with railroads, telegraphs and other signs of civilization. In 1910 a revolution broke out in northern Mexico under the leadership of Francisco I. Madero, a member of a powerful family but sincerely desirous of uplifting his people. Diaz found it expedient to resign and fled to Europe. Madero was elected President, but in February, 1913, he was treacherously overthrown and assassinated. General Victoriano Huerta, Commander-in-Chief of the Army and one of those responsible for Madero's death, seized power as provisional President.

Revolution in Mexico.

President Taft had found it necessary to send regulars to protect our border and had established an embargo upon the shipment of arms to factions opposing Madero. President Wilson also followed a policy of what he later called "watchful waiting," and refused recognition to the Huerta government. A party calling themselves "Constitution-

"Watchful Waiting."

alists" soon rose against Huerta's authority, the most notable leaders being Carranza and Villa. Carranza was an educated man of good family; Villa was of the Peon class, had been a bandit, learned to write his name only after attaining manhood, but was a man of great primitive force with a natural talent for leadership. Many outrages upon Americans took place in Mexico, but, in spite of a strong demand for intervention, Wilson continued to pursue his policy of watchful waiting; however he desired the success of the Constitutionalists and, in February, 1914, in their interest revoked the embargo on the shipment of arms, thereby, of course, antagonizing the Huerta faction.

Vera Cruz Seized.

In April, 1914, some blue jackets from an American warship landed at Tampico, and were arrested by an officer of Huerta's forces. They were quickly released by a superior officer, and expressions of regret were tendered, but Admiral Mayo, the American naval commander in Mexican waters, demanded a salute to the flag and was backed up by President Wilson. Huerta refused, and our fleet, on wireless orders from Washington, bombarded and seized the port of Vera Cruz. Nineteen Americans were killed in the conflict, and the Mexican losses, including many civilians, were several times greater. A force of regulars under General Funston was sent to Vera Cruz to hold the town. Open warfare between the two countries seemed inevitable, but Argentina, Brazil and Chile tendered their good offices, and a sort of peace conference was held at Niagra Falls, Canada. This helped to tide over the difficulty, and in July, 1914, Huerta became so weak that he fled to Europe.

Villa Raids Columbus.

The Constitutionalists now took control, but Villa and Carranza soon quarreled and a new war broke out. In November, 1914, our troops evacuated Vera Cruz. Our government recognized Carranza as *de facto* ruler, and permitted him to send troops by rail across American soil in order to attack rebel forces that could not be reached otherwise. This partiality greatly angered Villa, and he began to murder Americans wherever he found them. In March, 1916, with several hundred followers, he raided Columbus, New Mexico, and killed eight soldiers and nine civilians and wounded several others. Six days later a force of several thousand men under Brigadier-General John J. Pershing, crossed the border in pursuit, but Villa succeeded in escaping.

Pershing's Expedition.

Most of the Mexican people regarded the expedition with disfavor, and Carranza repeatedly protested. A clash took place at Carrizal between Carranza troops and a company of American colored cavalry. The Americans were defeated and scattered, with a loss of about twenty killed and seventeen captured. Practically all the National Guard was sent by President Wilson to the border to aid the regulars already

there. War again seemed probable, but our Government took no agressive steps beyond securing the release of the prisoners. General Pershing remained in Mexico but was inactive, until early in 1917, when his force was withdrawn altogether.

Carranza Overthrown.

Affairs in that unhappy country long continued to be distracted. The German government endeavored, but in vain, to persuade Mexico to declare war on the United States, and to recover the "lost provinces." In the spring of 1920, Carranza was defeated and slain, and General Obregon managed to get control and evolved a condition of comparative peace and order. Villa was persuaded to retire to a large ranch given to him by the Government and, in June, 1923, he was eliminated from the situation by assassination. In the following month, the United States formally recognized Obregon, and diplomatic relations, which had been broken for more than a decade, were resumed with Mexico.

The Great War.

From August of 1914 onward, Mexican affairs were generally overshadowed by the Great War. From the beginning the American Government proclaimed a policy of neutrality, and President Wilson even issued a special appeal asking for a "spirit of impartiality and fairness and friendliness to all concerned." But from the outset many Americans could not feel friendliness toward the nations responsible for the war, and hoped for the success of the Entente Allies. The number of such persons increased as a result of the German violation of Belgium and the long train of Teutonic barbarities that followed. Other people, especially those of Teutonic descent or those persons antagonistic to Great Britain, sided with the Central Powers. Probably a majority were indifferent at first; not a few people assumed that it was a war in which no vital principle was at stake on either side.

Economic Aspects.

The economic effect of the war on American interests was at first unfavorable. Presently, however, the Entente Allies began to draw supplies of many sorts from America, and soon an export business of unheard of dimensions was built up. From being a debtor nation, owing four or five billions of dollars abroad, the United States was soon transformed into a creditor nation.

German "Frightfulness."

At first our main difficulties were with the Entente Allies, whose blockade policies drew from our Government repeated protests. But in February, 1915, Germany announced a policy of "frightfulness" on the high seas. All waters around the British Isles were declared a "war zone" and all enemy merchant vessels found therein were to be destroyed, even if it would not always be possible to save the passengers and crews. Neutrals were warned not to trust their people or merchandise on such ships, and even neutral vessels entering the zone would be exposed to great danger. Our Government protested that such a

policy would be in violation of a well-established principle of international law that merchant vessels must not be sunk until the safety of all on board had been provided for.

Lusitania Sunk.

Germany persisted in her course, and her submarines within a few weeks sank many vessels of her enemies and some of neutral states as well. Great numbers of persons were slain by the explosion of the torpedoes or were drowned when the ships sank. In the sinking of the British passenger steamer *Falaba;* and in that of the American steamer *Gulflight*, American lives were sacrificed; but the greatest outrage occurred on May 8, when a submarine, off the southeast coast of Ireland, torpedoed without warning, the great British passenger vessel, *Lusitania.* In all, 1198 persons lost their lives, including 286 women and 96 children. The American dead numbered 114, including a number of men of prominence.

Roosevelt's Statement.

The news of the sinking of the *Lusitania* caused great excitement in the United States. Some pro-Germans justified the deed, but many others were horror stricken. Colonel Roosevelt declared that it was "not merely piracy, but piracy on a vaster scale of murder than old-time pirates ever practiced."

Notes of Protest.

On May 13, President Wilson sent a long protest to Germany asking for reparation and for cessation of such warfare. Germany took her time about answering, and then the reply was unsatisfactory. At this juncture Secretary of State Bryan resigned on the pretence that our next note might result in war. He was succeeded by Robert Lansing, Counsellor of the State Department. The new note proved, however, to be scarcely more aggressive than the first. Again the German reply was evasive and unsatisfactory. Meanwhile submarines had torpedoed an American vessel, the *Nebraska*, off the coast of Ireland, though luckily she did not sink. To the third American note Germany vouchsafed no reply whatever.

Teutonic Outrages.

Meanwhile German and Austro-Hungarian secret agents, acting under the instructions of the German and Austrian ambassadors, procured explosions and fires that damaged munitions plants. Bombs were put on board merchant vessels carrying cargoes to Europe; strikes were instigated; the land was filled with spies, and Mexicans were stirred up to murder Americans. A half-insane German-American college professor named Erich Muenter caused an explosion in the Supreme Court room by means of a time bomb, and shot and wounded J. P. Morgan, Jr., financial agent of the Allies in the United States, and when he was captured, committed suicide. Ultimately the United States demanded and secured the recall of Dumba, the Austro-Hungarian ambassador, and of Captains Boy-Ed and Von Papen, the German

WILLIAM J. BRYAN, SEC'Y OF STATE

WILLIAM G. MC ADOO, SEC'Y OF TREASURY

naval and military attachés. Von Bernstorff, the German ambassador, was permitted to remain.

New Submarine Sinkings.

After more American lives had been lost as a result of submarine outrages, Germany finally promised not to sink merchant vessels without first providing for the safety of the passengers and crews. Repeated sinkings subesquently took place in the Mediterranean, presumably by Austrian submarines, but it is now known that some of these outrages were committed by German submarines masquerading under the Austrian flag.

Sussex Case.

In April, 1916, a flagrant violation of the German pledge occurred when a submarine torpedoed the British passenger vessel *Sussex* in the English Channel, causing great loss of life and injury to several Americans. President Wilson thereupon threatened that if Germany did not abandon submarine warfare against passenger and freight carrying vessels he would sever diplomatic relations altogether.

Conditional German Pledge.

Again Germany promised to observe "the general principles of visitation and search," but reserved the right to withdraw this concession if the United States did not persuade the Allies to abandon certain practices of which she complained.

Preparedness Agitation.

Early in the war certain Americans, including Theodore Roosevelt, General Leonard Wood and Congressman A. P. Gardner, began to urge that we should strengthen our army and navy so that the belligerents would not dare to infringe our rights. Pacifists and pro-Germans, however, opposed any steps of that character. Secretary of State Bryan insisted that it was needless because in case of war the United States "Could raise a million men between sun-rise and sun-set." Many Americans, unaware of the distinction between an army and a mob, saw nothing incongruous in this statement. In his message to Congress of December, 1918, President Wilson deprecated any special preparation, but the course of events and especially Germany's vicious submarine warfare forced him to change his views. During 1915 and 1916 there was much talk of "preparedness"; there was much show of appointing boards and appropriating money, but in warships, trained soldiers, artillery, air-planes and munitions of war, we were not much stronger than at the beginning of 1914. On his own initiative General Leonard Wood established Reserve Officers Training Camps at Plattsburg and elsewhere and many of the men thus trained subsequently proved helpful in the war.

Wilson's Policy.

The key to Wilson's course in this period lies in the fact that he hoped the time would come when it would be possible for him to appear in the role of peacemaker, as Roosevelt had done in the case of the Russo-Japanese War. He labored at this time under the delusion that the conflict would result in a draw, and his manifest effort to avoid an-

tagonizing either side was due to a desire to avoid destroying his availability as a peacemaker. His friend, Colonel House, of Texas, went on mysterious missions to the various belligerents. Wilson's course both as regards Germany and Mexico was bitterly criticized. One of the most sarcastic critics was ex-President Roosevelt, who of Wilson's course in regard to the *Lusitania*, said that "The President wrote note after note, each filled with lofty expressions and each sterile in its utter futility, because it did not mean action, and the Germans knew it did not mean action." He insisted that Wilson was strong in words but weak in action, that he had "met a policy of blood and iron with a policy of milk and water." He characterized Secretary of War Baker as "an amiable gentleman who knits."

Criticisms.

Progressive Strength Declines.

Politically the most interesting question in the period of 1912-1914 was whether the Republican or the Progressive party would survive. The local and state elections of 1913 showed a distinct trend to the Republicans, and in the Congressional elections of 1914 the Progressives carried only one state, California, and their total vote was less than half that of 1912. The Progressive party was doomed.

Hughes Nominated by the Republicans.

By agreement the national conventions of both the Republicans and the Progressives met in Chicago on the same day (June 7.) The conventions assembled in separate halls but negotiations were carried on in the hope of agreeing upon a platform and a fusion ticket. The Progressives hoped that the Republicans would nominate Roosevelt. He received a considerable number of votes, but the Republican feeling toward him was still violent and the convention ultimately nominated Justice Charles E. Hughes, a member of the Supreme Court and former Governor of New York. Charles W. Fairbanks, of Indiana, was put forward for the vice-presidency. The Progressives nominated Roosevelt and John M. Parker of Louisiana, a former Democrat. Roosevelt ultimately refused to make the race, and threw his support to Hughes. Parker continued a candidate but received little support in the election.

Roosevelt Supports Him.

Wilson Re-nominated.

In the Democratic convention, which met in St. Louis on June 14, Wilson and Marshall were renominated by acclamation. The platform praised the Democratic record and laid emphasis upon the diplomatic "victories" of President Wilson. During the campaign the Republican orators denounced the foreign policies of the Wilson administration, while the main slogan of the Democrats was, "He kept us out of war!" The election proved to be the closest since that of 1884. The early returns seemed to indicate that Hughes had been elected, but Wilson carried the solid south and Ohio, and certain states in the west, including Kansas and California. The electoral result was 277 for Wilson and 254 for Hughes. For the first time a woman, Miss Jeanette Rankin of Montana, was elected to Congress.

Wilson Re-elected.

A Homily on Peace.

Long-range peace discussions took place between the belligerents in the winter of 1916-1917. On December 18, 1916, President Wilson asked the belligerents to state their peace terms but nothing of any consequence resulted from these "peace soundings." On January 22, 1917, he appeared before the Senate and delivered an address on the methods of obtaining peace, and of securing peace in the future. In his speech he emphasized the necessity of "freedom of the seas" and insisted that "it must be a peace without victory."

Germans Renew Policy of Frightfulness.

Nine days later the German government suddenly announced that unlimited submarine warfare would be renewed at midnight of that day in a zone surrounding the British Isles and on the western coast of France, and in another zone that included the Mediterranean. Any vessel entering one of these zones, no matter what its cargo, destination or port of departure, would be sunk without regard to the safety of those on board. The promise was held out, however, that the United States could send one merchant vessel a week to the port of Falmouth, England, but our Government must see to it that the vessel carried no contraband, and the vessel herself must be painted in alternate strips of white and red.

Gerard's Explanation.

In his book, *My Four Years in Germany*, Ambassador Gerard says that the German Government believed that the United States could be flouted with impunity, that under no circumstances would she go to war. They were well aware of our pitiable military weakness, and knew that even if we did enter the conflict, at least a year would elapse before we could take any considerable part in the fighting; they hoped by their submarine warfare to damage the Allies so much that in a few months they would be forced to make peace.

Diplomatic Relations Broken.

President Wilson was greatly distressed when he heard the news. It was necessary, however, for us to act or become the laughing stock of the world. Therefore, he gave the German Ambassador his passports, and summoned our representatives in Germany home. In his address to Congress, he expressed confidence that Germany would not persevere in her ruthless course. But he was mistaken. German submarines at once began their program of destruction and great numbers of vessels were sunk, in many instances with heavy loss of life. In order to safeguard American vessels, President Wilson desired to put naval guns and naval crews on board American merchant ships going to the war zone. He believed that under an old law authorizing the President to arm ships against pirates he had the necessary power, but he asked Congress especially to authorize him to do so. A resolution to that effect passed the House of Representatives by a great majority, but in the Senate a few pacifist and pro-German Senators, including La

Follette of Wisconsin, prevented a vote being taken until Congress expired on the 4th of March, the day of Wilson's second inauguration.

Wilson Asks for War

Notwithstanding the failure of the resolution in the Senate, naval guns and crews were put aboard ships going to the war zone. In the middle of March it became known that three of our vessels had been sunk without warning, causing the death of three American citizens. Realizing that his policy of "armed neutrality" had failed, the President, on April 2, appeared before a special session of Congress and delivered a momentous message. He said that the submarine activities constituted a "warfare against mankind," and he asked Congress to recognize that a state of war existed and to take the necessary steps to employ all our forces to compel the German Government to peace. Our quarrel, he asserted, was not with the German people, but with their despotic Government; it "was not and never could be our friend." It had "filled our unsuspecting communities and even our offices of government with spies and set criminal intrigues afoot everywhere against our national unity of counsel, our peace within and without, our industries and our commerce. * * * This natural foe of liberty" must be defeated in order to make the world "safe for democracy."

War. Declared.

It was already known that Germany had endeavored to persuade Mexico to declare war on the United States and to induce Japan to do likewise. While as Wilson was on his way to make the address, word was received that the American armed merchantman *Aztec* had been torpedoed without warning. A resolution recognizing a state of war passed the Senate and the House by great majorities and, on April 6, 1917, the United States and Germany were formally at war.

A full account of our participation in the mighty conflict is given in the next volume.

Congressional Elections of 1918.

Six days before the Armistice, the Congressional elections occurred in the United States. Earlier in the year President Wilson had said that "politics is adjourned," but now in response to the urgent request of Democratic leaders he issued an appeal to the people to elect Democratic Senators and Representatives. Ex-Presidents Roosevelt and Taft composed their differences sufficiently to issue a joint counter-appeal in behalf of the Republicans. During the war the party in power had lost the confidence of the majority of the people and in consequence the Republicans swept the country, gained a majority of over forty in the House of Representatives, and transformed a considerable Democratic majority in the Senate into a minority of two.

Wilson Goes to Paris.

In December, as fully narrated in the next volume, President Wilson and the other members of our Peace Commission sailed for Europe. His going was severely criticized on the ground that it broke a prece-

ROBERT LANSING, SEC'Y OF STATE

NEWTON D. BAKER, SEC'Y OF WAR

dent that the President of the United States should not go to a foreign country during his term of office. Furthermore, Republicans insisted that their party was not adequately represented on the commission. Many Senators believed that the Senate should be represented on that commission. While the Peace Conference was in session, President Wilson returned to the United States for a visit and conferred with Senators regarding the treaty. Subsequently a few changes were incorporated into the treaty to meet criticisms there were being made of it in America.

Wilson Stricken.

But the completed treaty, as finally signed, was not satisfactory to the Senate, which had the power to ratify or reject it, a two-thirds majority being necessary for ratification. One of the bitterest political battles in all American history ensued. President Wilson went on a tour of the country in behalf of the treaty and spoke to large crowds; but he was trailed by senatorial opponents of the treaty, and they also spoke to large crowds. On his way back from the Pacific coast President Wilson became ill and had to return to Washington. Very soon his illness became even more serious. For a long period he was practically unable to perform his public duties. He really had suffered a stroke of apoplexy, but the nature of his illness was long kept secret from the general public, and wild stories were told regarding his ailment. Secretary of State Lansing, with the approval of other members, held meetings of the Cabinet to attend to public affairs. On the ground that Lansing had exceeded his authority in so doing, President Wilson later dismissed him from the Cabinet, but Wilson's main reason for doing so seems to be that Lansing had expressed disapproval of the treaty and especially of the League of Nations. Repeatedly the treaty was brought before the Senate, but in each case it was rejected. Some Senators, including a number of Republicans and a few Democrats, were opposed to it in any form. Many Senators insisted upon reservations, which they claimed were necessary to safeguard American rights. President Wilson was determined that no amendments of any character should be made, so the treaty failed. Resolutions were passed through Congress declaring the war at an end, but Wilson vetoed them. After Harding became President, similar resolutions were accepted by him and thus the war was brought to a technical close. Separate treaties were concluded with Germany and Austria. In the main, these treaties followed the general terms of the Peace of Versailles but omitted the League of Nations Covenant.

Lansing Dismissed.

Treaty Rejected.

Alliance Rejected.

The Tripartite agreement between the United States, Great Britain and France, guaranteeing that the first two would come to the immediate assistance of France in case of unprovoked attack by Germany,

was rejected by the Senate in the summer of 1919. It had never had any real chance of being ratified. As Wilson had used it as a bait to induce the French to give up their demand for the left bank of the Rhine, the French considered that they had been left in the lurch.

Inflation of Business.

Meanwhile, affairs in the United States were in a ferment. It had been feared that the mustering out of so many men would result in serious unemployment, and for a time such conditions actually existed: but there was a shortage of commodities, prices were very high, and soon practically every man who desired work could obtain it at very high wages. Prices soared to much greater heights even than during the war, and profiteers reaped a large harvest at the expense of the public. Despite the high wages, much discontent prevailed among some of the workers, and many serious strikes took place.

Radical Agitation.

Bolshevists were abroad in the land, and there were even plots to attempt a social revolution. Vicious revolutionary propaganda was distributed in large quantities, and there were a number of bomb outrages. The lead in these revolutionary proceedings was often taken by people of foreign antecedents. Many of these foreign radicals were taken into custody and were deported from the country. The most celebrated of these leaders were Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, who for many years had been parading up and down the country preaching anarchial doctrines.

Cost of the War.

By April, 1919, the Government had paid out in two years $30,700,000,000, which was $4,000,000,000 more than the total cost of the National Goverment from the inauguration of Washington down to 1917. Many billions more were required to settle outstanding obligations and a tax bill designed to raise $6,000,000,000 a year was passed. Of this debt, nearly $9,000,000,000 had been advanced to our Allies in the conflict, and this sum was subsequently somewhat increased by further advances.

Esch-Cummins Act.

Much legislation was necessary to restore the country to a peace basis. One of the most important acts of this character was the Esch-Cummins Act of February, 1920, restoring the railroads to their owners. It was generally conceded that public management of the railroads had been a failure.

Loans. European

To many people who understood American history and the financial situation in Europe it seemed apparent that the business prosperity in the United States following the war could not last long. For a long time, in large measure purchases of American goods had been made possible by our loans to our Allies. But it was clear to reasonable men that we could not forever continue to grant loans merely in order

to enable other countries to buy of us. Indigent hands continued to be reached across the sea to rich "Uncle Sam." Americans were told that we had neglected our duty to Europe and had been guilty of bringing on the ruin of the world; our "duty" in such cases usually meaning further loans. Gradually, however, the loan policy was discontinued by our Government, but a moratorium was, in effect, granted regarding payment of the principle and even of the interest.

Agrarian Distress.

The price of farm produce, which had reached unheard of heights, began to fall in the latter half of 1919. The prices of other products followed. Soon the country entered upon an era of hard times. The depression was severely felt in industrial centers, but its effects were longest continued in the agricultural districts. Speculation in farm lands had taken place in all parts of the country, but had been most pronounced in the region of Iowa and the Dakotas. With the fall in price of farm productions, land values also dropped. Many individuals who had bought land at high prices were ruined. Financial depression settled like a blight upon the districts worst affected, and years passed before the effects of the hard times disappeared. Insistent demands arose that something should be done to aid the farmers, and a few measures designed for that purpose passed Congress, the most important, perhaps, being an act providing for the loan of public funds to the agricultural class. A so-called Farm-Bloc was formed in Congress, and agrarian discontent was largely responsible for the strength developed by an organization called the Non-Partisan League, which for a time dominated North Dakota and exercised much influence in the politics of other northwestern states. In 1920, a Farmer-Labor party nominated a candidate for the presidency, and two years later elected two Senators from Minnesota.

Death of Roosevelt.

At the beginning of 1919, President Roosevelt had gained such an ascendency over the reunited Republican party that it was generally conceded that he would be the nominee for the presidency in 1920. But in January of 1919 the world received the hard-to-believe news that the man who beyond all others of his generation had typified life to the uttermost had passed into the eternal silence.

Republican Convention.

With his death, the field was open to all who cared to enter and there was a large group of candidates. Those who had the most popular support were General Leonard Wood of New Hampshire, Senator Hiram Johnson of California, Governor Frank O. Lowden of Illinois and Herbert G. Hoover of California. In the primaries General Wood made the best showing, and at the Republican convention, which met in Chicago, he received on the first ballot the largest number of votes. Governor Lowden stood second and Senator Johnson third. Hoover's

strength had been mainly among people who took little active part in politics, and the number of delegates chosen to support him was small and in no way represented his real popular strength. He stood, in fact, on the first ballot, considerably below Senator Warren G. Harding of Ohio, whose following among the rank and file of the party was small, but who was favored by many of the political leaders, especially by the Republican Senatorial coterie. After a dead-lock of three days, these leaders, in fact, succeeded in forming a combination in Harding's behalf and he was nominated with Governor Calvin Coolidge of Massachusetts, for his running mate.

Harding Nominated.

Republican Platform.

The Republican platform declared that the outstanding features of the Democratic administration "have been complete unpreparedness for war, and complete unpreparedness for peace." "Inexcusable failure to make timely preparation," it charged, "directly resulted in unnecessary losses to our gallant troops, in the imperilment of victory itself, and in enormous waste of public funds literally poured into the breach by gross neglect." The platform opposed public ownership and operation of the railroads, favored a protective tariff, and declared against the League of Nations as it existed. However, the platform pledged the party, if victorious, to make "such agreement with the other nations of the world as shall meet the full duty of America to civilization and humanity."

Cox Nominated.

The main candidates for the Democratic nomination were ex-Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo, of New York; Governor Alfred E. Smith, of New York; Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, of Pennsylvania; and Governor James M. Cox, of Ohio. On the first ballot, McAdoo received 266 votes, Palmer 256, Cox 134, and Smith 109, with the rest of the votes scattered among several other candidates. After a long contest Cox was finally nominated, on the 44th ballot. The convention then named Franklin Roosevelt, of New York, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, for the vice-presidency.

Democratic Platform.

The Democratic platform "pointed with patriotic pride" to "the great achievements for the country and the world wrought by the Democratic administration of President Wilson." Many features of that administration's foreign and domestic policies were singled out for praise. The Republican Congress was particularly denounced, and the Republican party was declared to be responsible for the disturbed condition of affairs in Europe. The ratification of the Peace Treaty and of the League of Nations Covenant was advocated, but the platform did not oppose the acceptance of any reservations making clearer or more specific the obligations of the United States to the League associates.

On the 8th of the preceding January, in a message to a gathering of Democratic leaders, President Wilson had asked for a "great and solemn referendum" on the League of Nations. That subject was the main center of debate during the campaign. Democratic orators pictured dire consequences that would result if we remained outside the League, and Republican orators countered with painting dire pictures of results that might ensue in case we entered it. In reality, the League of Nations figured little in the actual result. Most voters made their decision according to whether or not they were satisfied with Democratic rule. The Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution had been ratified in time for women to participate in the election in all the states. The result proved a sweeping Republican victory. The Republicans carried every northern state, all the states west and northwest of Texas, all the border states except Kentucky, and even Tennessee, which was the first Confederate state to cast electoral votes for a Republican candidate since 1876. Harding's popular plurality was almost 7,000,000. The Socialists received 915,302 votes; the Farmer-Laborites 272,514 and the Progressives 192,438.

League of Nations Issue.

Republican Victory.

In his inaugural address on March 4, 1921, Harding urged a return to "normalcy," said that he would avoid entanglement in the affairs of Europe, and recommended partial disarmament in order to relieve the world from the crushing burdens of military and naval establishments.

"Normalcy."

For Secretary of State, President Harding selected Charles E. Hughes, and for Secretary of Commerce, Herbert C. Hoover. Andrew W. Mellon, a financier of Pittsburg, became Secretary of the Treasury. To the post of Attorney General, Harding appointed Harry M. Daugherty, of Ohio, the choice being made in recognition of Daugherty's service in managing Harding's campaign for the nomination. John M. Weeks, of Massachusetts became Secretary of War; Albert B. Fall, of New Mexico, Secretary of the Interior; and Edwin Denby, of Michigan, Secretary of the Navy. Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., who had served with distinction in the war, was appointed Assistant Secretary of the Navy, a position once held by his distinguished father.

Harding's Cabinet.

President Harding soon called the new Congress into special session. Among the measures passed were a temporary immigration restriction act, a packers' control law, a tax reduction act, a veterans' bureau act, an emergency protective tariff act, a measure authorizing the lending by the government of $2,000,000,000 to farmers and dealers in farm produce, and an act creating a budget system. The establishment of a budget system had long been urged by people interested in reducing government expenditures. As director of the budget, President Hard-

Important Measures.

ing appointed Charles G. Dawes, a Chicago financier who had served as purchasing agent for the American forces in France.

Limitation of Armaments Conference.

By invitation of President Harding an international conference to consider pacific problems and limitation of naval armaments met in Washington on November 12, 1921. France, Great Britain, Japan, Italy, China, Portugal, Holland and Belgium sent representatives. Secretary of State Hughes, ex-Secretary of State Elihu Root, and Senators Lodge and Underwood were the American representatives. Briand and Viviani came from France, Balfour from England, and Premier Tokugawa and Admiral Kato from Japan. On the previous day—Armistice Day—the body of an unknown American soldier brought from France, had been laid to rest amid impressive ceremonies at the National Cemetery at Arlington. This funeral created feelings favorable to the success of the conference. Secretary Hughes was chosen permanent chairman, and with great boldness made a definite proposal for the limitation of naval armaments. After weeks of consideration, the main hopes of the conference were happily realized. The chief results were as follows: First, a treaty providing for a ten years naval holiday and for reducing the navies of Great Britain, the United States, Japan, France and Italy. The respective naval strength of these powers was to be in the following ratio: 5:5:3:1.7:1.7 respectively. Second, a four-power treaty between Great Britain, the United States, France and Japan, binding these powers to respect each others' insular possessions in the Pacific. This treaty replaced the old Anglo-Japanese alliance. Third, a five-power treaty prohibiting the use of submarines against merchantment and of poison gas in warfare. Fourth, a nine-power treaty guaranteeing Chinese sovereignty and the principles of the "open door" in China. Fifth, a treaty by which Japan agreed to return the Shantung peninsula to China. Sixth, an agreement between Japan and the United States securing American rights in former German islands over which the Treaty of Versailles had given Japan a mandate. All these agreements were subsequently ratified by our Senate and by the other powers concerned. It is probable that this conference will be considered the most important achievement of the Harding administration.

Fordney-McCumber Tariff.

Other important acts of this period included the Fordney-McCumber Tariff Act which provided for very high protection. President Harding vetoed a bill giving a Federal bonus to soldiers of the World War, but a modified measure of this character was subsequently passed over President Coolidge's veto. President Harding tried very hard to secure the passage of a ship-subsidy bill, but failed. In this period the government disposed at competitive sale of 226 wooden ships con-

structed during the war. The vessels brought only $750,000, which was about the original cost of a single vessel. They had, in fact, proved a horrible failure, as General Goethals, who opposed their construction, had predicted.

European Debts.

Throughout this period affairs in Europe continued to be very much disturbed. Gradually our troops in the occupied zone of Germany were brought home, and when in January, 1923, France and Belgium seized the Ruhr Valley, the last troops were withdrawn. Although the Armistice had provided that the cost of occupation should form a first claim upon any indemnities exacted from Germany, the United States did not receive its share, which amounted to about $250,000,000. The United States was flooded with propaganda designed to induce us to take a more active part in European questions and especially to loan European countries more money or at least to cancel the debts already owed to us. Some Americans, especially idealists and those interested in selling goods abroad, advocated that we should forgive our Allies the sums advanced during the war; but a majority of Americans thought otherwise. By 1922, these debts with accrued interest amounted to about $11,000,000,000. The following year, the British financial commission negotiated an agreement for the payment of the British debt, which amounted on December 22, 1922, to $4,604,128,085.74. The sum of $4,128,085.74 was paid in cash, and for the remainder bonds bearing three per cent interest, payable semi-annually, were issued. The principal was made payable in installments for 62 years, but with the privilege of earlier payment on any interest-paying date. This adjustment was highly honorable to the British nation, but was merely in keeping with the high sense of honor of that people regarding financial obligations. Similar adjustments were reached with Italy and some of the minor debtor nations, but down to the present, France has failed to make an agreement for the extension of the debt. In the fall of 1925, a commission headed by Caillaux came to the United States, but refused to accept the terms proposed by our Government.

Death of Harding.

In June, 1923, President Harding, accompanied by his wife, and a number of friends, set out on a tour of the west and Alaska. On the way back from Alaska, the party stopped at Vancouver, British Columbia, and the President made a speech in which he earnestly appealed for a continuance of good feeling between Canada and the United States. At Seattle Harding became seriously ill. He was taken to San Francisco to the Palace Hotel. His condition was very grave, but by August 2 he seemed so much improved that the medical specialists who were attending him issued a bulletin saying that the danger was practically past. That evening, however, as his wife was reading aloud to him

from an article that dealt with his course as President, he died suddenly of an apoplectic stroke. The dead President was taken to Washington, and after appropriate ceremonies there was borne to a final resting place at his home at Marion, Ohio.

Coolidge.

The news of Harding's death reached the Vice-President late at night at his father's home at Plymouth, Vermont. Coolidge took the oath of office from his father, who was a notary public, and announced that he would continue his predecessor's policies and would retain his Cabinet. He was the first son of New England to attain the Presidential chair since Franklin Pierce. He graduated from Amherst, *cum laude,* studied law and entered practice at Northampton, Massachusetts. Almost immediately he got into politics and held office almost continuously for many years, being elected Governor in 1919 and again in 1920. Among his characteristics were a high sense of duty, common sense, frugality and taciturnity. Though capable of effective utterance, he was probably the most silent of all our Presidents, with the possible exception of General Grant.

Economy.

Efficient administration and reduction of the high burden of taxes were among the subjects that Coolidge had nearest to his heart, and along these lines much progress was made. The general financial condition of the country also improved under him. The era of hard times gradually passed, and the country once more entered upon a period of prosperity.

Election of 1922.

The Congressional elections of 1922, which had taken place in the period of depression, proved distinctly encouraging to the Democrats. The Republicans retained control of Congress but by a narrow margin in the House of Representatives. Democratic leaders, therefore, looked forward hopefully to 1924, when a new President must be chosen. Many Democrats wished to make the League of Nations the main issue. Ex-President Wilson, particularly, was anxious to make the League the issue. In a message sent out to the American people by him on Armistice Day of 1923, he declared that we had fallen into a "sullen and selfish isolation * * * manifestly cowardly and dishonorable." To close friends Wilson expressed the desire again to be the Democratic candidate, but he was an invalid so nearly helpless that his friends realized that it was impossible. He had, in fact, never recovered from the apoplectic stroke suffered in 1919, and on February 3, 1924, he died after a short illness. His passing aroused world-wide interest and provoked most conflicting comments upon his career. His admirers claimed that he was a great statesman, a great seer, one of the great figures of all time. His opponents characterized him as a doctrinaire, as a man whose policies took little heed of realities and they

Death of Wilson.

charged that he was responsible for our entering the World War practically unprepared. In the success of the League of Nations lies his greatest chance of immortality.

Johnson and La Follette.

Prior to the death of Harding it was generally conceded that he would be renominated, though it was doubtful whether or not he would be re-elected. After his death the situation changed. Senator Johnson, of California, and Senator La Follette, of Wisconsin, became avowed candidates for the nomination. During his first months in office, however, Coolidge had made a favorable impression upon the people, and his friends promoted his candidacy with great skill

Teapot Dome Scandal.

Earlier in 1924 disclosures of grave scandals involving members of the Cabinet seemed likely to diminish the chances of whatever Republican might be nominated. Early in Harding's administration certain public oil lands had been transferred by the Navy Department to the Department of the Interior, and valuable oil fields in California and at Teapot Dome, Wyoming, had been leased to private companies. There was nothing intrinsically dishonest or corrupt in such a step, though the policy of leasing public oil lands was opposed by many conservationists. Now, however, it was discovered that after granting these leases, Secretary of the Interior Albert B. Fall had received large sums of money, the pretense being that they were intended as "loans," though it appears that repayment was neither exacted nor expected. These disclosures, many of which were brought out by Congressional investigation, aroused much public indignation. Fall had retired from the Cabinet, and hence was beyond the reach of impeachment, but steps were taken to prosecute him and proceedings were brought in the courts to cancel the leases. Secretary of the Navy Denby had been responsible for transferring the oil lands to the Department of the Interior, and, though no evidence was discovered showing that he was corruptly involved, he resigned from the Cabinet. Public suspicion was also directed towards Attorney General Daugherty both as regards the oil leases and certain other questionable actions concerning which sensational revelations were made. Ultimately President Coolidge asked for and secured Daugherty's resignation.

Changes in the Cabinet.

Coolidge and Dawes.

Both La Follette and Johnson made active campaigns for the Republican nomination, but Republican sentiment crystallized in favor of Coolidge, and when the Republican convention met in Cleveland in June, he was nominated with little opposition. For his running mate, the convention named Charles G. Dawes, of Illinois, ex-director of the budget.

Democratic Aspirants.

There was a great group of Democratic candidates, including ex-Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo; Governor Alfred Smith, of New

York; James Cox, of Ohio; Senator Ralston, of Indiana; and John W. Davis, of West Virginia. At one time it was thought that Henry Ford, the well known automobile manufacturer of Detroit, might seek the Democratic nomination, but toward the end of 1923 he issued a statement praising President Coolidge and asking, "Why make a change?"

Platform.

At the Democratic convention in New York, a bitter contest developed regarding the attitude that should be taken toward the Ku Klux Klan and the League of Nations. The platform, as finally adopted, declared in favor of religious toleration and pledged the party if successful, to submit the question of entering the League of Nations to a popular referendum. The contest for the nomination aroused great bitterness. McAdoo and Smith were the leading candidates. McAdoo was a Protestant and favored prohibition; Smith was a Catholic and was classified as a "wet." After a long contest a situation developed that made the nomination of Senator Ralston a probability, but Ralston sent instructions to withdraw his name. Finally, at the 29th session of the convention and on the 103rd ballot, John W. Davis, of West Virginia, was nominated. Davis was regarded as a conservative, and he had been opposed by William Jennings Bryan. To conciliate Bryan and the Progressive element, the convention put forward for the vice-presidency the Commoner's brother Charles, who was Governor of Nebraska.

Davis and Bryan.

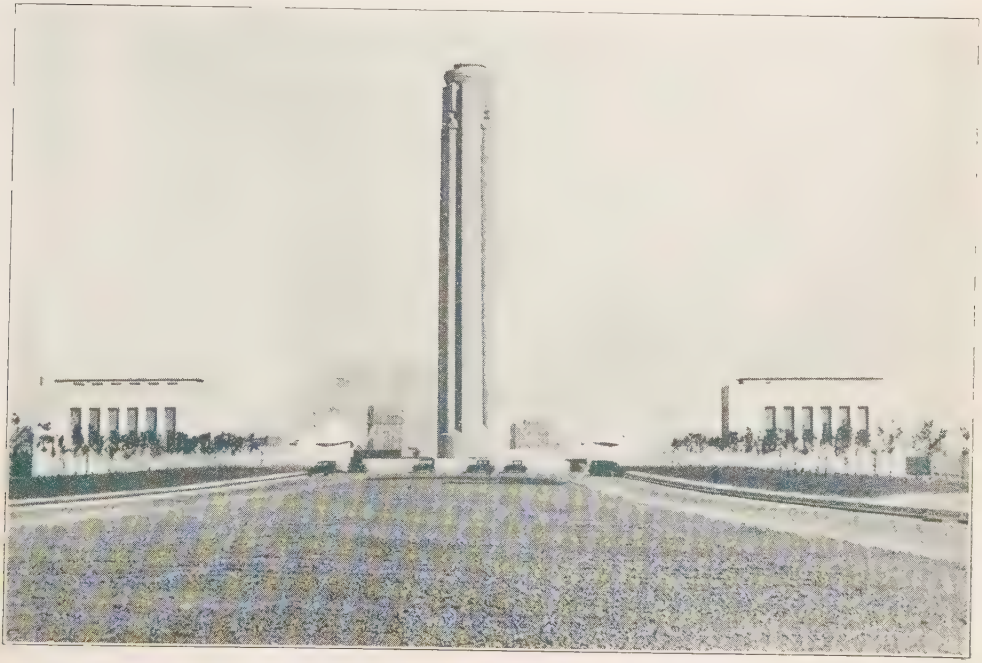
The Campaign.

The campaign was an unusually quiet one, and President Coolidge remained in Washington and refrained almost wholly from giving utterance to political opinions. Dawes, the Republican vice-presidental nominee, toured the country and gave color to the campaign by his outspoken pungent statements. Davis and Bryan also made active campaigns. Davis was an honorable and capable man, but he was not a "front page personality," and failed to make much of an impression upon the public mind. The main interest of the campaign centered in the candidacy of La Follette, who had been put forward by a number of political groups including the Socialists and the Farmer-Laborites. It was known that La Follette had great strength in Wisconsin, and it was thought by many that he might succeed in carrying enough other northwestern states to prevent any candidate receiving a majority of the electoral votes, with the result that the election would be thrown into the House of Representatives. The political complexion of the House was such that it seemed probable that in such a contingency it would be unable to make a choice, in which case it was assumed that the Vice-President, who would be chosen by the Senate, would succeed. La Follette gave the Republican leaders some anxious moments, but ulti-

La Follette's Party.

PRESIDENT CALVIN COOLIDGE

LINCOLN MEMORIAL, WASHINGTON, D. C.



LIBERTY MEMORIAL, KANSAS CITY, MO.

mately events proved that his candidacy aided Coolidge rather than Davis, since in most sections of the country he drew more votes from Democrats than from Republicans. In the election La Follette carried only Wisconsin, with 13 electoral votes; Davis carried the Solid South, and Oklahoma, with 136 electoral votes; Coolidge carried all the other states with 382 electoral votes. Coolidge's popular plurality exceeded seven million. In two states, Texas and Wyoming, women Governors were elected.

A political Landslide.

The most important measure passed by the 68th Congress concerned immigration. At one time, entrance into this country was open to all comers, with the result that criminals, paupers and other undesirables flocked into the country. In 1882 the Chinese were excluded, and from time to time acts were passed designed to exclude paupers, criminals, anarchists and other undesirables, but the total number of those who might come in was not limited. In some years more than a million immigrants entered the United States. Many of them settled in the great cities and added to the congestion of the population. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the character of the immigration changed, and an increasingly large number came from southern and southeastern Europe. Congress in 1907 created an immigration commission which studied the problem and recommended further restrictions, including literacy tests. A bill providing for such a test became a law over President Wilson's veto in 1917. The Great War temporarily checked immigration, but at its close it was apparent that if radical steps were not taken, the United States would be deluged with newcomers. Congress, therefore, imposed temporary restrictions to the effect that the number of immigrants in a single year from a given country must not exceed three percent of the number of persons from that country in the United States in 1910. In 1924 Congress passed a permanent act changing the percentage to two and the date to 1890. The effect of the change of date was greatly to diminish the number of immigrants who could come from Southeastern Europe, as the number from that region who had arrived in the United States by 1890 was comparatively small.

Immigration Restricted.

Although opposed to our entering the League of Nations, President Harding had, in 1923, declared in favor of our joining the Permanent Court of International Justice. President Coolidge took the same stand, and, early in 1926, after a long and bitter contest, the Senate consented to our entering the Court, but with reservations. Agitation to bring about our entrance into the League continued.

In colonial times and even far into the national period the use of strong drink was almost universal. Even ministers of the gospel drank openly. George Washington had a distillery for a time on one of his

Early Prohibition Agitation.

plantations, and Abraham Lincoln, when a clerk in a grocery store, sold whiskey. But the evils connected with strong drink gradually brought about increasing opposition to its use, and ultimately temperance and even total abstinence societies were formed. In the Fifties a strong prohibition wave swept over much of the country, and one State, Maine, adopted permanent prohibitory legislation. But the prohibition wave temporarily receded, and for years the movement made little concrete progress. In 1872 a national Prohibition Party was formed. Thereafter it always presented a candidate for the presidency. It never polled as many as 300,000 votes for its candidate, but it did serve to keep the issue before the people. Gradually the principle of "local option" spread over the country. The sordidness of the liquor traffic, the crime and poverty resulting from it, and also the vast economic waste involved served to create an ever increasing opposition to it. By 1913 nine States, several of them in the South, where many horrible crimes committed by negroes were traceable to liquor, had adopted State-wide prohibition. In that year Congress enacted over President Taft's veto the Webb Act, forbidding the shipment of liquor into a dry State in violation of a State law.

Local Option.

The 18th Amendment.

The World War gave a great impetus to the prohibition movement. By the end of 1917 twenty-six States had entered the dry column. The manufacture and use of intoxicating beverages were restricted by the President and Congress as war measures, and Congress submitted to the States a prohibition amendment. By the end of January, 1919, all but four States had ratified this amendment, and later in the year Congress enacted the drastic Volstead Law to carry it into effect. It has been found difficult to enforce the act in many places, and there has been much illegal making of intoxicants and much smuggling of liquor from abroad. Agitation continues to repeal the measure or at least to secure amendment to permit the use of mild beverages, such as light wines and beer. Such modification, however, seems unlikely. Although prohibition has not been wholly successful, there can be no question that it has tended to diminish pauperism, insanity and other evils. The total economic saving probably amounts to two billions of dollars annually. Much of this saving is expended for inutilities of one sort or another, but some of it has gone for the purchase of more food, clothing, school books and shoes for wives and children.

CHAPTER XLIV.

LATIN AMERICAN REPUBLICS.

SECTION I.—THE SPANISH AMERICAN WARS OF INDEPENDENCE (A. D. 1810–1826).

Deplorable Condition of Spanish America

Mexico, or New Spain, and South America, during the three centuries that they were dependencies of Spain, were to a great extent isolated from the rest of the world. The most exclusive policy was pursued by Spain toward her American colonies. No foreigners, except such as desired to make discoveries in natural history, were permitted to travel in Spanish America, and then only with the written consent of the King of Spain. The commerce of the Spanish American colonies was crippled by the most severe restrictions, and most of the wealth of the colonies flowed into the mother country. The *Council of the Indies*, in Spain, controlled the affairs of the Spanish American colonies, their political and commercial affairs, etc., all in the interest of the mother country, to the impoverishment and ruin of the colonies. The Spanish Americans were taught to look upon Spain as the mother of nations. The condition of the Creoles and Indians of Spanish America was the most deplorable imaginable. The natives were the victims of the most cruel oppression; being forced to work in the mines, where many of them perished. The influence of priestcraft and Jesuitism contributed to keep the inhabitants of Spanish America in intellectual darkness, and ignorance and superstition enabled Spain to uphold her dominion in Spanish America for three centuries. The condition of the Spanish Americans was far worse than that of the Anglo-Americans, as in the case of the former the intellect was enslaved. In 1780 the standard of revolt was raised in Peru by Tupac Amaru, a descendant of the Incas, who endeavored to restore his country's independence; but, after a bloody struggle of two years, the insurrection was suppressed, and Tupac Amaru was put to a cruel death, his body being drawn in quarters by horses.

Tupac Amaru's Revolt in Peru.

The immediate cause of the Spanish American Revolution had its origin in Europe. When intelligence of the dethronement of the legiti-

Spanish American Rise against Napoleon's Usurpation.

mate royal family of Spain, by the Emperor Napoleon I., reached Spanish America, in 1808, the inhabitants there, who since the first conquest of the country had been loyal to Spain, declared in favor of the patriots of Spain, who had taken up arms against the French invaders of their country and in defense of their rightful sovereign, Ferdinand VII. The Spanish Americans also took up arms for Ferdinand VII., for the purpose of preventing Spanish America from being placed under the dominion of Joseph Bonaparte, the so-called King of Spain; and they prepared to resist the viceroys, who, in order to retain their offices, for the most part sided with the French and acquiesced in the usurpation of Napoleon. But the motives of the Spanish Americans were misunderstood by the Provisional Junta in Spain, which sent out armies for their subjugation and which by its tyranny soon alienated the Spanish American colonies from the mother country; and the struggle assumed the shape of a war for independence on the part of the Spanish Americans.

The Creoles of Mexico and the European Spaniards.

In Mexico, or New Spain, all offices were in the possession of European Spaniards; while the Creoles, or Mexican Spaniards, were deprived of all share in the government. The Viceroy of New Spain allowed the Creoles a share in the government, in order to secure their support to Ferdinand VII., the lawful King of Spain. This measure was opposed by the provincial court of the Audiencia, which, siding with the European Spaniards, seized and imprisoned the Viceroy and again deprived the Mexican Creoles of their rights and privileges. These arbitrary proceedings increased the bitterness on the part of the Creoles toward the European Spaniards.

Revolution in Mexico under Hidalgo.

On the 16th of September, 1810, the Revolution in Mexico was begun, in the little town of Dolores, by a priest named Hidalgo. The insurrection spread with wonderful rapidity, and Hidalgo soon had one hundred thousand men under arms. With this immense force, Hidalgo advanced toward the city of Mexico and gained some victories, but soon made a hasty and unaccountable retreat.

His Cruelties and Overthrow.

Hidalgo gained some victories during the latter part of the same year, 1810, but tarnished his glory by his atrocities. The number of Spaniards put to death by his orders amounted to several thousand. After being defeated several times, Hidalgo was taken prisoner, and was shot by order of the Spanish authorities, in July, 1811. After the

Victories of Morelos.

death of Hidalgo, Morelos, a warlike priest, who was as generous as brave, gained many brilliant victories over the Spaniards, during the years 1811 and 1812; but he was defeated, captured and shot in 1813.

Mexican Guerrilla Leaders.

In 1813 a Congress which assembled at Chilpanzingo declared Mexico an independent nation. Various partisan leaders, such as Victoria, Bravo, Guerrero, Teran, Rayon and Torres, carried on a guer-

INCA CIVILIZATION

Lake Titicaca and Inca Ruins, in Bolivia

rilla warfare against the royalists until 1819, when the patriots were defeated, and Spanish authority was reëstablished temporarily in Mexico.

Iturbide and the Plan of Iguala.

On the 24th of February, 1821, Don Augustin Iturbide, who previously had fought on the side of the Spaniards, proclaimed the celebrated *Plan of Iguala*, which declared Mexico independent of Spain, its government a constitutional monarchy and its religion Roman Catholic, while all Mexicans who ranged themselves on the side of independence were invested with the rights of citizenship. After a feeble resistance on the part of the Spaniards, Spanish authority was overthrown; and Mexico became an independent nation, in 1821, exactly three centuries after the Spanish conquest of the country by Fernando Cortez, in 1521.

Mexican Independence.

General Guadalupe Victoria.

General Guadalupe Victoria, a very good man and a thorough patriot, concealed himself in the mountains for two and a half years, to escape capture by the Spanish troops who were in constant search of him. When the revolution under Iturbide broke out in 1821 the Mexican patriots searched for the long-lost General Victoria, who finally was found in a lonely mountain retreat, ragged and emaciated, being reduced to a mere skeleton, having subsisted on what he could find during his concealment in his secluded mountain hiding-place. He at once joined in the second and successful effort for his country's liberation, and his name and memory have been cherished ever since by his countrymen.

Juntas at Quito and Caracas.

In August, 1809, a junta was established at Quito by the inhabitants of that city. The junta was suppressed by the Viceroy of New Grenada; and, on the 2d of August, 1810, about three hundred of the supporters of the junta were massacred treacherously by the royalist troops. During the same year, 1810, a junta was established at Caracas, where a declaration of independence was promulgated. Caracas was blockaded by order of the regency of Spain. In their conduct the colonists were acting in the name of King Ferdinand VII. and in opposition to the various juntas in Spain and to the French, who had almost subdued the Spanish peninsula. While the war was raging in the Spanish peninsula, Spanish troops were sent to America to reduce the colonists to submission. A sanguinary war of twelve years' duration desolated New Grenada, Ecuador and Venezuela, which three provinces soon were united with the title of Colombia. In the course of this war the most shocking atrocities were perpetrated by the Spaniards.

Revolution in Colombia.

Declarations of Independence.

The Colombians, provoked at the tyranny of the mother country, now resolved upon a political separation from Spain; and on the 5th of July, 1811, a Congress assembled at Caracas declared Venezuela independent of Spain. Soon afterward the provinces composing New Grenada declared their independence; and their example was followed by Mexico, in 1813, and Buenos Ayres, in 1816. Still Spain blindly

Policy of the Bonapartes.

persisted in her despotic course until her American colonies were lost to her forever. Napoleon and Joseph Bonaparte were doing all in their power to promote the cause of Spanish American independence, with the view of strengthening themselves in Spain.

Juntas in Colombia.

A frightful conspiracy against the provisional government of Venezuela was suppressed in 1810. A constitution was adopted in Venezuela in 1812. A junta which had been established in Bogota, in July, 1810, gave place to a congress which conducted the affairs of the Revolution. A junta had been formed at Popayan and Santa Martha. A junta had been established at Carthagena in 1810. The various provinces, acting separately from their federal governments and often at war with them, prosecuted the war against the royalists with vigor. The royalists in Popayan, after defeating the patriots, themselves were defeated.

Dissensions in Colombia.

Earthquake at Caracas in 1812.

The earthquake in Venezuela in March, 1812, which destroyed Caracas, greatly injured the cause of the Revolution; as many of the patriots, believing the earthquake to be a punishment inflicted upon them from Heaven for their rebellious conduct, joined the royal cause. Space will not permit us to give an account of the many conflicts between the Colombians and the Spaniards, and the changes of government and civil wars among the Colombians themselves, while struggling for freedom against their common enemy.

Civil Wars.

Subjection of Venezuela.

After the earthquake at Caracas that city was taken by the Spaniards, who reëstablished their authority in Venezuela and who filled the dungeons of Puerto Cabello with the defeated patriots. The resistance to Spanish power was renewed in Venezuela by the illustrious Simon Bolivar, who soon defeated the Spaniards and liberated Venezuela from their yoke. The royalists then armed the slaves against the patriots; and the war was renewed with vigor and ended in the triumph of the patriots, who, under Bolivar, gained the battle of Carabobo on the 28th of May, 1814; but soon afterward Bolivar was defeated at La Puerta, and the royalists recovered Venezuela and held possession of that colony for some time.

Simon Bolivar's Revolt.

Tyranny of King Ferdinand VII.

In 1814 the Emperor Napoleon I. was overthrown in Europe by the allied powers, and Ferdinand VII. came in undisputed possession of the throne of Spain. The tyrannical measures of Ferdinand toward the rebellious Americans rendered forever impossible all hopes of a reconciliation between Spain and her revolted colonies. The patriots greatly weakened their cause by their internal dissensions. When the province of Cundinamarca refused to join the Colombian confederacy the Colombian Congress resorted to military force and sent General Bolivar with an army to compel Cundinamarca to unite with the other provinces of Colombia. Bolivar compelled the city of Bogota, the capital of

Civil Wars in Colombia.

Cundinamarca, to surrender; whereupon the rebellious province was obliged to join the confederation.

Spanish Victories and Defeats under Morilla.

In 1815 a Spanish army under the brutal Morillo arrived from Cadiz, conquered the island of Margarita, on the Colombian coast, and captured the city of Carthagena. General Bolivar again attempted to liberate Venezuela, but he was defeated and compelled to evacuate the province; and the Spaniards under General Morillo conquered New Grenada, captured Bogota and massacred many of the patriots. On the 5th of April, 1817, the city of Barcelona, in Venezuela, was taken by the Spaniards after a furious assault; but soon afterward the Colombian army under Generals Bolivar and Piar took the town of Angostura, in Guiana; and Morillo made an unsuccessful attack on the island of Margarita, which again had revolted.

General Piar's Defection.

On the 16th of October, 1817, General Piar, who had fought bravely for freedom in Colombia, having been detected in a conspiracy for obtaining the supreme power, was executed. The Colombian patriots now received assistance from enthusiastic individuals from Great Britain, who joined the Colombian armies and fought heroically for freedom in Colombia. Zealous persons from the United States also aided the Colombians.

Foreign Aid.

Battle of Boyaca.

General Bolivar, after marching his army into New Grenada, gained the most brilliant victory of the whole war in the battle of Boyaca, on the 7th of August, 1819. Soon afterward Bolivar entered Bogota, where he established a provisional government for New Grenada, after which he entered Venezuela. On the 17th of December, 1819, the Congress sitting at Angostura passed the fundamental law which united New Grenada and Venezuela into one state with the title of the *Republic of Colombia*. General McGregor, with a patriot force, after taking Puerto Cabello, was defeated by the royalists. The army and navy of Colombia captured Rio de la Hacha in April, 1820. An armistice was now concluded, and General Morillo was succeeded in command of the Spanish army by General Morales.

Republic of Colombia.

Battle of Carabobo.

The Colombian patriots captured Coro on the 11th of May, 1821; and on the 24th of June of the same year Bolivar defeated the Spaniards in the battle of Carabobo. The Congress of New Grenada, which shortly after convened at Cucuta, ratified the union with Venezuela. A Spanish flotilla was destroyed on the 30th of the same month, June, 1821, by the Colombian squadron under Admiral Biron, who compelled the city of Carthagena to capitulate on the 23d of September of the same year, 1821.

Other Colombian Victories.

Battle of Pinchincha.

On the 1st of June, 1822, the Colombians under General Sucre defeated the Spaniards in the bloody battle of Pinchincha, which liberated Quito, or Ecuador, from Spanish authority. The Colombian squadron

Capture of Maracaybo.

destroyed the Spanish flotilla in Lake Maracaybo on the 23d of July, 1823, and captured the town of Maracaybo, with the Spanish army under General Morales.

Capture of Puerto Cabello.

Finally the long war was closed and the independence of Colombia secured by the surrender of Puerto Cabello to the patriots, in the beginning of December, 1823. The United States already had acknowledged the independence of Colombia in 1822. In 1824 Bolivar marched into Peru; and a part of his army under General Sucre gained the battle of Ayacucho, which put an end to Spanish power in America.

Battle of Ayacucho.

Revolution in Buenos Ayres.

The news of the dethronement of the legitimate King of Spain by Napoleon, and the rise of the Spanish people against the usurpation of the Bonapartes, occasioned popular movements in Buenos Ayres. The Revolution in Buenos Ayres, or the provinces of La Plata, began on the 25th of May, 1810, when the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres established a provisional junta. In March, 1811, a new junta was appointed. The Spaniards of Montevideo were opposed to this proceeding, and sent an army against Buenos Ayres; and war was commenced.

Revolt in the Banda Oriental.

The royalists of Buenos Ayres were defeated; and a revolt was inaugurated in the Banda Oriental, of which Montevideo was the capital.

Dissensions in Buenos Ayres.

The patriots of Buenos Ayres, like those of all other parts of Spanish America, soon quarreled among themselves; and for ten years, while prosecuting the war against the Spaniards in Upper Peru and Chili, Buenos Ayres was distracted by numerous revolutions and civil wars.

Banda Oriental and Paraguay.

The Banda Oriental, with Artigas at its head, was often at war with Buenos Ayres and with the Brazilians, who claimed its territory. Paraguay became independent in 1812, with Dr. Francia as Dictator.

Independence of Buenos Ayres.

On the 9th of July, 1816, a Congress at Buenos Ayres declared the confederated provinces of the La Plata independent of Spain. Civil war and anarchy continued in the provinces until 1821, when a period of tranquillity and prosperity returned. In 1829 Spain acknowledged the independence of La Plata, or the Argentine Republic.

Revolution in Bolivia.

Bolivia, or Upper Peru, as it was called at the time, was the first of the Spanish American colonies to rise in rebellion against the despotism of Old Spain. On the 25th of March, 1809, the citizens of the wealthy and enterprising city of La Paz established a provisional junta. The

Revolts of La Paz.

city of La Paz was attacked by the royalists from Buenos Ayres, and, after a heroic defense, was forced to surrender, when many of the unfortunate inhabitants suffered death on the scaffold. The people of La Paz revolted a second time, but were subdued again. The neighboring cities of Cochabamba and Potosi, which also had risen in insurrection, were reduced likewise.

Battle of Ayacucho.

The bloody war between the patriots and the royalists in Upper Peru continued with various success until the close of 1824, when the

memorable battle of Ayacucho put an end to Spanish authority in South America, and Upper Peru became an independent republic, and was named *Bolivia*, in honor of the great Colombian President and Dictator, General Simon Bolivar, who framed a constitution for the Republic. Independence of Bolivia.

The revolutionary movement in Chili began in July, 1810, when the people of Santiago deposed their Captain-General and put another in his place. A junta was formed, which assembled a Congress to consider the condition of the country. Disturbances took place in 1811, which resulted in the exile of the opponents of the Revolution. The three ambitious brothers named Carrera soon overthrew the Congress and took the government of Chili into their own hands. In 1812 a Spanish army invaded Chili from Peru; and, through the dissensions of the Chilian leaders, O'Higgins and the Carreras, the authority of the royalists was reëstablished in Chili. Revolution in Chili. The Carreras and O'Higgins.

In 1817 the struggling Chilians found a deliverer in the valiant and patriotic San Martin, who, after crossing the Andes from Buenos Ayres at the head of a patriot army, overthrew the Spaniards in the battle of Chacabaco, which was fought on the 12th of February, 1817, and which gave independence to Chili. The Spaniards reconquered Chili; but their power was hopelessly broken and the independence of Chili permanently secured in the decisive battle of Maypu, fought on the 5th of April, 1818. San Martin. Battles of Chacabaco and Maypu.

Peru, the land of the Incas, was the last of the Spanish American colonies to strike for freedom. The government of Chili, convinced that Chilian independence was not secure so long as the royalists held Peru, sent an army under San Martin into Peru, in 1820, for the purpose of expelling the Spaniards and encouraging the Peruvians to throw off the Spanish yoke. A Chilian squadron, under the command of the British admiral, Lord Cochrane, whose standard was joined by many Englishmen and Americans, harassed the royalists on the coast of Peru, capturing many Spanish vessels. On San Martin's appearance in Peru the Peruvians rose almost unanimously, and the independence of Peru was declared. The Chilians everywhere defeated the Spaniards; and San Martin, after nobly proving his disinterestedness by declining the proffered Dictatorship, returned to Chili. Revolution in Peru. San Martin in Peru. Lord Cochrane's Squadron.

The Spaniards soon regained their lost power in Peru, which they held until the Colombian army under Bolivar marched to the rescue of the Peruvians. On the 6th of August, 1824, the Colombians, under General Sucre, gained a victory in the battle of Junin; and, on the 9th of December of the same year, 1824, Sucre annihilated the Spaniards in the decisive battle of Ayacucho, which secured the independence of Peru and which swept away forever every vestige of Spanish power on Battles of Junin and Ayacucho. Spanish American Independence.

the American continent. In 1826, Callao, the last stronghold of the Spaniards in South America, surrendered to the Peruvians, and Spanish America became free.

SECTION II.—CENTRAL AMERICAN REPUBLICS.

Aztec Civilization in Central America.

Like Mexico, Central America was peopled by the Aztecs at the time of the discovery of the New World; and the massive ruins of their cities amid their luxuriant tropical forests still astonish the traveler. This region was subdued by the Spaniards soon after their conquest of Mexico, and it remained in their possession until 1821, when it became a portion of Mexico. After Iturbide's fall, in 1823, Central America was separated from Mexico, and the five Central American states—Guatemala, Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica—became separate independent republics and formed a federal union under the title of *The United States of Central America;* but this union was dissolved in 1839, and the five Central American states became separate independent republics. In the latter years of the nineteenth century several unsuccessful attempts were made to form a new Central American union. Like Mexico and the South American republics, the little Central American republics have been distracted ever since their liberation by domestic revolutions and civil wars and by wars with each other. Their populations, like those of Mexico and South America, consist of the few whites of Spanish descent, along with the mixed races of Spanish and Indian extraction and the pure Indian tribes established there for centuries.

Spanish Dominion.

The Central American Republics.

SECTION III.—THE WEST INDIES.

Discovery of the West Indies.

The West India Islands were discovered by Columbus in his first voyage in 1492; Guanahani, or San Salvador, being the first spot in the New World on which the great Genoese navigator landed. This discovery gave Spain the exclusive right which she claimed to the possession of the new continent. The other West India Islands were discovered soon afterward by Columbus and others; and in 1493 Columbus founded San Domingo, on the island of Hayti—the first European settlement in the New World.

Founding of San Domingo.

Spanish Colonization in the West Indies.

The Spaniards soon colonized the large West India Islands; and their harsh and cruel treatment of the mild and inoffensive aborigines, whom they enslaved and compelled to labor for them, soon extinguished the native race, after which the Spaniards supplied their places as slaves by

kidnapping negroes from their homes in the wilds of Africa. The smaller islands, left without inhabitants, became the nests of swarms of pirates, or *buccaneers*, who roamed over the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico and were the terror of the Spanish main during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. During the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries many of the smaller West India Islands came into the possession of various European nations—Spain, France, Holland, Denmark and England.

Buccaneers.

European Possessions in the West Indies.

During the wars among the European powers in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the West Indies were the scenes of naval operations between the belligerent nations, and the various small islands frequently changed hands. During Queen Elizabeth's reign in England, Sir Francis Drake made several successful attacks on Porto Rico and other Spanish West India Islands. In 1655, during Oliver Cromwell's Lord Protectorship in England, an English fleet and army under Admiral Sir William Penn and General Venables conquered Jamaica from the Spaniards; and that island has remained in England's possession ever since, slavery having been abolished in the island by act of the British Parliament in 1833. A negro rising in 1865 was crushed by the severe measures of Governor Eyre. During the Seven years' War in Europe the British army and navy stormed and took Havana, in 1762, but it was restored to Spain by the Peace of Paris in 1763.

European Struggles in the West Indies.

English Conquest of Jamaica.

Hayti, or Hispaniola (Little Spain), was discovered by Columbus on his first voyage and was owned exclusively by Spain until 1697, when the western part of the island was ceded to France by the Peace of Ryswick. The French part of the island prospered, while the Spanish part languished and declined. During the French Revolution the negro slaves in the French part of the island revolted under Toussaint Louverture, who first proclaimed himself Emperor, but finally was seized by order of Napoleon and was carried to France, where he died in 1803, after less than a year's captivity. In 1822 the Republic of Hayti was established and the Spanish part of the island was annexed to it, and in 1825 France acknowledged the independence of the island republic, but in 1844 the people of the Spanish part of the island revolted and founded the independent Republic of Dominica. In 1849 President Soulouque, of Hayti, made a feeble effort to conquer Dominica, and in 1850 he made himself Emperor of Hayti under the title of Faustin I., but in 1859 he was forced to abdicate and the Republic of Hayti was restored. Both Hayti and Dominica have been torn almost constantly by revolutions and civil wars.

Hayti and San Domingo.

During the nineteenth century Cuba frequently revolted against Spain, the most noted revolts being the ten years' war of 1868 1878 and the revolt of 1895–1898, the last of which brought on the Spanish-

Cuba's Revolts and Liberation.

American War in 1898, which ended in the liberation of Cuba through the intervention of the United States, Cuba becoming an independent republic, while Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands were ceded by Spain to the United States.

SECTION IV.—FIRST MEXICAN EMPIRE AND REPUBLIC (A. D. 1821–1861).

Iturbide, Emperor.

On the 24th of September, 1821, the Mexican capital was entered in triumph by Iturbide. A Congress which was assembled in 1822 elevated Iturbide to the dignity of *Emperor of Mexico* with the title of Augustin I. Soon a dispute arose between the Emperor and the Congress. Iturbide ended the dispute by dissolving the Congress; but his arbitrary conduct produced a revolution which resulted in compelling him to abdicate his crown and to flee from the country, May, 1823. He retired to Europe, but returned to Mexico in February, 1824; and, after making a fruitless effort to regain his former power, he was shot by order of the provincial congress of Tamaulipas.

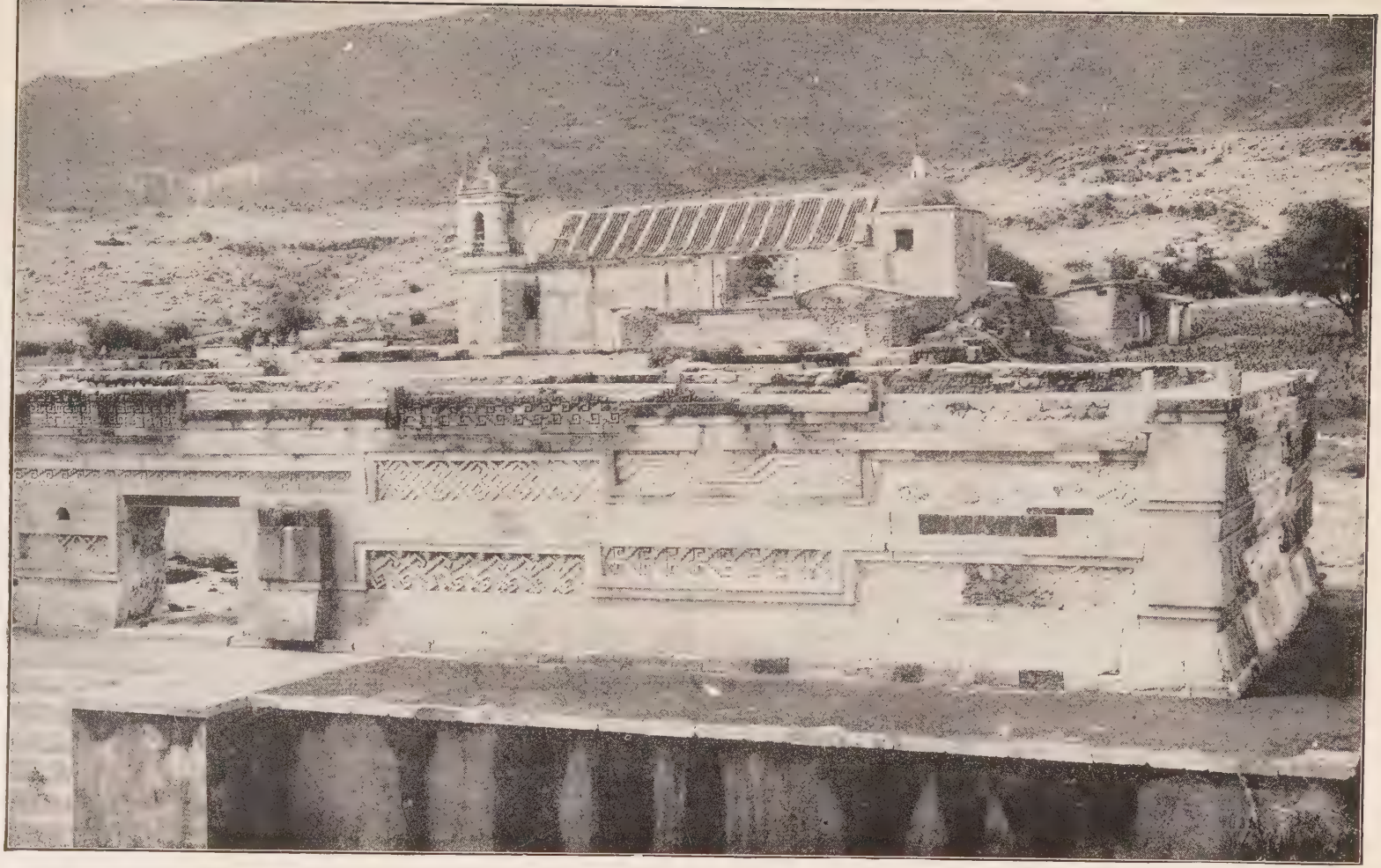
His Overthrow and Death.

Mexico's Federal Constitution of 1824.

After the overthrow and flight of Iturbide, in 1823, a Congress was convened, and a new constitution was established, by which Mexico became a federal republic. This Federal Constitution, which was somewhat modeled after the Constitution of the United States of America, declared the *United States of Mexico* a federal republic, and divided the government into three departments—legislative, executive and judicial. The legislative power was vested in a National Congress, consisting of a Senate and a House of Representatives; the Senate to be composed of two members from each State, elected for a term of four years by the Legislatures of the States; and the House of Representatives to consist of members elected for a term of two years by the citizens of the several States. The executive power was vested in a President, who, with a Vice President, was to be elected by the Legislatures of the several Mexican States for a term of four years. The President was to be a Mexican born and thirty-five years of age. The judicial power was vested in a Supreme Court, consisting of eleven Judges and one Attorney-General, who were to be elected by the State Legislatures and who were not to be removed except in cases specified by law. With many excellent features, this constitution did not provide for trial by jury; and it declared the religion of Mexico to be perpetually the "Roman Catholic Apostolic," to the exclusion of all other religious systems.

President Guadalupe Victoria.

After the adoption of the Mexican Federal Constitution of 1824, General Guadalupe Victoria was elected President of Mexico, with Gen-



MAYA CIVILIZATION IN MEXICO

Ruins of the Palace at Mitla. The Church in Background is Modern

eral Nicholas Bravo as Vice President. Victoria and Bravo were installed into office on the 1st of January, 1825.

Escoces and Yorkinos.

The administration of President Victoria was very prosperous, and the Mexican Republic then enjoyed a greater degree of prosperity than at any previous or subsequent period. The Mexican nation, however, was divided into two political parties, each of which was controlled by a Masonic lodge. The *Escoces*, or aristocratic party, desired a strong central government, like the Federalists of the United States, and were accused by their opponents of aiming at the establishment of a constitutional monarchy. The *Yorkinos*, or democratic party, desired the preservation of the federal system as opposed to centralism, like the Jefferson Republicans of the United States, and were charged with being anarchists and subverters of public order.

Election Corruption and Frauds in 1826.

In the Mexican elections of 1826 bribery, corruption and all sorts of disreputable means were resorted to by the two great political parties which divided the nation; and many of the elections were declared null and void, in consequence of the illegal proceedings by which they had been effected. In the same year, 1826, the Escoces brought about an insurrection against the government; but the movement was suppressed very easily.

Presidential Election of 1828.

Another Presidential election took place in Mexico in the year 1828. The candidate of the Escoces, or aristocratic party, was General Pedraza; and the nominee of the Yorkinos, or democratic party, was General Guerrero. To the surprise of all, Pedraza was elected by a majority of only two electoral votes over his opponent. The Yorkinos, thus defeated in the election, which they declared to have been accomplished by fraud and bribery, determined to place themselves in power by force of arms. The youthful general, Santa Anna, declared that the election of Pedraza had been secured by corruption and bribery; and, at the head of five hundred men, he took possession of the castle of Peroté and proclaimed Guerrero President. During the last day of November and the first three days of December, 1828, a sanguinary conflict took place in the Mexican capital between the government guard and a large body of insurgents, which ended in the flight of Pedraza, the President-elect, who, rather than involve his country in civil war on his own account, advised his partisans to submit to an unconstitutional President, and left the country. Thus revolutionary force was triumphant over the constitution and laws of the Mexican Republic.

Revolution and Civil War.

Flight of Pedraza.

President Guerrero.

When the Mexican Congress met, that body declared General Guerrero, the defeated candidate of the Yorkinos, President of Mexico; he having, next to General Pedraza, the highest number of votes. In 1829 a Spanish army of four thousand men landed at Tampico for the

Spanish Invasion.

invasion of the Mexican Republic; but, after a four months' occupation, the invading army surrendered to Santa Anna, on the 10th of September, 1829.

Guerrero's Overthrow and Death.

As President Guerrero refused to relinquish the dictatorial powers which had been conferred upon him for the purpose of meeting the Spanish invasion, General Bustamente, the Vice President, headed a revolution, which resulted in the overthrow of Guerrero and the assumption of the Presidency by Bustamente. Guerrero afterward attempted to recover his authority, but he was made a prisoner and was shot as a traitor to the established government of the Mexican Republic.

President Bustamente.

Bustamente's Overthrow and Recall of Pedraza.

In 1832 another revolution occurred in Mexico, headed by Santa Anna, who had declared against the arbitrary encroachments of President Bustamente. After a short contest, the revolution ended in the downfall of Bustamente, who retired to France; whereupon the exiled Pedraza, who had been elected constitutionally in 1828, was recalled to serve out the remaining three months of his unexpired Presidential term.

Santa Anna's First Presidency.

Early in 1833 Santa Anna himself was raised to the Presidency of Mexico, with Gomez Farias as Vice President. In less than a fortnight after Santa Anna had entered upon the duties of his office, an insurrection broke out within twenty miles of the Mexican capital, supposed to have been instigated by the President himself, as the avowed object of the insurgents was to make Santa Anna Dictator; but he took the command of a large force against the insurgents, whom he defeated completely. Not long afterward Santa Anna left the executive authority in the hands of the Vice President, Gomez Farias, and retired to his estate, to wait for a more favorable occasion to strike a blow for dictatorial power.

Unsuccessful Insurrections.

Abolition of the Federal Constitution of 1824.

Early in 1834 Santa Anna, placing himself at the head of the military chiefs and the army, dissolved the Congress and summoned another; and, taking into his own hands all the powers of government, he trampled under foot the Constitution which he had sworn to defend. The Mexican States were convulsed more or less by these arbitrary proceedings; but the Centralist party, headed by Santa Anna, after much opposition, succeeded in abolishing the Federal Constitution of 1824 and established a "Strong Central Republic." The State Legislatures were declared to be abolished, and the States were converted into departments and placed under the charge of military commanders, who were to be responsible to the chief authorities of the Mexican nation. The supreme power was to be centralized in the hands of a single individual whose will was law. At the head of this new government, republican only in name, was Santa Anna as President. Gomez Farias, who, at the head of the Federalist party, supported the Constitution of

Santa Anna's Dictatorship.

1824, was thrown into prison; and General Barragan, a leading Centralist, was made Vice President. Several of the Mexican States rose in arms to uphold the Federal Constitution; but all, with the exception of Texas, were speedily reduced to complete submission by the arms of Santa Anna.

Texan War of Independence.

The arbitrary and usurping conduct of Santa Anna led to a rebellion of the province of Texas, which was inhabited almost exclusively by emigrants from the United States. These emigrants refused to submit to Santa Anna's military rule and began a rebellion for the purpose of achieving their independence of Mexican authority. The Mexican troops who invaded Texas were repulsed by the Texans at Gonzales on the 2d of October, 1835. Before the end of the year 1835 the Texans captured the strong fortresses of Goliad and the Alamo. The following year, 1836, Santa Anna invaded Texas with eight thousand Mexican troops. For two weeks four thousand Mexicans under Santa Anna had vainly besieged the Alamo, when, at length, on the 6th of March, 1836, they assaulted the fortress, which they entered only over the dead bodies of the one hundred and fifty Texans who had defended it so gallantly.

Santa Anna's Invasion of Texas.

Fall of the Alamo.

Texan Declaration of Independence.

On the 2d of April, 1836, a convention of delegates assembled at Washington, on the Colorado, declared Texas independent In the meantime a Mexican force under General Urrea was committing the most shocking atrocities along the coast of Texas, massacring small bodies of Texans after they had surrendered. On the 21st of April, 1836, was fought the celebrated battle of San Jacinto, in which sixteen hundred Mexicans under Santa Anna were defeated by seven hundred and eighty-three Texans commanded by General Sam Houston, after a fierce struggle of twenty minutes. On the day after the battle Santa Anna was found in the woods by the victorious Texans and was made a prisoner. On being brought before General Houston, Santa Anna exclaimed: "You were born to no ordinary destiny; you conquered the Napoleon of the West."

Battle of San Jacinto.

Santa Anna's Captivity.

Santa Anna's Release.

In order to obtain his release, Santa Anna ordered the Mexican army to retire beyond the Rio Grande and acknowledged the independence of Texas; but the Mexican Congress refused to confirm the agreement which Santa Anna had made with the Texans, and even Santa Anna himself, on his arrival in Mexico, disavowed all treaties which he had made while a prisoner. Although Mexico refused to acknowledge the independence of Texas, she did not make another vigorous effort to reconquer her lost province. Texas remained an independent republic for nine years, recognized by France, Great Britain and the United States; after which it became a State of the American Union, A. D. 1845.

Texas, an Independent Republic.

President Bustamente.

After Santa Anna's departure from Mexico for the invasion of Texas the executive authority of the Mexican Republic devolved upon the Vice President, General Barragan; and after the death of the latter, soon afterward, General Bustamente, who just had returned from France, was invested with the functions of the Presidency. Santa Anna, by his failure to subdue the Texans, having lost the confidence and favor of the Mexican people, was obliged to retire to private life, until another revolution in his unhappy country restored him to power.

Santa Anna's Retirement.

General Mexia's Rebellion and Death.

A rebellion which broke out in Mexico in 1838 was speedily quelled by Santa Anna, whom President Bustamente had entrusted with the command of the government army; and General Mexia, the leader of the rebellion, was shot after he had surrendered. In November of the same year, 1838, a French fleet appeared before Vera Cruz; and, when the Mexican authorities rejected a demand for the reparation of the losses sustained by French subjects during the domestic convulsions in Mexico, the fleet blockaded the harbor of Vera Cruz and French troops were landed before that city. During the retreat of the invaders from Vera Cruz, Santa Anna had one of his legs taken off by a cannon-ball.

French Fleet at Vera Cruz.

Insurrection of 1840.

In July, 1840, an insurrection of the Federalists, headed by General Urrea and Gomez Farias, broke out in the city of Mexico; and, after a bloody contest of twelve days in the streets of the city between the opposing factions, a universal amnesty was agreed upon. During the same year, 1840, the province of Yucatan seceded from Mexico; but, after a struggle of three years against the Mexican forces, it was again united with Mexico.

Secession of Yucatan.

Overthrow of Bustamente.

In August, 1841, another revolution broke out in Mexico, headed by General Paredes and Santa Anna. The revolutionary forces bombarded the capital; and, after a struggle of one month in the streets of the city, the revolution ended in the downfall and flight of President Bustamente.

Santa Anna's Second Presidency.

In September, 1841, a convention of military officers at Tacubaya provided for the assembling of a Congress to frame a new constitution; but this Congress, which met in June, 1842, was soon dissolved by Santa Anna, whom a junta had made Provisional President; and in June, 1843, a national junta, or council, selected by him, framed a new constitution, establishing an intricate representative system of government, leaving the Mexican people but a shadow of power. The Mexican Republic was divided into Departments. The Roman Catholic religion was to be protected to the exclusion of all others. The executive power was vested in a President to be elected for five years, who was to be assisted by a Council of Government, composed of seventeen members selected by the President, and whose tenure of office was to be perpetual. The legislative power was vested in a Congress, con-

Mexican Constitution of 1842.

CATHEDRAL, CITY OF MEXICO

sisting of a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies. An annual income of two hundred dollars was required for the enjoyment of all the rights of citizenship. Every five hundred inhabitants of a Department were to be allowed one elector; twenty of these electors were to choose one member of the electoral college of the Department, and the electoral college was to elect the members of the Chamber of Deputies. One-third of the members of the Senate were to be chosen by the Chamber of Deputies and the President of the Republic, and the remaining two-thirds were to be elected by the Assemblies of the Departments. Under this complicated representative system, Santa Anna was made President, or, with more propriety, virtual Dictator of Mexico, in 1843.

Revolution and Civil War of 1844.

The almost absolute government of Santa Anna produced a widespread secret dissatisfaction throughout the Mexican nation. In October, 1844, Santa Anna retired to his farm on private business; and the National Senate appointed the Minister of War, Canalizo, to perform the executive duties in the absence of the President. In November, 1844, General Paredes, the adherent of Santa Anna in the revolution of 1841, pronounced against the Dictator and took the field against him. The National Congress siding with Paredes, that body was dissolved and the members were shut up in prison by order of Canalizo, the acting President; but they soon were released by a body of insurgents; and in the capital the revolutionists caused Santa Anna's amputated leg, which had been buried with military honors, to be carried about the streets and torn in pieces. After a short civil war, Santa Anna was made a prisoner by the revolutionists, in January, 1845, while attempting to escape from the country; and, after an imprisonment of several months, the National Congress decreed his perpetual banishment from the country.

Overthrow of Santa Anna by Paredes.

President Herrera.

After the overthrow of Santa Anna, in January, 1845, General Herrera was appointed Provisional President of Mexico. In August of the same year he was elected President, and on the 16th of September he was sworn into office in the presence of the Mexican Congress. During Herrera's Provisional Presidency, the Republic of Texas was annexed to the United States of America, July 4, 1845; whereupon General Almonte, the Mexican Minister at Washington, demanded his passports; and, when intelligence of the annexation reached Mexico, President Herrera issued a proclamation calling upon the Mexican people to defend the integrity and unity of their country, which were represented as being seriously threatened by the aggressions of the United States. War between Mexico and the United States broke out in the spring of the following year, 1846.

Rupture with the United States.

When President Herrera, convinced of the inability of Mexico to prosecute a successful war against the United States, manifested a de-

Overthrow of Herrera by Paredes.

President Paredes.

sire for a peaceful settlement of the difficulty between the two nations, General Paredes, who had the command of the army marching northward to drive the United States forces from Texas, took the occasion to arouse the patriotism of his countrymen to prevent the dismemberment of the Mexican Republic, and pronounced against the administration of Herrera. Upon the approach of Paredes to the capital the army there declared in favor of the revolution, and Herrera was driven from power and Paredes was elevated to the Presidency.

War with the United States.

Mexican Defeats.

President Paredes no sooner had entered upon the duties of his office than he made the most energtic preparations to carry on the war against the United States. The first bloodshed between the military forces of the United States and Mexico occurred on the 24th of April, 1846, when an American reconnoitering party under Captain Thornton was captured by the Mexicans on the Texas bank of the Rio Grande. The Americans under General Taylor defeated the Mexicans under General Arista in the battles of Palo Alto, May 8, 1846, and Resaca de la Palma, the next day, May 9, 1846; and during the same month the American and Mexican governments formally declared war against each other. On the 18th of May, 1846, the American army under General Taylor captured the Mexican city of Matamoras; and on the 24th of September, 1846, Monterey, after a defense of four days, also surrendered to Taylor.

Overthrow of Paredes.

Santa Anna's Third Presidency.

In the midst of her war with the United States, Mexico was not free from domestic dissensions. While President Paredes was engaged in preparations to prosecute a vigorous war against the United States his administration was cut short, as Santa Anna had been recalled by the revolutionary party; and in December, 1846, that notorious leader was again raised to the Presidency of the Mexican Republic. Immediately after his elevation to power, Santa Anna, notwithstanding his former professions of a desire for the restoration of peace between the two nations, took the field in person against the invading forces of the United States.

Occupation of Mexico by the United States Army.

Disasters befell the Mexican arms in rapid succession. The Americans conquered New Mexico and Upper, or New California; while General Taylor, with five thousand Americans, defeated twenty-two thousand Mexicans under Santa Anna in the famous battle of Buena Vista, on the 22d and 23d of February, 1847. General Scott, with an American army of ten thousand men, captured Vera Cruz, March 26, 1847; defeated thirty thousand Mexicans under Santa Anna in the battles of Cerro Gordo, April 18, 1847; San Antonio, Contreras and Churubusco, August 20, 1847; Molino del Rey, September 8, 1847, and Chapultepec, September 13, 1847; and on the 14th of September, 1847, he entered the Mexican capital in triumph, and Santa Anna fled

from the country. On the 2d of February, 1848, a treaty of peace was concluded at Guadalupe Hidalgo, by which Mexico ceded New Mexico and Upper California to the United States, receiving fifteen million dollars as compensation for the ceded territory. **Peace of Guadalupe Hidalgo.**

In the autumn of 1848 General Herrera again became President of Mexico, and he remained in office until January, 1851, when he was succeeded by General Arista. In January, 1853, Mexico again became disturbed by a domestic revolution, which resulted in the overthrow of President Arista's administration by Santa Anna, who had just returned to Mexico. **Presidents Herrera and Arista.**

After the overthrow of Arista, Santa Anna was again made President of Mexico; but adversity had not curbed his ambition. Soon after his restoration to the Presidency he was accused of a design to assume imperial power, and the consequence was another revolution in his unhappy country. The leader of this revolution was General Alvarez, "the Panther of the Pacific." After a short civil war Santa Anna was hurled from power, and his public career was ended forever. **Santa Anna's Fourth Presidency and Overthrow.**

After the overthrow of Santa Anna in 1855, General Alvarez, his antagonist, was invested with the office of President; but Alvarez was soon succeeded by General Comonfort. On the 11th of March, 1857, a new constitution was promulgated by the Mexican Congress; but President Comonfort, supported by the army, violently opposed this constitution, because it greatly restricted the Presidential power; and, in January, 1858, Mexico again became a prey to the horrors of revolution and civil war. **Presidents Alvarez and Comonfort.** **Civil War.**

In 1858 President Comonfort resigned; whereupon General Zuloaga made himself President, in utter disregard of the constitutional rights of Benito Juarez, who, as President of the Supreme Court of Justice, was the legitimate successor of Comonfort. Civil war continued to distract the unhappy country; and Juarez, being defeated, retired from the country; but he afterward returned and asserted his constitutional rights to the Presidency of the Mexican Republic. **President Zuloaga.** **Civil War.**

The civil war in Mexico, between the Liberals, headed by Benito Juarez, and the Conservatives, headed by Comonfort, Miramon, Marquez, Almonte and others, continued throughout 1860. Juarez finally triumphed over his enemies and secured possession of the office of President, to which he had a legitimate right; but the defeat of his unprincipled antagonists did not restore peace to his distracted country. Juarez was an able statesman and possessed the qualities essential in a patriotic leader in one of the most momentous crises of his country's history. It has been said that he was a descendant of the ill-fated Aztec Emperor, Montezuma II., who was killed by his enraged subjects for his failure to resist the Spanish conquerors under Fernando Cortez. **President Benito Juarez.** **Civil War.**

SECTION V.—SECOND MEXICAN EMPIRE AND RESTORED REPUBLIC (SINCE A. D. 1861).

British, French and Spanish Invasion of Mexico.

During the civil war between the Liberals and the Conservatives both parties seized on the property of foreigners in Mexico, and the Mexican Congress passed an act suspending for two years the payment of certain foreign obligations of debt. In consequence of this action of the Mexican Congress, the governments of Great Britain, France and Spain concluded a Triple Alliance, at London, with the view of forcing Mexico to fulfill her foreign obligations; and, in December, 1861, a combined British, French and Spanish expedition arrived at Vera Cruz.

Allied Occupation of Vera Cruz.

The allied troops occupied Vera Cruz without resistance, that city having been evacuated previously by the Mexican forces. The troops of the expedition suffered severely from the excessive heat of the climate; and negotiations were soon opened for a peaceful settlement of difficulties, while the invading army, with the concurrence of the Mexican authorities, occupied more salubrious and healthful quarters in Cordova, Orizaba and Tehuacan, with the understanding that if hostilities should be renewed the allied expeditionary troops should first retire to the positions which they had occupied before the commencement of negotiations.

British and Spanish Evacuation of Mexico.

At a meeting of the representatives of the three allied nations in Mexico, just previous to the opening of the peace negotiations, the French Minister to Mexico presented the enormous Jecker claim. This surprised the British Minister and General Prim, the Spanish commander; and the presentation of this claim, with other disclosures made to them, leading to the belief that the Emperor Napoleon III. intended to interfere in the domestic affairs of the Mexican nation, caused the British Minister and the Spanish commander, on the 9th of April, 1862, to declare the Convention of London transgressed and to withdraw the British and Spanish troops from Mexico; from which time the invasion and military occupation of Mexico was continued by the French alone.

Siege and Capture of Puebla by the French.

After the withdrawal of the British and Spanish troops hostilities were renewed by the French and the Mexicans; and the French did not return to their original positions as agreed upon with the Mexican authorities, but retained possession of Orizaba. On the 24th of February, 1863, the French marched from Orizaba to Puebla, to which they laid siege on the 18th of March. Finally, on the 18th of May, 1863, after a vigorous siege and a heroic defense of two months, during which the garrison repulsed many of the assaults of the besiegers, Puebla and its garrison of seventeen thousand men under General Ortega were surrendered to the French.

French Occupation of the City of Mexico.

On the 10th of June, 1863, the French under General Forey entered the city of Mexico, after it had been evacuated by the Republican forces under President Juarez, who retired to San Luis Potosi, afterward to Monterey and still later to Chihuahua. Soon after the capture of the Mexican capital by the French, General Forey established a junta of thirty-five Mexicans, which junta selected an *Assembly of Notables*, which assembly, by a vote of two hundred and thirty-one to nineteen, declared that the future government of Mexico should be a limited hereditary monarchy, with a Roman Catholic prince for sovereign, to bear the title of Emperor, and that the crown should be offered first to the Archduke Maximilian of Austria, of the Imperial House of Hapsburg.

Action of General Forey's Junta.

Archduke Maximilian of Austria, Emperor of Mexico.

The French were now firmly established in the heart of Mexico, but the Juarists were still dominant in the southern and western portions of the country; and the contest between the Juarists and the Imperialists continued with various success until the early part of 1864, when the Archduke Maximilian of Austria arrived in the Mexican capital and was proclaimed Emperor of Mexico. Maximilian had been placed on the Mexican throne through the instrumentality of the Emperor Napoleon III. of France; and his throne was upheld by the French expeditionary troops and their Austrian auxiliaries and by the Mexican Imperialists; but the Juarists, or Mexican Republicans, kept the field in defense of their free institutions and waged a sanguinary guerrilla warfare against their foreign and domestic foes, having with them the sympathy of the friends of republican government everywhere. The war was carried on with great barbarity by both parties, the shooting of prisoners being of frequent occurrence, regardless of the usages of modern warfare.

His War with President Juarez.

Mexican Republican Disasters.

The year 1864 was an eventful one in the history of Mexico. The French captured the city of Matamoras, and the whole Mexican army under General Cortina was forced to surrender as prisoners of war. This misfortune to the Liberal cause, together with disasters to the arms of the Juarists in other quarters, seemed to leave the cause of the Mexican Republic hopeless; and Maximilian's Empire appeared to be on a fair way to become secure.

Decline of Maximilian's Empire.

With the downfall of the Great Rebellion in the United States the vitality of Maximilian's Empire decayed; while President Juarez, who in the meantime had been driven into the extreme north-eastern limits of Mexico, gathered new strength, and by the autumn of 1865 he had recovered a large amount of territory from the Mexican Imperialists and their French and Austrian allies. In November, 1865, the Imperialists evacuated Chihuahua, which soon was taken possession of by the Juarists.

The United States and the Monroe Doctrine.

The progress of events in Mexico was watched with interest by the government and people of the United States; as the conduct of the Emperor of the French in attempting the establishment of a Latin empire on the American continent was in defiance of the Monroe Doctrine, proclaimed by the President of the United States at the time of the emancipation of Spanish America from the yoke of Spain. The United States government, engaged in a gigantic struggle against domestic foes for its own preservation, was not in a position to oppose the unprincipled schemes of the French Emperor from the beginning; but, finally, after having crushed the Great Rebellion against its own authority, the United States government resolved upon the enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine, and demanded of the Emperor Napoleon III. the withdrawal of the French expeditionary forces from Mexican territory. After some negotiation Napoleon III. agreed to abandon the cause of his dupe, Maximilian; and the French troops, about twenty-six thousand in number, were withdrawn gradually from Mexican soil. Early in 1867 Marshal Bazaine, with the last French contingent, evacuated Mexico; thus leaving Maximilian and the Mexican Imperialists alone to contend against the Juarists.

French Evacuation of Mexico.

Overthrow and Execution of Maximilian.

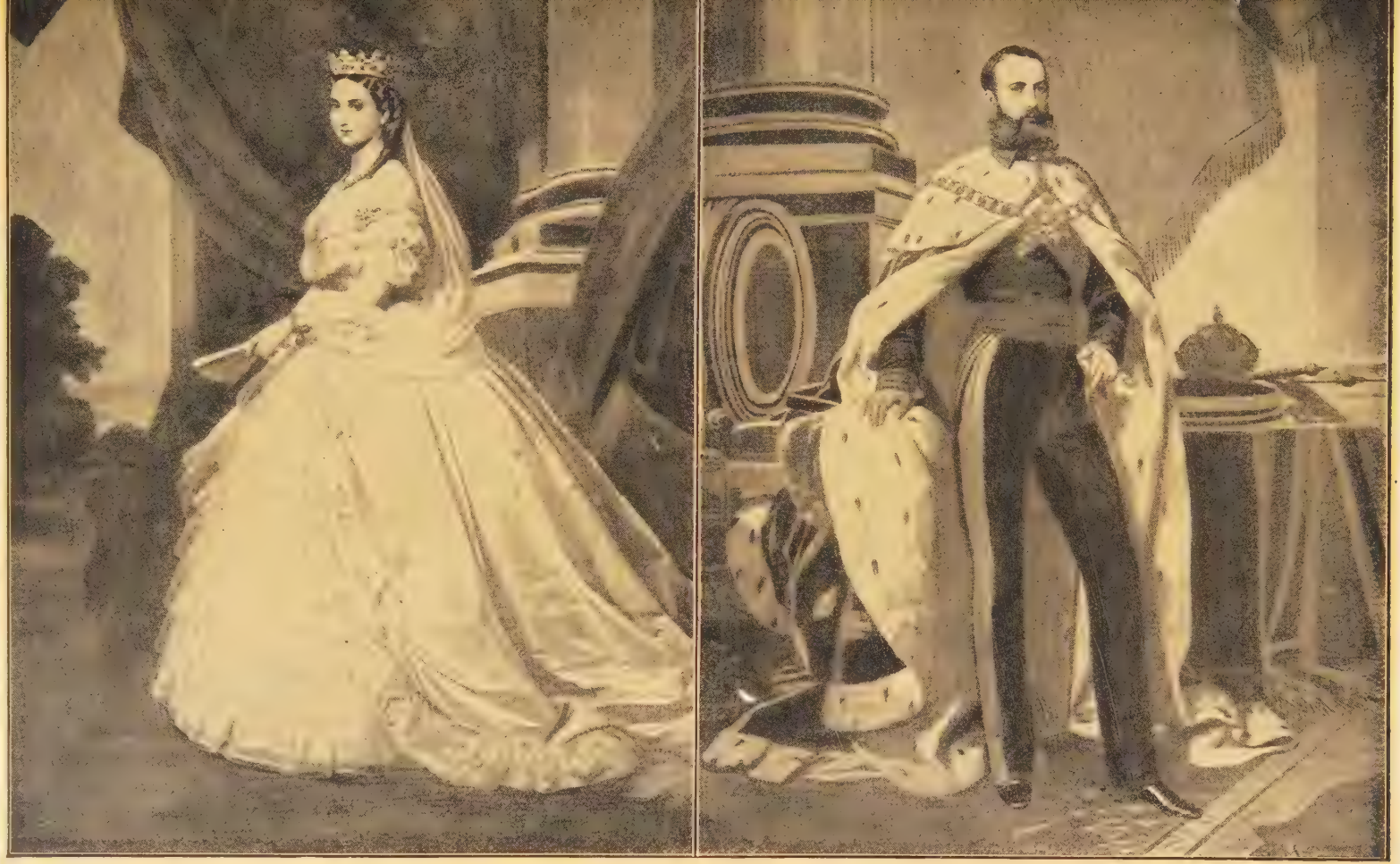
After the departure of the French forces from Mexico, Maximilian's Empire rapidly tottered to its fall. Vera Cruz, Puebla and the capital were besieged by the Liberals; and the Imperialists were gradually hemmed in at Queretaro, which city the Republican forces entered on the 15th of May, 1867, making prisoners of Maximilian, his staff and the small remnant of his army. On the 19th of June, 1867, Maximilian was shot at Queretaro by the triumphant Juarists. The two Mexican Imperial generals, Miramon and Mejia, were also shot. On the 15th of July, 1867, President Juarez returned to the capital, amid popular rejoicings, and issued a memorable and eloquent address to his countrymen.

Re-election of President Juarez in 1868.

On the 6th of October, 1867, Benito Juarez was reëlected President of Mexico over the opposing candidate, General Porfirio Diaz; and in December of the same year the Mexican Congress was assembled again for the first time in three years. After Mexico's triumph over her enemies the nation rapidly recuperated under the wise administration of Juarez, but this prosperity of the Republic was disturbed continually by revolutionary movements of more or less importance. A strong combination was formed against Juarez in May, 1868, when Rivero pronounced against the President; but the revolutionists frittered away their strength, and the movement failed.

Revolts.

In the spring of 1871 another Presidential election took place in Mexico. There were three rival candidates in the field—President Benito Juarez, General Porfirio Diaz and Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada.



MAXIMILIAN AND CARLOTTA

Emperor and Empress of Mexico

Bribery, corruption and all sorts of frauds were resorted to by each party to secure the election of its favorite candidate; but, as none of the three candidates had received a majority of votes, the duty of choosing a President devolved upon the National Congress, which re-elected President Juarez, who was installed on the 1st of October, 1871. On that day a sanguinary insurrection burst forth in the capital; but the revolt was quelled by General Rocha, who attacked and captured the citadel after a severe conflict; and about two hundred and fifty insurgents were shot after their surrender. The partisans of the unsuccessful candidates throughout the country rose in arms and involved the Republic in the horrors of another civil war. Military chiefs in various States pronounced against Juarez and took the field at the head of revolutionary bands, and many of the Mexican States pronounced in favor of the revolution. The National Congress granted dictatorial powers to Juarez to enable him to quell the rebellion. In December, 1871, the city of Oaxaca was taken by the government forces under General Rocha, after a stubborn resistance on the part of the insurgents. The city of Zacatecas was reduced by the rebels under General Guerra, on the 13th of January, 1872. A battle was fought at San Luis Potosi, and Matamoras was captured by the revolutionists. The revolutionary General Trevino defeated the Juarist General Cevalles at Monterey.

Re-election of President Juarez in 1871.

Revolt of Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada and Civil War of 1871–1872.

On the 18th of June, 1872, President Juarez died of apoplexy; and Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada, as President of the Supreme Court of Justice, became President of the Mexican Republic. From the time of the death of Juarez the rebellion declined; the revolutionary chiefs gradually laid down their arms, and in a few months the whole country was quiet, so that once more Mexico was relieved from anarchy and restored to peace. In the autumn of 1872 Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada was elected President almost unanimously, and on December 16th of that year he entered upon his regular term.

Death of Juarez.

President Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada.

Late in January, 1876, a revolutionary movement against President Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada broke out in the northern and central States of Mexico. The leader of the rebellion was General Porfirio Diaz. General Herrera pronounced for the revolution and surprised the authorities at Parras. There was severe fighting at Oaxaca, in March, 1876. Jalapa was captured by the revolutionists on March 12th, and Vera Cruz was declared in a state of siege on the 13th. On the 2d of April, 1876, the revolutionists under Diaz captured Matamoras, the government troops making little resistance. New Laredo was captured by the revolutionists, April 11th. General Alatorre was defeated by the rebels in an attempt to retake Oaxaca. The State of Chiapas was declared in a state of siege. The Mexican Congress, before adjourn-

Revolt of General Porfirio Diaz and Civil War of 1876.

ing, granted the President extraordinary powers to meet the rebellion. Escobedo, Alatorre and other generals were operating vigorously against the insurgents. General Porfirio Diaz issued a manifesto assigning his reasons for opposing President Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada. General Escobedo, with three thousand government troops, and Generals Guerra and Quirago, with two thousand men, advanced on Matamoras, of which they took possession on the 10th of May; the revolutionists under General Gonzales retiring.

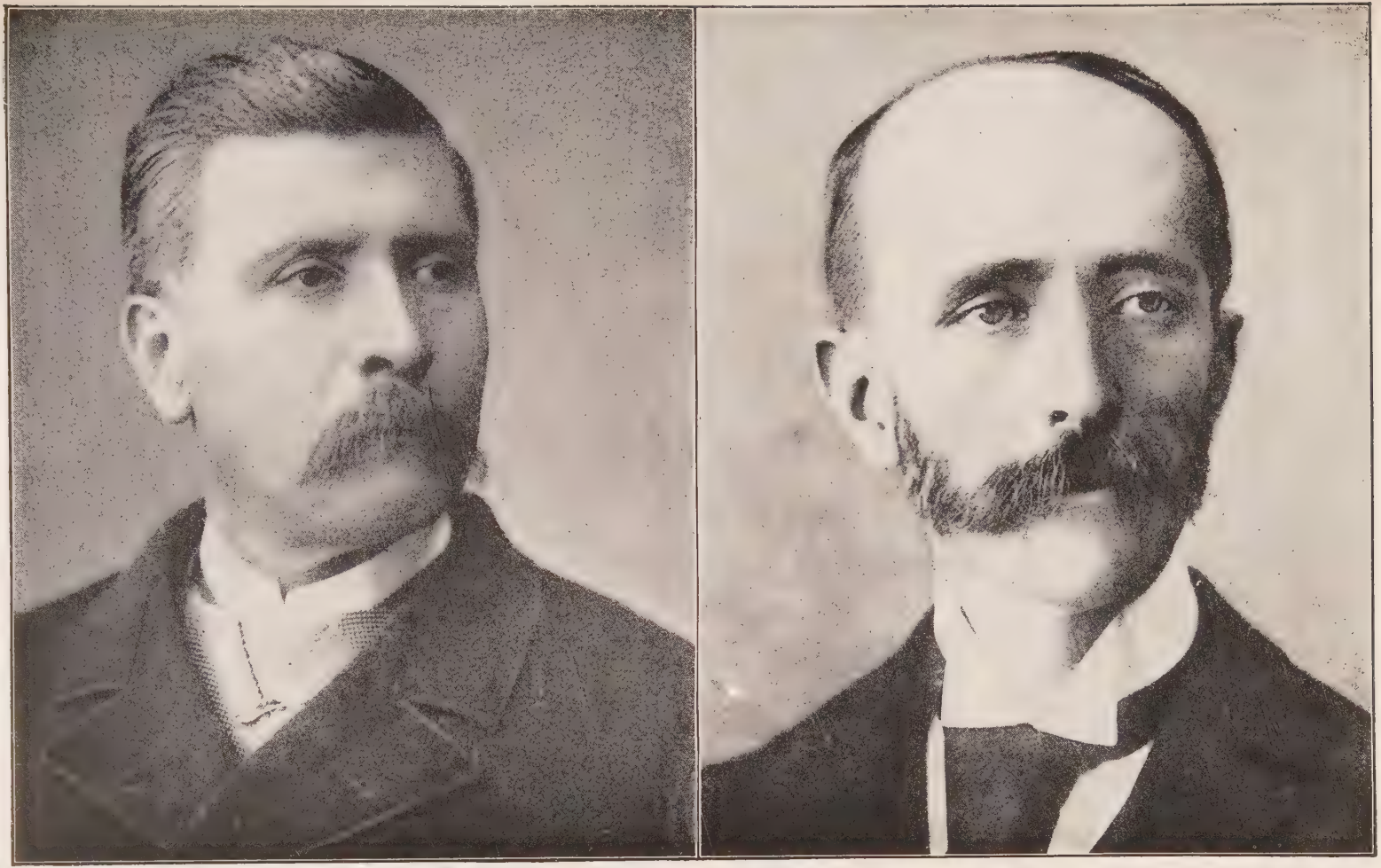
Decline of the Revolt.

The rebellion was waning rapidly thereafter, the insurgents having met with reverses everywhere. General Alatorre gained a great victory on May 2d, at Oaxaca, over the revolutionists, who lost four thousand men in killed and wounded, and many being taken prisoners. The government army lost six hundred men in killed and wounded. The government troops also gained a victory in Tlaxco on the 28th of May. The rebels under Generals Figuerora, Cortina and Martinez were defeated completely at Queretaro, on May 31st, with a loss of five hundred men. The revolutionary army under Generals Rivas and Palacio was surprised and defeated by Colonel Adolfo Valle in the interior of Mexico. On July 15th General Alatorre defeated and captured the revolutionary General Hernandez with six hundred of his troops near Orizaba. The government troops reoccupied Jalapa. The revolutionary General Trevino was captured in the North of Mexico. In the beginning of August a formidable revolt broke out in the interior of Mexico. The insurgents defeated sixteen thousand government troops. The revolutionary General Cortina besieged Matamoras in September, 1876.

Re-election of President Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada.

In the Presidential election in Mexico in July, 1876, there were five candidates in the field—President Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada, Chief Justice Iglesias and General Mejia by the government party, and Generals Porfirio Diaz and Gomez Palacio by the revolutionary party. President Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada was reëlected by an overwhelming majority. The opposition declared the election illegal on account of prevailing lawlessness in many parts of the country, but the Mexican Congress sustained the election as valid; whereupon Chief Justice Iglesias pronounced against President Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada and declared himself Provisional President, establishing himself at Leon, in the State of Guanajuato. On the 16th of November, 1876, General Porfirio Diaz annihilated the government army under Generals Alatorre and Gonzales, near Huamantla, about one hundred miles from the city of Mexico. President Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada fled from the capital on November 21, 1876, with his Cabinet, accompanied by about one thousand men, the greater part of whom afterward deserted. Diaz entered the capital amid the greatest demonstrations. Puebla, Vera Cruz

His Overthrow by the Revolution of 1876–1877.



PORFIRIO DIAZ, President

LIMANTOUR, Secretary of the Treasury

FORMER LEADING MEXICANS

President Porfirio Diaz.

and other cities declared for Diaz, who proclaimed himself Provisional President, November 30, 1876. The Presidential succession was now disputed between Diaz and Iglesias; but the followers of Iglesias deserted to Diaz, who soon had fifty thousand men under arms. Both President Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada and Chief Justice Iglesias escaped to the United States. In February, 1877, under an order from Diaz, a new election was held in Mexico, and Diaz was elected President by an overwhelming majority.

President Gonzales.

The Presidential election in Mexico in July, 1880, resulted in the choice of General Gonzales by a large majority. Revolutionary outbreaks in consequence of the election of Gonzales were suppressed very easily by the Mexican government, and the Mexican Congress declared General Gonzales elected President of the Mexican Republic. He was inaugurated early in December, 1880, being the first Mexican President under the constitution of 1857 who peacefully succeeded to the Presidency. All his predecessors except President Diaz were deposed violently.

President Diaz and His Many Re-elections.

In July, 1884, General Porfirio Diaz was again elected President of Mexico; and he was inaugurated in December of that year. In 1887 the Mexican constitution was so amended as to make the President eligible to reëlection; and in July, 1888, Diaz was reëlected for another term, being inaugurated in December of the same year. In July, 1892, he was again reëlected, and was again inaugurated in December of that year. He was again reëlected in July, 1896, and again inaugurated in December following. In July, 1900, he was again reëlected, being inaugurated for his sixth term in the following December. In July, 1904, he was again reëlected, and was inaugurated for the seventh time in December of the same year.

Yaqui Indian Outbreaks.

In 1896 and 1897 the Yaqui Indians in Sonora revolted against the Mexican government, but were subdued by the Mexican troops after a series of bloody conflicts; and their flight into Arizona caused the United States troops to come to the assistance of the Mexican authorities. In 1899 and 1900 another Yaqui outbreak was suppressed by the Mexican troops after a series of sanguinary encounters.

Mexico's Prosperity and Material Progress

Under President Diaz's wise and able administration of more than twenty years Mexico has been at peace internally and externally, and for the first time in her history as an independent republic the country has been free from revolutions and civil wars and has made wonderful progress industrially and materially, the resources of the country being developed by foreign capital and railroads being built, the most prominent being the great Mexican Central Railway, connecting the city of Mexico with the United States, and the railway across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, connecting the Gulf of Mexico with the Pacific Ocean.

President Diaz.

President Diaz was a man of much energy and determination, ruthless in suppressing his opponents. For thirty years he was really dictator. He encouraged foreigners to exploit the resources of the country and under him railroad mileage in Mexico increased from about 400 miles to more than 15,000. Mines and iron fields were developed; telephones and telegraphs and electric lighting systems were established and in all the outward signs of civilization Mexico made wonderful progress. Unfortunately the conditions of the common people did not keep pace with this progress in material things. Millions of the peons continued to be in a state of practically serfdom. The great mass of the people were totally illiterate, and morals were at so low an ebb that half the children born were illegitimate. A comparatively few great families practically controlled most of the land of the country.

Celebration of Independence.

In 1910 the hundredth anniversary of the declaration of Mexico's independence was celebrated with great enthusiasm. Diaz, whose eightieth birthday fell upon the 15th of September, received many congratulations from persons in other countries. Despite what has been said about the unhappy condition of many of the Mexican people, it would be unfair to blame Diaz too much for a difficult situation. He had at least given comparative peace and order to a land which in the forty-five years preceding his first assumption of office had been distracted by some two hundred revolutions or attempted revolutions. In that time she had known about fifty rulers, including two "Emperors."

Madero Leads a Revolt.

Hardly had the sounds of the centennial celebration died away when revolts broke out in a number of the states. There came forward a man of large wealth and influence, Francisco I. Madero, who assumed the title of "Provisional President." Madero seems genuinely to have desired to improve the conditions of the Mexican people. The rebellion spread rapidly and Diaz, no longer the vigorous leader he had once been, resigned the Presidency on May 5, 1911, and soon afterward fled to Europe. An election was held in which Madero was overwhelmingly elected. On November 6, 1911, he was formally inaugurated.

Unfortunately the great mass of the Mexican people are too ignorant to be fitted for self-government. All their anarchial tendencies soon displayed themselves. Ambitious leaders sought power for themselves, while the great land owners feared the agrarian reforms that Madero wished to carry out in behalf of the peons. In February, 1913, some of Madero's own officers and troops rose against him, the leadership being taken by Victoriano Huerta. Madero and Vice-President Suarez were seized and were put to death in cold blood. As related in an earlier chapter, the United States refused to recognize

Huerta and complications ensued that resulted in the seizure of Vera Cruz. Revolts against Huerta broke out in Mexico, the chief leaders being Venustiano Carranza and Francisco Villa. The revolutionists called themselves "Constitutionalists," and they had the sympathy and approval of the government of the United States. Finally in July, 1914, the situation became so dangerous that Huerta resigned and fled to Europe.

Madero Murdered.

Carranza succeeded in making himself President of the country, but civil war continued. Villa took up arms against his old compatriot and attracted many followers to his standard. Angered at the favor shown Carranza by the United States, Villa raided Columbus, New Mexico. A punitive expedition under General Pershing followed him into Mexico but failed to capture him. Carranza bitterly opposed this invasion of Mexican soil and conflicts took place between detachments of Pershing's forces and Carranza's soldiers. Early in 1917 Pershing's force was at last withdrawn.

American Troops Invade Mexico.

Carranza's authority was never recognized by all Mexicans. Early in 1920 General Alfaro Obregon headed a revolt which spread with great rapidity over the country. In May Carranza was driven from the capital and was soon after murdered by some of his own followers. Obregon installed Adolpho de la Huerta as Provisional President. Negotiations were opened with Villa, who in consideration of a large grant of money and land consented to settle down, with his numerous wives and large progeny of children, upon a ranch. Obregon gradually evolved a condition of comparative peace and order throughout Mexico and was elected constitutional President. In July, 1923, Villa was eliminated from the situation by private enemies who shot the former leader dead from ambush. In the following months the United States formally recognized the Obregon government, and diplomatic relations were resumed with Mexico after having been broken for more than a decade. Later in the year when new disorders developed in Mexico, the United States forbade the private shipment of arms and the government sold to the Obregon government large supplies of war munitions including rifles and airplanes.

Carranza Overthrown by Obregon.

Villa Killed.

In 1924 General Plutarco Calles had the support of Obregon in his candidacy for the presidency and was overwhelmingly elected. In due course he was peacefully inaugurated, with his predecessor present. Newspapers in the United States commented upon this as an unusual fact, and pointed out that hitherto when a Mexican president was inaugurated, his predecessor was either dead, in prison or in flight towards the border.

Peaceful Election.

SECTION VI.—WARS OF THE SOUTH AMERICAN REPUBLICS (A. D. 1822–1881).

Brazil's Independence.

Brazil peacefully secured a political separation from Portugal in 1822, with Dom Pedro I., of the royal House of Braganza, as Emperor. In 1831 the Brazilians, becoming dissatisfied with the government of Dom Pedro I., compelled him to abdicate his crown in favor of his son, Dom Pedro II., who was then only five years old. During the minority of Dom Pedro II. the government of Brazil was conducted by a regency.

Bolivar's Ambition.

General Bolivar cherished the grand design of the formation of a confederation of all the Spanish American republics, with himself at its head as Dictator; and in 1826 a Congress composed of representatives of all the Spanish American republics convened at Panama, on the Isthmus of Darien. The deliberations of this Congress were not attended with any important result, and the plan of a Spanish American confederacy failed.

Congress at Panama.

War between Brazil and Argentina.

For several years war raged between the Empire of Brazil and the Republic of La Plata, or the Argentine Confederation, respecting the possession of the Banda Oriental, situated between the two countries. Through the mediation of Great Britain, peace was concluded in 1828, by which it was agreed to erect the Banda Oriental into an independent republic under the name of Uruguay. The Dictator, General Rosas, governed the Argentine Confederation from 1835 to 1855. Both the Argentine Republic and Uruguay have been disturbed very much by civil wars.

Republic of Uruguay.

War between Colombia and Peru.

A war broke out between the Republics of Colombia and Peru in 1829, which resulted in the defeat of the Peruvians. General Bolivar's ambition created for him many enemies and greatly weakened his popularity with his countrymen; and a civil war was prevented only by his death, in 1830. In 1831 the Republic of Colombia was dissolved; and its three great divisions —New Grenada, Venezuela and Ecuador—became separate republics. Since their separation, all of these republics, like all the other Spanish American states, have been distracted by almost constant revolutions and civil wars. In 1861 the title of New Grenada was changed, and that republic has since been known as the *United States of Colombia*. Early in November, 1903, the State of Panama seceded from Colombia, on account of the refusal of the Colombian Senate to ratify the Hay-Herran Treaty for the construction of the Panama Canal by the United States of America.

Dissolution of the Republic of Colombia.

Secession of Panama.

Paraguay declared its independence in 1810. In 1812 Dr. Francia made himself Dictator; and he ruled Paraguay for twenty-eight years

with almost absolute and despotic power, until 1840, when he died. Under the government of Dr. Francia foreigners were not permitted to travel in Paraguay and every inhabitant was compelled to learn to read and write. Francia's rule, though despotic, was beneficial to Paraguay.

Republic of Paraguay under Dr. Francia.

In 1836 Peru and Bolivia were united in a league called the *Peru-Bolivian Confederation*, at the head of which was General Santa Cruz as Dictator. In 1836 a war broke out between this confederation and Chili. The Chilians defeated the Peruvians in the battle of Yungay, on the 11th of July, 1839. General Santa Cruz was overthrown and was obliged to flee from Peru; whereupon the Peru-Bolivian Confederation was dissolved, and Peru and Bolivia again became separate republics. Both these republics have since been the scenes of revolution and anarchy.

Peru-Bolivian Confederation and Its War with Chili.

In 1864 a war broke out between Spain and Peru. The following year, 1865, Chili joined Peru in the war. The towns on the coast of Chili and Peru were bombarded by the Spanish fleets. Valparaiso, in Chili, and Callao, in Peru, withstood these attacks. In January, 1866, the Republics of Venezuela, Ecuador and Bolivia concluded an alliance with Peru and Chili in the war. Active hostilities closed with the year 1866, but peace was not formally made until the beginning of 1871.

War of Peru and Chili against Spain.

The interference of the Paraguayan Dictator, Francisco Lopez, in the domestic affairs of Uruguay led to a war of Brazil, Uruguay and the Argentine Confederation against Paraguay in 1864. Bloody battles were fought on Paraguayan soil with various results. Under the leadership of their able Dictator, the Paraguayans fought heroically for the preservation of their national existence, which was threatened by the encroachments of their enemies. But Lopez was driven from one stronghold to another; and, after an enormous expenditure of blood and treasure, this terrible war closed, in the early part of 1870, in the defeat and humiliation of Paraguay. The hard-hearted Lopez, refusing to surrender, was put to death by a Brazilian soldier. The conquerors established a provisional government in Paraguay.

War of Brazil, Uruguay and Argentina against Paraguay.

In the spring of 1879 a dispute arose between Chili and Bolivia, with regard to the transfer of certain territory by Chili to Bolivia on condition that Bolivia should not tax the Chilian residents therein. Bolivia ceased to impose taxation, but confiscated certain nitrate works owned by a Chilian company. Chili retaliated by sending troops into Bolivia and by blockading the Bolivian ports. Peru formed an alliance with Bolivia.

War of Peru and Bolivia against Chili.

The Peruvians entered upon the war with a great deal of euthusiasm. President Daza, of Bolivia, marched against the Chilians with five thousand men. The Chilians had nine thousand men in Bolivia. The

Naval Battle off Iquique.

Bolivians took Atacama, April 18, 1879. On May 27, 1879, a fierce naval engagement occurred off Iquique, in Peru, between the Chilian wooden vessels *Esmeralda* and *Covadonga* and the Peruvian iron-clads *Independencia* and *Huascar;* all the vessels except the *Huascar* being sunk. The Peruvian ironclads *Huascar* and *Union* afterward visited Chilian ports, destroying launches and capturing the Chilian steamer *Rimac*, with a Chilian cavalry regiment fully equipped and supplied with horses, besides three vessels loaded with coal and copper. The Chilians resumed the blockade of Iquique and threatened an attack on Lima, in consequence of which there was a general call to arms in the Peruvian capital. Pisagua, in Peru, was bombarded by the Chilians. The Peruvian and Bolivian armies under General Campero forced the Chilians to evacuate Calama and defeated the Chilian corps under Colonel Ruiz. The *Huascar* attacked Antofagasta, August 28, 1879, and, after a four hours' engagement, silenced the Chilian fire and dismounted the principal Chilian battery.

Bombardments of Pisagua and Antofagasta.

Capture of the Huascar.

A severe engagement between the Peruvian and Chilian fleets occurred off Mejillones, October 8, 1879, in which the famous Peruvian ram *Huascar* was captured by the Chilians. The loss of the *Huascar* caused a riot in Lima, which led to the resignation of the Peruvian Cabinet. On November 6, 1879, Pisagua, in Peru, was captured by the Chilian land and naval forces, after a severe bombardment of five hours, five hundred Chilians being killed and wounded. On November 16, 1879, a desperate battle was fought at Iquique, in Peru, in which the allied Peruvian and Bolivian army was defeated by the Chilians, who occupied Iquique after the town had been burned by the allies. On November 19, 1879, an allied Peruvian and Bolivian army of eleven thousand men under General Buendia was defeated in an attack on Dolores, near Aqua Santo, by a Chilian corps of six thousand men, which, after receiving reinforcements, routed the allies and occupied their positions; the allies losing four thousand men killed, wounded and missing, while the Chilians lost three thousand men. On November 27, 1879, the allies were again defeated by the Chilians with heavy loss at Tarapaca.

Chilian Victories at Pisagua, Iquique, Dolores and Tarapaca.

Revolutions in Peru and Bolivia.

The Chilian victories caused intense excitement and consternation in Lima, the capital of Peru. President Prado fled from the country; and on December 22, 1879, Don Nicolas Pierola was proclaimed Dictator of Peru. President Daza, of Bolivia, was also deposed, and fled from the country; whereupon General Jamacho made himself President of Bolivia.

Naval Battles off Arica.

Late in February, 1880, the Chilian forces occupied Ilo and Moquegua, in Peru, taking the garrison of the latter place prisoners. On February 25, 1880, a Chilian army of twelve thousand men landed near

Arica, in Peru, and the Chilians made a naval demonstration against the town; but the *Huascar* was driven off by the Peruvian corvette *Manco Capac*. On March 11, 1880, the Peruvian corvette *Union* forced the blockade of Arica, fighting seven hours with two Chilian iron-clads and a transport. On April 14, 1880, a naval encounter occurred off the river Loa between the Chilian corvette *Magalaneo* on one side and the Peruvian corvettes *Union* and *Pilcomayo* on the other, the Chilian vessel being obliged to retreat. In the meantime Callao, in Peru, was blockaded by the Chilian fleet, and the Peruvians made great preparations for defense. Callao was bombarded by the Chilian navy, April 22, 1880. The allied Peruvian and Bolivian forces under General Campero were defeated in a terrible battle at Tacna, in Peru, May 25, 1880; the allies being compelled to evacuate Tacna, which then was occupied by the victorious Chilians. On June 7, 1880, the Chilians captured Arica, after a desperate hand-to-hand fight in the outlying forts; the town being sacked and burned, and the Peruvian soldiers being bayoneted to the last man. The fight between the fleets was also severe. The Peruvian corvette *Manco Capac* was sunk.

Bombardment of Callao.

Chilian Victories at Tacna and Arica.

In June, 1880, a confederation was proposed, by which Peru and Bolivia were to be united in a league called *The United States of Peru and Bolivia*. In July, 1880, the Chilian Admiral Riveros threatened to bombard Lima; but the Peruvians made energetic preparations for the defense of their capital. The Chilians devastated the northern provinces of Peru, in September, 1880. The Chilians opened a bombardment on Callao, September 22, 1880. Peru and Chili accepted the proffered mediation of the United States early in September, 1880; and Great Britain, France and Italy forbade an attack upon Lima until the Chilians promised to respect neutral property in the Peruvian capital.

Lima Threatened.

Foreign Intervention.

At a peace conference at Arica, in Peru, Chili's demands were rejected by Bolivia and Peru, and Peru's motion to refer the whole question to arbitration was rejected by Chili. The Chilian army, thirty thousand strong, then renewed its advance on Peru, and captured Pisco after a stubborn fight, November 19, 1880. On the approach of the Chilians the principal families of Lima fled from the city, and the Chilians met with little opposition.

Chili's Demands Rejected.

Capture of Pisco.

The Chilians marched on Lima in three divisions. The Chilians defeated the Peruvians in a sanguinary battle at Chorillos, January 13, 1881, the Peruvians losing nine thousand men killed, wounded and missing. The Chilians again defeated the Peruvians in a bloody battle at Miraflores, January 15, 1881, the Peruvian army being cut to pieces. The victorious Chilians entered Lima two days later, January 17, 1881, and organized a municipal government for the preservation of order. Dictator Pierola, of Peru, fled from the city on the ap-

Battles of Chorillos and Miraflores.

Capture of Lima.

proach of the invaders; and his brother, the Minister of War, was captured.

Anarchy in Peru.

A great riot occurred in Lima just two days before the capture of the city, January 15, 1881, causing a loss of about six million dollars' worth of property. On the night of January 16th about three hundred Chinamen were massacred by a lawless mob in Lima. Callao was sacked by natives and was defended by the Chilian invaders; the natives robbing and murdering, and the Chilians endeavoring to enforce order. Peru was in a state of anarchy, being virtually without any government. President Pierola, having fled from the capital on the approach of the invaders, issued his useless edicts and proclamations from beyond the Cordilleras; and the Peruvian finances had depreciated almost to worthlessness. The Chilians levied contributions upon the people of Lima. A war of races broke out in the valley of Canette, where more than two thousand Chinamen were massacred by negroes and others, and all the cane-fields, sugar-houses and machinery were destroyed. Many foreigners were murdered by the mob.

Peru's Provisional Government.

About the middle of March, 1881, a provisional government under Dr. Francisco Garcia Calderon was established in Peru, under the protection of the Chilians. President Calderon's decrees were resisted by the Peruvian war party, which still adhered to the fugitive Dictator Pierola. Chili's terms of peace were the cession of Antofagasta, Tarapaca and Tacna; a war indemnity; indemnification for Chilians expelled from Peru and Bolivia; reciprocal commercial advantages between Chili and Peru and Bolivia; the extraction of guano to be carried on for account of the Chilian government, and Peru not to fortify her ports for fifty years nor to acquire a navy for forty years. About the middle of May, 1881, the Chilians withdrew from Lima and its vicinity. Peru and Bolivia finally were obliged to accept Chili's terms of peace.

Chili's Harsh Terms of Peace.

Slavery Abolished in Brazil.

In 1871 the Brazilian Chambers passed a bill for the gradual abolition of slavery in Brazil, and in 1888 the Chambers passed a measure for the total extinction of slavery within that Empire.

SECTION VII.—THE GREAT CIVIL WAR IN CHILI (A. D. 1891).

President Balmaceda and the Chilian Congress.

The most important event in South American history during 1891 was the bloody civil war in Chili between President José Manuel Balmaceda and the Congress of that republic. This sanguinary struggle began with the first day of the year and lasted eight months, and was caused by the arbitrary and despotic rule of President Balmaceda, who virtually acted as dictator, endeavoring constantly to establish practi-

SOLDIERS' MONUMENT, VALPARAISO, CHILE

cally his own will as the law of the republic, and repeatedly overriding the constitution and laws of the land.

Chili's Usual Peaceful Condition.

Chili always has been the most enlightened of all the Spanish American nations, and has been usually little disturbed by such revolutions and civil wars as constantly have distracted the other Latin American republics. That republic has been internally at peace from 1851 to 1891, a period of forty years, during which period she, in alliance with Peru, carried on a war against Spain, and in 1881 she vanquished both Peru and Bolivia in a bloody war of two years, as already noted.

The Issue in the Civil War of 1891.

It was apparent to careful observers from the beginning of the recent internal struggle that the rebel, or Congressional party must succeed eventually, as four-fifths of the Chilian people were on the side of the Congress against President Balmaceda. The Chilian Congress and people were fighting for the cause of popular government against a one-man power as represented by the dictator Balmaceda. The Congress and people of Chili had as good a cause in their armed opposition to President Balmaceda as the English Parliament and people two and a half centuries ago had against King Charles I. As their adherents outnumbered the partisans of Balmaceda four to one, the success of the rebels was only a question of time.

The Congressional Forces.

The insurgents had a formidable naval armament and thus were superior to the dictator Balmaceda on the water. Their land forces held possession of the country both north and south of Santiago and Valparaiso, the capital and the chief seaport of the country, which were held by President Balmaceda's forces until just before the end of the war. The possession of the great nitrate deposits, the chief source of wealth to the country, was of immense advantage to the Congressionalists, who worked those mines for all they were worth and thus obtained the cash necessary for carrying on the struggle against the dictator Balmaceda.

President Balmaceda's Weakness.

Balmaceda's weak points were his inferior navy and his want of money. As he was unable to borrow money, he seized the silver in the national treasury at Santiago, which was stored there as security for the fiduciary circulation, in order to be able to pay sums due to European contractors who had supplied him with ships, arms and ammunition. This destructive civil war in Chili began January 1, 1891. Most of the army supported President Balmaceda, but the rest of the army and almost the entire navy sided with the Congress. Portions of the dictator's army at different times deserted to the insurgents.

Outbreak of the Civil War.

The Congressional proclamation against the President was issued January 5, 1891. The President's proclamation was issued two days later, and three hundred citizens were imprisoned by the President. The Congressional navy blockaded the ports.

Congressional Victories.

The Congressionalists won three victories at Coquimbo, in January, 1891. The Congressional fleet captured the ship *Cleopatra* with five thousand rifles and a large quantity of ammunition, January 9, 1891. There were a number of indecisive conflicts in Chili during January and February, 1891. Tarapaca and Atacama, in the North of Chili, were occupied by the Congressionalists. The Congressionalists won a victory at Dolores, February 15, 1891. The Congressional fleet bombarded Pisagua and burned the town, February 6, 1891, and captured Iquique after a fierce bombardment, February 16, 1891. Over two hundred women and children were killed during this bombardment, and the business part of Iquique was fired by incendiaries the same evening. By the mediation of the British Admiral Hotham, a short armistice was concluded until the 20th (February, 1891). The Congressionalists were repulsed at Huara, February 17, 1891, and were defeated the next day. The Congressionalists were victorious at Iquique, where the President's troops surrendered, February 20, 1891. Pisagua was recaptured by the Balmacedist troops, and one hundred Congressional troops were killed and eight hundred were captured, of whom eighteen officers were shot in cold blood, in utter disregard of the usages of modern warfare.

Bombardment and Capture of Pisagua and Iquique.

Congressional Defeats.

President Balmaceda's Cruelties.

President Balmaceda issued a decree confiscating all the property of rebel Senators and Deputies and threatened to shoot several relatives of Senators and Deputies. The rebels seized several prominent friends of Balmaceda and threatened to take life for life, even threatening to shoot his particular friend, the Bishop of Serena. The prisons of Santiago were crowded with political prisoners. Three hundred fled from Balmaceda's clutches across the Andes into the Argentine Republic. President Balmaceda convoked a new Presidential election for the first Sunday in March and declared the members of Congress rebels. Balmaceda's cruelties, imprisonments, floggings of Congressional leaders and the massacre by Colonel Robles at Tarapaca justified Congressional reprisals.

Congressional Reprisals.

More Congressional Victories.

The Congressionalists captured Ancud and Antofagasta in February, 1891. Their land forces numbered twelve thousand men. The Peruvian steamer *Santa Rosa*, with arms for Balmaceda, was captured by the insurgents. The Congressionalists won a victory on March 6, 1891, and the President's troops deserted to the rebels. Tarapaca and all Southern Chili were in the possession of the Congressionalists. The Congressionalists were victorious at Pozo Almonte, near Iquique, March 8, 1891. The Mayor and garrison of Valparaiso joined the rebels, seized the Balmacedist transport *Maida* and sailed northward. The Congressionalists bombarded and took Antofagasta, March 23, 1891, and captured Arica and Tacna without resistance, April 7, 1891.

Capture of Antofagasta, Arica and Tacna.

Naval Battles off Valparaiso.

On April 18, 1891, there was naval fighting near Valparaiso. The Balmacedist tug *Florence* was blown out of the water and her crew drowned by a shell from the Congressional iron-clad *Blanca Encalada*, and the Balmacedist torpedo-boat was knocked to pieces by a broadside from the Congressional sloop-of-war *O'Higgins*. The Congressional vessels then attacked the forts of Valparaiso, and a lively battle ensued. Several shells from the forts tore the deck of the *O'Higgins* to pieces and blew nine of her guns and twelve of her crew to pieces.

Other Naval Battles.

The *Blanca Encalada* was sunk in Caldera Bay by the Balmacedist vessels *Sergeanto Aldea*, *Almirante Condell* and *Almirante Lynch*, April 23, 1891. The Congressional cruiser *Magellanes* defeated the President's flotilla at Chanaral, April 24, 1891. There was indecisive fighting at Taltal between the citizens and the President's vessels, *Imperial* and *Almirante Condell*, May 21, 1891.

Naval Battle off Iquique.

These vessels bombarded Iquique and engaged the Congressional fleet on the same day. On land the Congressionalists were gaining ground continually, and the President's troops were deserting to them constantly.

The Itata at San Diego, California.

The Congressional transport *Itata* escaped from San Diego, California, after her seizure by the United States authorities on the charge of violating the neutrality laws of the United States by carrying arms to the Congressional party, and was pursued by the United States cruiser *Charleston*, May, 1891. The *Itata* was finally surrendered to the United States consul at Iquique, in June, 1891.

Foreign Mediation.

Balmaceda's new Congress passed several acts legalizing all he had done thus far, June, 1891. The efforts of the European Ministers at Santiago, and those of the United States and Brazil, to bring about a peace, failed, June, 1891.

Bombardment of Iquique, Pisagua and Antofagasta.

The Balmacedist vessels *Almirante Lynch* and *Almirante Condell* bombarded Iquique, June 9, 1891, but soon were driven off by Congressional vessels. The Congressional squadron bombarded Pisagua, June 8, 1891, and Iquique, June 9, 1891; occupied Tocopilla, June 10, 1891; bombarded Antofagasta, occupied Chanaral and silenced the land batteries.

Congressional Defeats and Victories.

The Congressionalists were repulsed in two battles near Huasco, in Northern Chili, July 8, 1891. A few days later the Congressionalists were defeated after a desperate battle. The Congressionalists captured the town of Coronel, but the Balmacedists retook Vallemar from the Congressionalists. The Congressional fleet arrived at Valparaiso, July 10, 1891. Several of the President's vessels were defeated by the Congressional cruiser *Magellanes* in a fierce battle off the Chilian coast, July 12, 1891.

Balmaceda's New Cruisers.

In the meantime Balmaceda had several large iron-clad cruisers built in France. The *Presidente Pinto* was detained at Kiel, in Germany,

late in August, 1891; and the *Presidente Errazuriz* was detained at Lisbon, in Portugal, in July and August.

Congressional Victories near Valparaiso.

The Congressionalists now determined to end the war by a decisive and effective blow directed against Valparaiso and Santiago. Accordingly a Congressional force of eight thousand men under General Canto landed at Quintero Bay, twenty miles north from Valparaiso, August 20, 1891. President Balmaceda and his generals were completely taken by surprise, but Balmacedist troops were sent against the insurgents, and terrific fighting followed the next day and lasted for a full week, August 21–28, 1891. The losses were heavy on both sides. The rebels, though greatly outnumbered, were victorious from the start, and advanced to within five miles of Valparaiso, amid constant fighting. Balmaceda's forces occupied vantage-ground, and his army was backed up by the guns from Fort Callao; but the Congressional artillery did terrible execution. General Canto, the Congressional commander, was a veteran who commanded the Chilian forces in the war with Peru and Bolivia ten years before. Balmaceda's forces outnumbered the Congressionalists two to one; but the superiority of the Congressionalist firearms gave that party the final success, their troops being armed with Remingtons and Winchesters, twenty thousand of which were brought from the United States by the *Esmeralda* on her return to Chili.

Battles of Vina del Mar and Placilla.

In the sanguinary and decisive battles of Vina del Mar and Placilla, August 24–28, 1891, the most desperate valor was shown on both sides, as it was to be a life-and-death struggle. The Congressional fleet actively aided General Canto's army. The Congressionalists drove back the Balmacedists and surrounded Valparaiso. Many of Balmaceda's troops deserted to the Congressionalists during the fighting. In the final and decisive battle of Placilla, seven miles from Valparaiso, August 28, 1891, the Balmacedists were utterly routed and driven into Valparaiso, with the loss of fifteen hundred killed and wounded and three thousand prisoners. Balmaceda's leading commanders, Generals Barbosa and Alzeweca, were killed while leading their troops against the rebels. The dictator's army was crushed and dispersed, beyond all hope of reorganization, and he was practically a fugitive. Balmaceda's power was thus utterly broken, without any chances of recovery; and the victorious Congressionalists took possession of Valparaiso, August 28, 1891, and of Santiago, Sunday, August 30, 1891.

Congressional Capture of Valparaiso and Santiago.

Flight of Balmacedist Leaders.

Señor Claudio Vicuña, President-elect, and Señor Viel, Intendente of Valparaiso, fled for refuge to the German warship *Leipsic*. The *Almirante Lynch* and other Balmacedist warships fell into the hands of the victors. Other Balmacedist refugees went on board the German and American warships in the harbor of Valparaiso and to the American legation in Santiago. Señor Vicuña finally reached New York.

Balmaceda's Flight.

After surrendering his capital to the victorious rebels, President Balmaceda fled to the mountains for the purpose of escaping from the country. The residences of Balmaceda, his mother, the dead General Barbosa and other obnoxious individuals were burned by an infuriate mob, which held the capital at its mercy. There was also riot and incendiarism in Valparaiso, where almost two million dollars' worth of property was destroyed; but order was finally restored after two hundred rioters had been shot down by troops.

Pillage of Valparaiso.

Complete Triumph of the Congressionalists.

The defeat of Balmaceda, the fall of Valparaiso and Santiago, the flight of Balmaceda and the complete triumph of the Congressional cause occasioned great rejoicings in Valparaiso and Santiago; and the festivities in honor of the great victory lasted several days. The victorious Congressionalists established a provisional government at Santiago, under Admiral Jorge Montt, September 4, 1891. The new government was soon recognized by the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy and other powers. The Balmacedist torpedo boat *Almirante Condell* and the armed transport *Imperial* surrendered at Callao, Peru, September 4, 1891.

Balmaceda's Suicide.

In the meantime the fallen dictator Balmaceda attempted to escape across the Andes into the Argentine Republic; but, as his escape was cut off by his victorious foes, he committed suicide at the Argentine legation in Santiago, September 20, 1891, and his body was buried secretly in that city. He left letters to his mother, his wife, the Argentine Minister and a friend, stating that he would not receive fair treatment from his triumphant enemies, who thirsted for his blood. His death caused intense excitement and general joy in Santiago and Valparaiso, and those cities were brilliantly illuminated.

The New Chilian Government's Dispute with the United States

Chili was recovering rapidly from the effects of the destructive civil war through which the country had just passed. The belief among the victorious party that the United States Minister at Santiago, Patrick Egan, was a friend of Balmaceda, and that the Americans in Chili had given sympathy and aid to Balmaceda, gave rise to a bitter feeling toward Americans, which was heightened by the American Minister's action in affording an asylum to the Balmacedist refugees at the American legation in Santiago. The legation was surrounded and watched by police and detectives to prevent the escape of the refugees. Finally a riot at Valparaiso, October 16, 1891, when a party of American sailors were attacked by a mob and two of them killed, brought matters to a crisis and threatened war with the United States. The Chilian provisional government was very defiant at first; but after several months' negotiation, conducted at Washington by Señor Pedro Montt, a brother of Admiral Jorge Montt, on the part of Chili, the dispute was settled by Chili making a satisfactory apology and agree-

ing to pay an indemnity of seventy-five thousand dollars to the families of the victims of the riot, January, 1892.

President Jorge Montt.

The Liberals triumphed in elections for a new Congress, which resulted in returning thirty Liberals and two Clericals to the Senate and sixty-two Liberals and thirty-two Clericals to the Chamber of Deputies. Admiral Jorge Montt was unanimously elected President of Chili by the electoral colleges of the republic, November 18, 1891. He was inaugurated in the Plaza Independencia amid three salvos of artillery, December 26, 1891. The Balmacedist refugees at the United States legation attempted to throw railway cars off the track and to throw bombs into the procession. The American residents at Santiago were indignant at the attempted outrages and held meetings to denounce the refugees.

Balmacedist Outrages.

General Amnesty.

In a few days after his inauguration the new President completed his Cabinet. In accordance with the recommendation of the provisional government, a general amnesty bill was passed by Congress, from which a few of the Balmacedist leaders were excepted.

Other South American Dictators.

The times seemed inauspicious for dictators in South America. In July, 1890, a formidable military and naval revolt at Buenos Ayres, in which several thousand lives were lost, forced President Celman, of the Argentine Republic, to resign; and in the summer of 1892 President Palacio, of Venezuela, was overthrown, after a bloody civil war of many months, during which his forces were defeated constantly by his rival, General Crespo, who finally captured Caracas, after a desperate battle, and made himself President.

SECTION VIII.—NEW REPUBLIC OF BRAZIL AND ITS CIVIL WARS (A. D. 1889–1894).

Long Reign of Emperor Dom Pedro II., A. D. 1831–1889.

The most important event in the recent history of South America has been the revolution in Brazil which has transformed that vast Empire into a Republic. The long chain of causes leading to that result include the whole forty-eight years of the reign of the Emperor Dom Pedro II. The Emperor was a man of liberal impulses and aspirations, whose great achievement in the work of social and political reform was the abolition of slavery within his dominions without compensation to the slaveholders. Ever since the accomplishment of that result, in March, 1888, Dom Pedro II. felt the opposition of a powerful aristocratic party. His advancing years, and the evidence of the decay of his physical powers, furnished by the recent illness that almost proved fatal, tended to make the aristocratic party arrogant. This party looked forward with pleasure to the prospect of the succession

RIO DE JANEIRO, BRAZIL

Left: Panorama of the City and Harbor
Right: Entrance to the Botanical Garden

of the Emperor's daughter Isabella, Countess d'Eu, who was extremely unpopular on account of her reactionary sympathies and who therefore was distrusted by the republicans of Brazil, who for many years had longed for the establishment of a republican form of government in that vast South American country.

His Growing Unpopularity.

The imperial government behaved in such a manner as to disgust the Brazilian army by always evincing a marked distrust of the loyalty of the troops. The Brazilian masses also felt considerable antipathy to the clerical influence at court, which had grown quite marked and which was certain to assume vast proportions if the Count d'Eu was permitted to become the successor of Dom Pedro II. This sentiment caused the great mass of the poor and common people to sympathize with the republicans in their desire to depose the Emperor, while the emancipation of the slaves had undermined the loyalty of the higher classes by depriving them of a great portion of their wealth.

Deposition of Dom Pedro II.

By a peaceful and bloodless revolution at Rio Janeiro, November 15, 1889, the Emperor Dom Pedro II. was deposed and Brazil was proclaimed a Republic. The Brazilian army was in control. The Ministry resigned, and a provisional government was organized under the leadership of Senhor da Fonseca as President. The situation was entirely peaceful, and the Brazilian people accepted the Republic. The imperial machinery of internal administration was unmolested for the time. The deposed Emperor's Ministers were arrested and kept in close confinement. The provisional government guaranteed protection to the members of the deposed imperial family. The ex-Emperor was then at his summer palace at Petropolis, twenty-five miles north of Rio Janeiro. All business in Rio Janeiro was suspended, but there was no disorder.

Brazil a Republic.

Dom Pedro's Farewell to Brazil and Sail for Portugal.

The dethroned Dom Pedro II. was ordered to leave the country. He accordingly sailed from Brazil for Portugal, November 19, 1889. The new Republic allowed the ex-Emperor eight hundred centes de reis (about four hundred thousand dollars) per annum during his life. The scene when the ex-Emperor embarked at Rio Janeiro for Lisbon was a sad one. The vast crowd was kept back by a quadruple cordon of soldiers. Nearly every head was uncovered, and hundreds shed tears. Dom Pedro himself was visibly affected and his emotion seemed intense, as he repeatedly lifted his hat in response to the farewell greeting which came from the vast multitude and as he shook the hands of some intimate friends. The ex-Empress, a kind, motherly old lady, appeared to be intensely interested in the many traveling impediments which she was obliged to encounter. The Count and Countess d'Eu proceeded from their carriage to the man-of-war with the air of Sulla departing from Rome.

The Republic of the United States of Brazil.

The new republican government of Brazil announced that it would firmly maintain order. The new Republic adopted the name of the *United States of Brazil*. The five articles of the government decree were:

1. The Republic is proclaimed.

2. The provinces of Brazil, united by federation, compose the United States of Brazil.

3. Each State will form its own local government.

4. Each State will send a representative to the Congress which will convene shortly, and the final decision of which the provisional government will await.

5. Meantime the Governors of the States will adopt means to maintain order and protect the citizens' rights.

6. The nation's internal and external relations will be represented meanwhile by the provisional government.

President Fonseca.

On November 19, 1889, Senhor da Fonseca, the President of the new Republic, formally announced Dom Pedro's departure for Lisbon. The President also announced that he would continue to exercise supreme executive authority until the country should have decided definitely upon a new government. He also announced that the ordinary functions of administration would continue as under the Empire.

Universal Suffrage.

On November 21, 1889, the provisional government issued a decree establishing universal suffrage throughout the new Republic. Brazil's population being about twenty million, this decree gave the country about three and a half million voters. Under the Empire there had been only about two hundred thousand voters, as the suffrage was restricted by a provision denying the franchise to all having an income amounting to less than two hundred and twenty-five dollars annually.

Brazil's New Flag.

The flag of the new Republic of the United States of Brazil, which was adopted in the place of the old imperial emblem with its crown and coffee leaf, is composed of green and yellow stripes, with a blue field, on which twenty-one stars are represented.

United States of Brazil Recognized by the United States of America.

The new Republic of the United States of Brazil was recognized definitely by the government of the United States of America, November 21, 1889, when Dr. Valente, the Brazilian Minister at Washington, called at the State Department and informed Secretary Blaine that peace and tranquillity reigned in Brazil and that the new republican government was receiving the support of the Brazilian people. Dr. Valente was also authorized by the provisional government of Brazil to instruct the Brazilian representatives to the International American Congress to continue to act for their country in the sessions of the Congress. The new credentials of the Brazilian envoys, both ordinary and extraordinary, were tendered to and accepted by Secretary Blaine.

Dom Pedro's Arrival in Portugal.

The ex-Emperor Dom Pedro II. and his family arrived at Lisbon, Portugal, December 7, 1889. The ex-Emperor and the ex-Empress; their son-in-law and daughter, the Count and Countess d'Eu, with their three sons; and Prince August of Saxe-Coburg, the other son-in-law of the ex-Emperor, come ashore immediately after leaving the steamer *Alagoas*, in which they had sailed from Rio Janeiro. The fallen imperial family were welcomed warmly by their relative, King Charles, who had ascended the throne of Portugal less than two months before.

His Attitude.

The deposed Dom Pedro II. refused the pension which the officials of the new Republic had offered him, and so informed the authorities of the Republic by cable and through the Brazilian legation at Lisbon, stating that he declined to accept any sum beyond that authorized by law. He ascribed the cause of his overthrow to the abolition of slavery, as his championship of the cause of emancipation had alienated the slaveholders from their loyalty to him and his government. He expressed his willingness to return to Brazil if recalled, whether as Emperor, President or private citizen. He set about the preparation of his memoirs of his life and reign, to be published after his death.

Attitude of the Republic toward the Fallen Emperor.

The new republican government of Brazil soon promulgated a decree banishing the ex-Emperor and the entire imperial family from Brazil, canceling the grant of five million millreis to Dom Pedro II. and suspending his allowance in the civil list. The authorities of the new Republic, however, promised to secure to him his personal property, worth a million and a half. The ex-Empress died suddenly at Oporto, during a visit to that city in company with her husband, December 28, 1889, exactly three weeks after her arrival in Portugal.

Dom Pedro's Goodness.

Thus ended the reign of the Emperor Dom Pedro II., one of the best monarchs that ever wore a crown. He immortalized his reign by his unselfish efforts to benefit his subjects, instead of seeking his own personal aggrandizement; and he quietly acquiesced in the logic of events which involved the sacrifice of his throne.

Brazil's New Constitution.

A new constitution proclaimed in Brazil in the summer of 1890 made the President responsible to the nation, the Cabinet members to be styled Secretaries of State and to be responsible to the President.

Quarrel between President Fonseca and the Brazilian Congress.

Like Chili, Brazil had a struggle between its President and its Congress in 1891, because President Deodora da Fonseca assumed the role of dictator, as President Balmaceda had done in Chili. The trouble in Brazil was caused by the attempt of the Congress to deprive President Fonseca of his constitutional veto power. The Congress persisted in its scheme; and the President sought to save his veto power by adopting the heroic course of forcibly dissolving the Congress by military power, thus imitating Cromwell in England, the Bonapartes in France and Iturbide in Mexico.

President Fonseca Makes Himself Dictator.

President Fonseca dissolved the Congress, declared martial law, suspended all constitutional guarantees and made himself dictator, November 4, 1891. Soldiers guarded the public buildings, and a rigorous censorship was exercised over all dispatches sent abroad. In consequence of the President's action, four States of Brazil at once seceded from the Republic and declared their independence. Several garrisons revolted against Fonseca's dictatorship. The rebels fortified the city of Rio Grande do Sul, in the streets of which a battle was fought in which the dictator's forces were defeated with heavy loss. The disaffection throughout the country was spreading rapidly and the dictator's power was becoming more precarious daily. Many of the National Guards and volunteers joined the revolt, and the flotilla in the Uruguay river sided with the rebels. The Deputies in Congress from the State of Rio Grande do Sul were jailed. Three other States revolted and seceded. Finally a revolt broke out in Rio de Janeiro, November 21, 1891. The navy joined the rebels two days later, thus forcing President Fonseca to resign, November 23, 1891. General Floriano Peixoto was at once elected his successor. The new President convoked Congress for December 18, 1891, annulled the state of siege and revoked his predecessor's arbitrary acts.

Revolts in Consequence.

Overthrow of Fonseca.

President Peixoto.

Forced Resignations of Governors of Brazilian States.

Peace was not restored immediately throughout the Republic. A revolutionary provisional government was established in the State of Rio de Janeiro; and there was a conflict on the Campos at Rio de Janeiro, December 8, 1891. The Governor of Sao Paulo was forced to resign, December 13, 1891. The citizens of Pernambuco had a conflict with the police and the military, December, 1891, and forced the Governor to resign. In all, eleven States deposed their Governors. The States of Rio Grande do Sul and Matto Grasso remained rebellious for over a year, but finally were subdued by the national troops after many conflicts. The ex-Emperor Dom Pedro II. died in Portugal, December 5, 1891, two years after his arrival in Portugal.

President Peixoto's Unconstitutional Re-election Scheme.

The time for the election of a new President in Brazil was now approaching; and President Floriano Peixoto was seeking reëlection, in spite of the provision of the Brazilian Constitution which forbade the reëlection of a President during his term of office. The President justified his course on the ground that as he had not become President by election, but as Vice President having succeeded to the office of President only to fill out the unexpired term of the late President Fonseca, the constitutional provision against the reëlection of a President did not apply in his case. But all Brazilians did not accept the very forced construction of the Brazilian Constitution put upon it by President Peixoto; and his veto of a bill passed by the Brazilian Congress rendering any Vice President who became President ineligible

to election as President caused a formidable revolt of the Brazilian navy, which broke out at Rio de Janeiro early in September, 1893, and which endangered the existence of Peixoto's government and even of the Brazilian Republic for five months. The leader of this revolt at first was Rear-Admiral Custodio de Mello, and afterwards Admiral da Gama, both of whom successively bombarded the capital for five months during the fall of 1893 and the ensuing winter.

Naval Revolt.

The revolt was effected very quietly a little before midnight on September 5, 1893, when Admiral de Mello boarded the iron-clad *Aquidaban* and took possession of that large battleship without meeting any resistance. Admiral de Mello's men obtained possession of the formidable cruiser *Republica*, two torpedo-boats, some other warships and merchant vessels in the harbor of Rio de Janeiro, the same night; and thus the standard of rebellion was raised against the existing government in Brazil by the larger part of the navy of that country.

Admiral Mello's Outbreak.

Early on the morning of the next day the insurgents landed at Nictheroy, the capital of the State of Rio de Janeiro, seized the naval depot there and removed a large quantity of artillery, ammunition and supplies to the ships in their possession. Before ten o'clock that morning Admiral de Mello had a fleet of twenty-four ships, among which were twelve iron-clad battleships and five torpedo-boats. The twelve battleships were the *Aquidaban*, the *Republica*, the *Trajano*, the *Orion*, the *Javary*, the *Marajó*, the *Marcilio Diaz*, the *Amazonas*, the *Madeira*, the *Sete de Setembro*, the *Iguatemy* and the *Araguary*.

His Fleet at Rio de Janeiro.

Upon hearing of the revolt, President Peixoto at once summoned his Cabinet and the officials of the war and naval departments; and preparations were made to defend the city against attack from the revolted navy. Detachments of police were sent to the water front to prevent communication with the revolted ships. The Brazilian Congress held secret sessions, and the Senate voted in favor of the establishment of martial law.

President Peixoto's Preparations.

The insurgents attempted landings at various points, but were repulsed everywhere. Admiral de Mello called upon the garrison in the fort of Santa Cruz to join in the revolt, but the garrison decidedly refused to take part in the rebellion. The rebel squadron, dispersed over the harbor, was held in check by the forts and could not get out to sea. On September 11, 1893, the insurgents were repulsed with great loss in killed and wounded in an attempt to land at Nictheroy, the capital of the State of Rio de Janeiro; after which the rebel fleet attempted to run past the port of Santa Cruz and the shore batteries to gain the open sea, but was fired upon by the forts and batteries and compelled to return to its former anchorage. The insurgents were repulsed afterward in a second attempt to land.

Insurgent Repulses.

Admiral Mello's Bombardment of Rio de Janiero.

On September 13, 1893, Admiral de Mello opened a fierce bombardment on Rio de Janeiro, which inflicted considerable damage on the city. The rebels landed at Nictheroy, seized the arsenal and custom house and silenced the forts in the harbor. The States of Bahia, Pernambuco, Parana and Santa Catharina joined in the rebellion; and the squadron sent by the government to fight the rebels in the State of Rio Grande do Sul declared in favor of Admiral de Mello. The rebels in Rio Grande do Sul defeated the government troops in battle.

Proclamations of Mello and Brazilian Congressmen.

Admiral de Mello renewed his blockade of Rio de Janeiro and his bombardment of the city. He was repulsed in an attack on Santos, but completely blockaded that port and captured Desterro. He issued a proclamation accusing President Peixoto of "trying to place Brazil under the rule of an absolute tyranny," and promising to hand the government over to those honorable men who gave freedom to the nation before, if he succeeded in his fight for liberty. A number of members of the Brazilian Congress, on board the rebel warships, issued an address to the Brazilian people accusing President Peixoto and his Cabinet of stealing the public funds, destroying the autonomy of the States and fomenting civil war to further their own ends. These rebel members of Congress gave Admiral de Mello the command of their forces, for the purpose of restoring peace and reëstablishing republican government. The other prominent leaders of the rebellion were Senhor Serzedello and Senhor Ruy Barbosa.

Insurgent Capture of Forts.

At the close of September, 1893, the fort of San Gabriel, in the State of Para, surrendered to the rebels under General Saraiva, with its garrison of six hundred men and fourteen Krupp cannon. The garrison of Fort Villegaignon, on an island in the bay of Rio de Janeiro, declared in favor of the rebellion.

Mello's Renewed Bombardment.

During the early part of October there was some desultory firing between the rebel fleet and the forts. At the middle of October, 1893, Admiral de Mello renewed the bombardment of the Brazilian capital, inflicting much damage on the city and killing people in the streets, thus causing many of the inhabitants to flee from the city. The government forces captured the iron-clad *Sete de Setembro*, one of Admiral de Mello's warships, after the vessel had run aground on the coast. The rebels in Rio Grande do Sul defeated the government troops at Quarahy with heavy loss, killing two hundred of them. A few days later the government forces were defeated by the rebels at Ibicuy, with the loss of about a thousand killed.

Insurgent Successes.

Provisional Government

On October 22, 1893, Admiral de Mello established a provisional government at Desterro, and proclaimed one of his captains, Senhor Frederico Lorena, Provincial President of Brazil. Admiral Stanton, commanding United States war vessels in the harbor of Rio de Janeiro,

saluted Admiral de Mello, for which he was promptly suspended from command by Mr. Herbert, Secretary of the Navy in President Cleveland's Cabinet; and the United States government made ample apology to the Brazilian government for this act of impropriety of an American naval officer toward a friendly government. Admiral Stanton said in his defense that he merely saluted the Brazilian flag, and he appears to have thought that by saluting both parties in the struggle he was literally obeying the orders of his government to observe strict neutrality.

Conduct of the American Admiral Stanton.

During the latter part of October, 1893, the rebel fleet and the revolted garrison in Fort Villegaignon bombarded Nictheroy and the harbor forts daily. The rebel fleet met with several reverses, and both the fleet and Fort Villegaignon were badly damaged by the fire from the government forts. The rebel armed steamer *Urano*, when leaving Rio de Janeiro, October 15, 1893, on its way to Desterro, was fired upon, and forty of her crew were killed. The rebel cruiser *Republica* rammed a transport which was conveying eleven hundred government troops to Santos, and five hundred men were drowned.

Fighting between the Forts and the Rebel Fleet.

The rebel provisional government at Desterro, the capital of the State of Santa Catharina, was organizing an army and increasing its navy and obtained cannon and other supplies. Its agents in the United States purchased steamers and steam tugs. President Peixoto's agents were also active in the United States, engaging crews for the government vessels, offering large monthly pay and additional bounties to all who would enlist in the Brazilian government service; but considerable precaution was necessary to avoid violating the United States neutrality laws.

Agents of Both Parties in the United States.

By the middle of November, 1893, the revolt against the Peixoto government had spread throughout Brazil, making progress in the North; and Pernambuco was declared in a state of siege. The rebels bombarded Fort Lage, in the harbor of Rio de Janeiro; and a heavy artillery fire was kept up between the government batteries and the rebel batteries, inflicting considerable injury. There was skirmishing daily at Nictheroy.

Spread and Progress of the Revolt.

President Peixoto was making the most vigorous preparations at his command for the defense of his capital; but the financial position of the government was becoming more difficult daily, the national treasury being empty. The foreign Ministers at Rio de Janeiro exerted themselves to protect the lives and property of foreign residents, and the United States and the various European powers had warships in the harbor.

President Peixoto's Finances.

Foreign Ministers.

About the middle of November, 1893, Admiral Saldanha da Gama, Chief of the Naval College, the ablest admiral in Brazil, openly joined

Revolt of Admiral de Gama.

the insurgents, carrying with him great sympathy, along with many adherents in the army and navy belonging to the best families in Brazil. The result of Admiral da Gama's action was the placing of the islands of Cobras and Inchadas in the possession of the rebels. Admiral da Gama took command of the insurgent operations before the Brazilian capital, and was the chief leader of the rebellion against the Peixoto administration, thus eclipsing Admiral de Mello, who had been the head of the revolt thus far.

Insurgent Losses.

A party of insurgent sailors who landed near Armacao, November 20, 1893, were attacked by government troops, who lost thirty-two killed, while five of the rebel sailors were wounded. The rebels met with a great loss in the sinking of the iron-clad monitor *Javary* by the fire from the government batteries, November 22, 1893. The firing of a

British Flag Fired on.

shell by a government battery at a steam launch flying a white ensign and having a British commissioned officer and crew on board brought forth a protest from the British Minister at Rio de Janeiro. The British flag was fired upon constantly.

Revolt of Para.

The city of Para revolted late in November, 1893, and its artillery and naval forces declared for the insurgents, thus depriving the government of the large revenue which it derived from that city. The rebels at Desterro captured Curitiba, the chief town of the State of

Insurgent Victories.

Parana, in the latter part of November, 1893. The insurgents also defeated the government forces in Rio Grande do Sul. A rebel force of six thousand men marched into the State of São Paulo, and the National Guard of that State refused to offer any opposition to this force.

Fighting between the Rebel Fleet and the Forts.

Early in December, 1893, Admiral de Mello sailed southward with the *Aquidaban* and an armed merchant vessel, after a sharp fight with the government forts, but soon returned to Rio de Janeiro harbor. The fighting between the government forts and the insurgent fleet went on daily. The government was continually arresting persons accused of disloyalty, and there were fifteen hundred political prisoners in Brazil early in December, 1893.

Admiral da Gama's Manifesto.

Admiral da Gama was joined daily by fresh adherents at the island of Cobras, which was fortified strongly and garrisoned by three hundred sailors. Admiral da Gama issued a manifesto assigning his reasons for joining the revolutionary movement, which were to free his country from tyranny and militarism, the address concluding with these words: "I hope to fulfill my duty, though the end be death. Let others do theirs." The entire medical staff of the navy joined Admiral da Gama, and his influence was very great.

Government Repulses.

The government troops were repulsed in an attack on Fort Villegaignon near the middle of December. On December 16, 1893, the

government troops captured the island of Bom Jesus, after a general engagement, thus depriving the insurgents of their water supply. One thousand government troops under General Telles was repulsed in an attack upon the rebels on the island of Gobernador, in the bay of Rio de Janeiro, General Telles himself being wounded. In repelling this assault Admiral da Gama lost only seven men wounded, none being killed on his side. The fighting in the harbor went on daily.

President Peixoto's Brutal Executions at Pernambuco.

President Peixoto was becoming more unpopular daily on account of his arbitrary and despotic course. Fifteen officers and the crew of the guardship *Parahyba*, stationed at Pernambuco, were arrested through news found upon an officer seized on a British steamer seized at Rio de Janeiro. There was no evidence of their intention to join Admiral de Mello, but they were ordered to be shot without trial. Exasperated at the injustice of the sentence, they all shouted at the moment of firing: "Long live Mello!" This produced such an impression on the troops, who obeyed orders reluctantly, that they tried not to hit them, and only five were killed. The troops refused to shoot the remainder, who then were imprisoned. The captain was sent to Rio de Janeiro immediately. The people of Pernambuco were shocked at the brutality of the execution and were incensed greatly against President Peixoto.

His Suspensions of Newspapers.

President Peixoto sent orders to the State government of Minas Geraes to arrest the Visconde de Ouro Preto, the head of the monarchist party in Brazil. The State authorities refused point blank to execute the order, thus indicating plainly the state of public feeling in that State. The government suspended the *Gazeta de Noticias*, the only journal showing any fairness toward foreigners at Rio de Janeiro. The government also suspended the *Echo de Brésil*, a French newspaper, and the *Rio News*, an English newspaper with an American editor. The government refused to allow the *London Times* correspondent to establish Red Cross aid for the rebel wounded, on the ground that if cured they would again fight against the government.

Insurgent Attack on an Argentine Steamer.

On December 9, 1893, the steamer *Parahyba*, flying the Argentine flag, while carrying war material and provisions from Santos to Rio Grande, was fired upon by the insurgents for refusing to heave to, one man being killed and four wounded, after which she was boarded and seized by the insurgents.

Various Successes.

All business at Rio de Janeiro had ceased practically for some time, on account of the bombardment of the city by the rebel fleet. Fort Villegaignon was injured very much by the bombardment from the government batteries. A severe engagement occurred at Itajahy, north of Desterro, late in December, four hundred being killed. A general engagement between the hostile fleets in the harbor of Rio de

Janeiro occurred on Sunday, December 24, 1893. The insurgent vessel *Meteoro* was captured and her crew was shot.

Progress of the Bombardment of Rio de Janeiro.

At the close of December, 1893, the Brazilian government appeared to have made little headway in the suppression of the naval revolt, which seemed as formidable as ever. The bombardment of Rio de Janeiro by the insurgent fleet under Admiral da Gama continued vigorously during January, 1894. On January 16, 1894, the insurgents were repulsed in one attack on the government batteries at Nictheroy; but they captured a government battery on the same day and turned it against the government forces.

Insurgent Victories.

The *Aquidaban* opened a heavy fire upon Rio de Janeiro. After a sharp fight the government troops on the island of Mucangue surrendered. The insurgents occupied the town of Paranagua after a severe fight, and the government garrison surrendered. General Lima, the government commander and Governor of the State of Parana, fled to Rio Paulo. The Brazilian government continued to arrest rebel sympathizers.

Admiral da Gama's Conflict with the American Admiral Benham.

In the meantime American vessels were fired upon by the rebel warships for attempting to break the blockade. Admiral Benham, the United States naval commander at Rio de Janeiro, protested against the reckless firing of the insurgent war vessels and demanded that forty-eight hours' notice be given before opening a bombardment upon the city. Admiral da Gama defiantly answered that he would bombard the city whenever he saw fit, with or without notice. The firing upon American merchant vessels engaged in loading a cargo of coffee led to a conflict between Admiral Benham and Admiral da Gama, musket shots being fired on both sides, January 29, 1894. Admiral da Gama offered to surrender to Admiral Benham; but the American admiral refused to accept any surrender, as he did not want to interfere in the domestic struggle, but only to defend the rights and interests of American citizens. Admiral Benham was sustained by President Cleveland and his Cabinet and by the American people.

Its Effect.

The conflict between Admiral da Gama and the United States navy inflicted a blow upon the Brazilian naval revolt from which it never recovered; and, though the insurrection lasted several months longer, the insurgents gradually lost ground after that occurrence.

Insurgent Victories.

Admiral de Mello organized a provisional government at Curitiba, in the State of Parana; and the government forces were defeated there early in February, 1894. The rebels repulsed an attack on Armacã, near Nictheroy, February 9, 1894, and Admiral da Gama was wounded. The government forces were defeated at Omru with the loss of five hundred and fifty killed and wounded. The State of Parana was conquered by the government forces after some fighting in February, 1894.

A plot for the assassination of President Peixoto was punished by the military execution of the accused, who were shot, and their property was confiscated.

Insurgent Vessels Sunk.

Late in February, 1894, the government battery at Ponto Madana sunk the insurgent transport *Mercurio*, several of the crew being killed by the bursting of a boiler as the vessel went down. The government batteries at Nictheroy sunk the insurgent steamer *Jupiter*, the crew perishing with the sinking of the vessel. An explosion on the insurgent warship *Venus* caused the death of thirty-three of the officers and crew and wounded fifty.

Insurgent Strength.

The revolt in the State of Rio Grande do Sul was spreading, and the insurgents entered Santa Anna. The insurgents had complete control of the States of Parana, Santa Catharina and Rio Grande do Sul.

American Protection to British Seamen.

The commander of the British steamer *Nasmyth* solicited the aid of the commander of the British squadron at Rio de Janeiro in order to be able to take in a fresh supply of water. The commander refused to grant the request; whereupon the captains of the *Nasmyth* and some other British merchant vessels in the harbor applied to Admiral Benham, the United States commander, for protection, which the American admiral at once granted, and the British seamen landed under American protection.

President Moraes.

In the Presidential election throughout the United States of Brazil, March 1, 1894, Dr. Prudente de Moraes, a large landholder and an ex-President of the Brazilian Senate, was elected President of the Republic, and Senhor Victorino Pereira, a prominent lawyer, was chosen Vice President. There was no organized opposition to these candidates.

Peixoto's Actions.

President Peixoto reëstablished martial law until April 30, 1894. He also issued an address providing for the increase of the regular army of Brazil and for the trial by court-martial of persons accused of treason against the Republic.

The Church party now supplied Admiral de Mello with funds to carry on the rebellion, as he had promised the aid of the government in restoring the Roman Catholic Church to its former powerful position in Brazil, in the event of the success of the revolt.

Various Successes.

The government troops defeated the rebels in the State of Rio Grande do Sul, killing four hundred insurgents and taking many prisoners and cannon; but the insurgents defeated the government troops at São Paulo.

Final Suppression of the Naval Revolt at Rio de Janeiro.

The naval revolt collapsed as soon as the government prepared to strike a vigorous blow. On March 10, 1894, the government fleet arrived off Rio de Janeiro; and the next morning the government informed the foreign Ministers at the Brazilian capital that military

operations would be begun against the insurgents in the harbor. The government also issued a decree asking the inhabitants of the capital to leave the city for their own safety. This was done, and the city was almost deserted. On March 13, 1894, the government forts opened fire on the rebel forts and the rebel fleet; but the rebels did not reply and soon afterward surrendered. Admiral da Gama took refuge on board a Portuguese man-of-war, after sending a message to President Peixoto, offering to surrender the insurgent fleet and forts, with all the prisoners in his possession, on condition that he and his officers be allowed to retire from the country and that the lives of the insurgent soldiers and sailors be spared. President Peixoto refused to accept these conditions and demanded an unconditional surrender of the insurgents.

Admiral da Gama's Request Refused.

His Flight on a Portuguese Ship to Buenos Ayres.

The insurgent officers took refuge on board the French and Portuguese warships, and the French vessels put to sea with a number of these refugee officers on board just before the entrance of the government fleet. Admiral da Gama was on board a Portuguese vessel. President Peixoto requested the Portuguese admiral to surrender Admiral da Gama and the other refugee insurgent officers on board the two Portuguese warships, promising that they would be tried by the ordinary tribunal; but the Portuguese admiral refused to comply with the President's request, and sailed to Buenos Ayres on the afternoon of Sunday, March 11, 1894, with Admiral da Gama and seventy other refugee insurgent officers on board. The Portuguese government refused to surrender the refugees to the Brazilian government, but informed Admiral da Gama that he and his companions could be landed on Portuguese territory only under conditions that would prevent their returning to Brazil to take part in the revolt. The Portuguese transports sailed from Buenos Ayres for the island of Ascension with nearly two hundred refugees late in April, but Admiral da Gama and two hundred and twenty others escaped to Montevideo. Many of them recrossed into Brazil.

British, Italian and American Policy.

Great Britain and Italy recommended that the asylum obtained by the insurgent officers on board the Portuguese vessels be respected, and requested the United States to join them in that recommendation; but the United States government refused to interfere on the ground that Admiral da Gama was a rebel, and resolved to adhere to a policy of non-intervention.

Diplomatic Rupture between Brazil and Portugal.

The escape of the Brazilian refugees from the Portuguese vessels to Montevideo caused a diplomatic rupture between Brazil and Portugal. President Peixoto broke off diplomatic relations with Portugal by giving the Portuguese Minister at Rio de Janeiro his passports and by recalling the Brazilian Minister from Lisbon. The Portuguese govern-

BUENOS AYRES, ARGENTINA

Upper: Plaza and Cathedral
Lower: Main Business Street

ment endeavored to give satisfaction to Brazil by dismissing the officers who allowed the refugees to escape. Portugal solicited the mediation of Great Britain in her dispute with Brazil, and it was many months before diplomatic relations were restored between Brazil and Portugal.

Rejoicing at Rio de Janeiro.

The termination of the naval revolt at Rio de Janeiro caused the greatest joy among the inhabitants of that caiptal, crowds thronging the streets on the day of the surrender and shouting: "Viva Peixoto!" But the surrender of Admiral da Gama's fleet did not end the struggle on land; and Admiral de Mello, with his flagship, the *Aquidaban*, was at Ilha Grande. About sixty men of the rebel force surrendered, the rest having escaped. President Peixoto liberated five hundred rebel prisoners.

The Revolt in Rio Grande do Sul.

The insurgents in the South held out and fortified their positions on the frontier of the State of Rio Grande do Sul. The insurgents in that State under General Saraiva captured the fortress of Itavarea with its garrison of three thousand men. The insurgents had four thousand troops in the State of Parana preparing to invade São Paulo and two thousand for the defense of Parana itself.

Insurgent Dissensions.

General Saraiva refused to acknowledge the authority of the provisional government at Desterro. He and all other revolutionary leaders, except Admiral de Mello, recognized Senhor Silveira Martins as the revolutionary chief. Senhor Martins and his supporters declined to recognize the provisional government, which they declared abolished; a triumvirate being established instead, consisting of Dr. West, Dr. Ferreira Mello and Senhor Marceil.

Autonomist Congressmen.

The government candidates for Congress in the State of Pernambuco were defeated by the Autonomists; but the Autonomist leaders were still in prison, and the State was in the control of the government.

Martial Law.

Martial law still continued at Rio de Janeiro, but few prisoners were shot and few foreigners were arrested. The government transport *Itaipu* captured the rebel tug *Santa Luzia* at sea.

Insurgent Defeats.

Admiral de Mello was proclaimed head of the provisional government at Desterro. The government troops moved southward in São Paulo, and the insurgents retreated before them. The rebel general Selgado was defeated. Early in April an insurgent torpedo-boat and four transports landed four thousand men at Rio Grande, but this force was defeated with the loss of three hundred and fifty killed and wounded.

Admiral Mello's Surrender.

The naval revolt in Brazil was ended fully in the latter part of April, 1894, when the *Aquidaban* was disabled by a torpedo and abandoned, and when Admiral de Mello with the remainder of the rebel squadron surrendered to the Argentine authorities as political refugees, April 19, 1894. About eleven hundred of the insurgents were brought from

Castillos, on the east coast of Uruguay, to Montevideo, in a destitute condition.

Insurgent Defeat in Rio Grande do Sul.

A number of skirmishes occurred in Rio Grande do Sul in April and May, 1894. Finally the government army under General Lima completely defeated the rebel army under General Saraiva with the loss of over a thousand men, near Passo Fondo, in the State of Rio Grande do Sul, June 27, 1894.

Admiral da Gama's Suicide.

A year later (June, 1895) Admiral Saldanha da Gama, who in the meantime had escaped from Montevideo and had become one of the rebel leaders in Rio Grande do Sul, committed suicide after being signally defeated by the government troops.

Argentina's Civil War of 1893–1894.

Four other South American republics were disturbed by civil war during this period. Early in September, 1893, when Admiral de Mello's revolt broke out in Brazil, a revolt broke out in Argentina. The rebels in the province of Tucuman attacked the barracks of the provincial capital and seized ammunition, and desultory fighting followed for several days, both sides being reinforced. The national troops fraternized with the rebels and imprisoned the governor. The rebels in the province of Santa Fé were defeated after two days' fighting, while an iron-clad taken up the Rosario by the rebels was captured, and the revolt was soon crushed. In 1894 Peru, Colombia and Venezuela were disturbed by rebellion and civil war. In 1895 Ecuador was distracted by similar troubles.

SECTION IX.—CUBA AND HER STRUGGLES FOR INDEPENDENCE (A. D. 1492–1902).

Spanish Colonization of Cuba.

Cuba was discovered by Christopher Columbus, October 28, 1492; and his son, Diego Columbus, made the first effort to colonize the island in 1511 by sending an expedition of three hundred Spaniards under Diego Velasquez, who founded the town of Baracoa in that year and the towns of Trinidad and Santiago de Cuba a few years later, and still later was founded the town of San Cristobal de la Habana, now called Batabano, on the southern coast of the island, directly south of Havana. In 1519 the present city of Havana, the capital and metropolis of the island, was founded, the original name of which was Puerto de Caranas. It was at Batabano where Fernando Cortez prepared his expedition for the conquest of Mexico, sailing from that Cuban town in February, 1519. Those who remained at Batabano afterward removed to Cabanas, which they named Havana, celebrating a mass under a great ceiba tree, the site of which is still marked with a large stone column and a small temple at the east side of the Plaza de Armas. The

island was first called Juana, in honor of Prince Juan, son of Ferdinand and Isabella. After Ferdinand's death it was named Fernandino, and afterward it was called Santiago—the same as San Diego or San Jago, meaning St. James—the patron saint of Spain. Still later the island was called Ava Maria, in honor of the Holy Virgin. But all these Spanish names for this beautiful island were finally superseded by the name *Cuba*, its original native appellation and its present designation.

Spanish Cruelty.

Velasquez commenced the settlement of Cuba by massacring all the natives who resisted Spanish conquest or slavery, sparing all who submitted and making them slaves and beasts of burden. Hatuey, a noted Indian chief who had fled from San Domingo to Cuba to escape Spanish tyranny in the former island, organized an army in Cuba to fight the Spaniards, but was captured afterwards and cruelly burned at the stake by his Spanish captors, meeting his fate bravely. Before the fire was kindled the condemned chief was approached by a Spanish priest, who exhorted him to believe in Christ so that his soul might go to heaven. The chief asked the priest: "Where do the souls of the Spaniards go?" The priest replied: "To heaven." The chief then said: "Then I prefer to go to hell."

Fruitless Efforts of Las Casas for the Indians of Cuba.

Bartholomew Las Casas, the celebrated "Apostle of the Indies," who came to Cuba with Velasquez, endeavored to mitigate the horrors of the Spanish conquest and enslavement of the Indians of Cuba, first beginning to work for the abolition of native slavery. He returned to Spain and appealed to his government, thus securing the appointment of a commission to go to Cuba to investigate the condition of the natives and institute effective reforms, Las Casas himself being the head of the commission with the title of "Protector of the Indians." His associates on the commission were as indifferent to reform as were the Spaniards ever afterward, so that practically nothing was accomplished in ameliorating the condition of the native Indian population of Cuba. Las Casas then conceived the idea of abolishing the slavery of the Indians by substituting negro slavery and proposed a system of colonization from Spain giving each Spanish colonist in Cuba the right to bring with him to the island twelve negro slaves from Africa; but his project ended in total failure, as the Spaniards insisted that the Indians should purchase their freedom with gold-dust, which they were unable to do, as they had no gold-dust. The Indians of Cuba, who were of slight physique, died by wholesale from the effects of the ill treatment which they received at the hands of their cruel Spanish masters, and such of them as endeavored to escape from slavery were hunted down with bloodhounds and were harassed, many of them being torn to pieces by the ferocious dogs; so that in about half a century the entire native Indian population of Cuba was exterminated.

Extermination of the Indians.

Testimony of Columbus.

The testimony of Columbus and others represented the Indians of Cuba as peaceable, attractive and affectionate. The great discoverer of America said, concerning the natives of the island of Hayti, who were of the same race and habits as those of Cuba, that there was not a better race of men in the world, his description of them being partly as follows: "They love their neighbors as themselves. Their conversation is the sweetest and mildest in the world and always accompanied by a smile. And although it is true that they go naked, yet Your Highness may be assured that they have commendable customs. The king is served with state, and his behavior is so decent that it is pleasant to see him, as it is likewise the wonderful memory which these people have, and their desire of knowing everything, which leads them to inquire into its causes and effects."

Testimony of Las Casas and Others.

The good Queen Isabella protected the Indians during her lifetime. Las Casas said concerning their fate after her time: "Her death was the signal for their destruction. * * * The toils and sufferings of this weak and unoffending race dissolved them, as it were, from the face of the earth. Even mothers forgot the powerful instincts of nature and destroyed the infants at their breasts to spare them a life of wretchedness. * * * I found many dead in the road, and others, gasping under the trees in the pangs of hunger, faintly crying: 'Hunger! hunger!'" A merciful Spaniard wrote: "The native orphans are as numerous as the stars of the heavens and the sands of the sea." Said another writer concerning the cruelty of the Spaniards: "Their behavior to the Indians, and, indeed, to those who afterward became in their turn 'The Natives' brought down the retribution of Heaven, which has seen fit to turn this fountain of inexorable wealth and prosperity to the nation into the waters of bitterness." Vasco Nunez wrote: "On one expedition I hanged thirty native chiefs and would hang as many as I could seize because the Spaniards were so few in proportion to the natives that there was no other means of securing their safety." In his history of Columbus, Washington Irving describes in horrible colors the Spanish cruelty to the natives whom they reduced to slavery, stating that they were required to perform much labor but were supplied with very little food, and if they fled from incessant toil and insufficient nourishment and sought refuge in the mountains they were hunted out and scourged and laden with chains to prevent another escape.

Effect of the Spanish Conquest of Mexic and Peru on Cuba.

The genial climate and the fertile soil of Cuba naturally attracted many Spanish colonists to the island, and its settlement and prosperity were very rapid. The new settlers founded many towns, and Cuba became the center of commerce for the New World. Nevertheless, the adventurous Spanish settlers were actuated by a thirst for further con-

quest and the acquisition of wealth by quicker methods than the slow ones of agriculture and grazing. With such incentives Diego Velasquez designed the conquest of Mexico and Florida, although those results were accomplished and the fame thereof secured by Fernando Cortez and Ferdinand De Soto. The expeditions conducted by these two Spanish adventures deprived Cuba of many of its most enterprising Spanish colonists. The conquest of Peru by Francisco Pizarro attracted many of the Spanish settlers in Cuba to the land of the Incas because Cuba produced no gold or silver, a Spanish official in Cuba asserting that the conquest of Peru menaced the island with depopulation. Thus Cuba was neglected, and the island degenerated into a kind of way-station between Spain and Mexico, so that for a period of two centuries the largest isle in the West Indies had very little history, the colonists devoting themselves simply to cattle-raising.

French Piratical Raids on Havana.

Santiago de Cuba was the first Spanish capital of the island. In 1538 French pirates burned Havana and massacred its inhabitants. Seventeen years later, in 1555, Havana was destroyed a second time, by a French pirate named De Sores, who landed at San Lazara and burned the city and slaughtered its inhabitants. To protect the city against such hostile raids, Morro Castle was built, the work embracing a period of eight years, from 1589 to 1597. However, as Cuba had no gold or silver, the island escaped the raids of the buccaneers, or pirates, who infested the West Indies and preyed upon the Spanish main.

Cuba's Depopulation.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century Cuba had less than a hundred thousand inhabitants and twenty or thirty thousand negro slaves, the aboriginal native Indians having been exterminated. In 1762 Havana was captured by a British expedition under Lord Albemarle, who took Morro Castle after a gallant resistance by its Spanish garrison under Don Luis de Velasco and the Marquis de Gonzales, both of whom lost their lives in defense of the fortress. By the Peace of Paris of 1763 Havana and the island of Cuba were restored to the Spaniards, to the great misfortune of the inhabitants.

British Capture and Restoration of Havana.

New Fortification of Havana.

After the restitution of Havana to Spain by the Peace of Paris in 1763 Cuban ports were closed to foreign ships and the commerce of the island was restricted exclusively to Spain, while the defense of Havana was at once further strengthened by the construction of the Cabanas fortress, the work being completed in 1841 at a cost of fourteen million dollars. Fort Atares and the Castillo del Principe were erected about the same time. Hundreds of slaves and convicts were brought to Havana to build these forts, being brought over in foul ships, packed closely regardless of health or cleanliness, thus exposing them to the

Yellow Fever.

ravages of a terrible pestilence, which soon became a permanent epidemic at Havana and other coast towns and gave to the world the dreadful scourge ever since called *yellow fever*. In the latter part of the eighteenth century many handsome public edifices were erected in Havana, among which were the palace which thereafter was occupied by the Spanish Captains-General of Cuba. Fine parks and boulevards also were constructed, and the entire city was vastly improved and adorned.

Improvement of Havana.

Governor-General Las Casas.

In 1790 a second Las Casas became Captain-General of Cuba, and under his administration many great public works were executed and much progress was made in the arts and industry. The revolution in Hayti in 1796, under the valiant Toussaint Louverture, drove many white people from that island, multitudes of them seeking refuge in Cuba. In 1818 the ports of Cuba were opened to foreign commerce for the first time, and the Spanish monopoly of the tobacco trade was revoked, thus having a remarkable effect upon its growth, while the sugar trade also experienced a remarkable increase in its prosperity, four times as much tobacco and sugar being exported thereafter as formerly; but as Spain lost all her American colonies except Cuba and Porto Rico a few years later she sought to make these two island possessions supply her with the revenue which she thus far had obtained from her colonies on the American continent, and acts of injustice and oppression soon began to counteract the promise of prosperity and happiness which the decree of freedom of commerce for the island had inaugurated.

Freedom of Commerce for Cuba.

Continued Spanish Oppression of Cuba.

As Cuba remained true to King Ferdinand VII. of Spain after he had been driven from Spain by Napoleon Bonaparte, who placed his own brother Joseph upon the Spanish throne in 1808, the island was called "The Ever Faithful Isle." Still Cuba was governed as a conquered province by Ferdinand VII. after his restoration to the throne of Spain in 1814; and the Spanish Constitution of 1812, which granted Cuba representation in the Spanish Cortes, was abrogated by the restored Ferdinand VII. and was restored only in 1836, three years after his death.

Early Attitude of the United States toward Cuba.

From the time of the Spanish-American struggles for independence, between 1810 and 1825, Cuba began to attract the attention of the United States, partly on account of its geographical situation; the United States assuming the position that Cuba must do one of three things—remain a possession of Spain, become an independent republic or be annexed to the United States. The United States then declared that she would oppose any attempt by any other European power to seize the island. In 1817 fourteen Americans who were captured by the Spaniards on the charge of being privateers appealed to the Presi-

dent of the United States, saying: "We were cut and mangled to pieces with cutlasses, bound fast until blood ran from under our fingernails, and are at present in a Cuban jail on an allowance of Spanish ration of one pint of rice and beans, half cooked, for twenty-four hours, and without clothing."

Cuban Revolt of 1819.

The Cubans began to aspire for independence, and in 1819 an insurrection broke out in the island, in which some Americans participated; and twenty-two American citizens were arrested and imprisoned in Havana for complicity in the revolt.

Protest of Cuban Deputies in the Spanish Cortes.

Finally Cuban deputies were permitted to take seats in the Spanish Cortes, and in 1821 they protested vigorously against the burdensome and oppressive tariff which the Spanish government proposed to place on the island. They asserted that commercial freedom should be of the greatest interest to Spain as well as to Cuba; that the island could support twelve times the population it then had, and urged the adoption of measures that would attract more settlers. They asserted boldly that Spain would lose Cuba if she persisted in her arbitrary policy. This Cuban protest was fruitless, as Spain continued her oppressive measures and repelled emigration to Cuba instead of encouraging it, thus increasing the spirit of discontent among the Cuban people.

Arbitrary Decree by the Captain-General.

At the beginning of 1822 the Captain-General decreed that every immigrant into Cuba, before landing, must present a memorial to the authorities stating the object of his presence in the island, this memorial to be indorsed by some responsible person, who would be answerable for his conduct while he was in the island. Spanish soldiers enforced all the orders of the Captain-General and very often took the law into their own hands. In 1822 a newspaper in Havana printed in moderate language what many persons considered a well-merited criticism of some features of the Captain-General's policy. The next day some soldiers entered the office of the newspaper, destroyed the press and the type and personally abused the editor and his staff. The Captain-General approved of the outrage, and the people of the city felt that they were at the mercy of a violent and lawless soldiery.

Outrage by the Soldiery.

Increased Spanish Tyranny.

More than three thousand of the best citizens of Havana warned the Captain-General that if such practices continued a revolution would occur sooner or later, but this remonstrance was effectual only in calling forth more tyranny. Two parties at once arose in Cuba, one consisting of native Cubans and the other being composed of Spanish officials; the Cuban party advocating home rule—and even independence, if necessary, to secure such home rule; while the Spanish party resisted such demands.

The Captain-General's Power.

There was no material change in the Spanish rule in Cuba thereafter. The Captain-General of the island was appointed by the Spanish crown, and his office was considered a very desirable position financially. Under a decree of the Spanish government issued May 28, 1825, he was vested with absolute authority over the island and practically had the lives and liberties of its inhabitants at his disposal.

Cuban Rebellions.

Though investing a despotic ruler with the most absolute authority, the foregoing decree did not have the effect for which it was designed; but, instead, it had the contrary effect of being the cause of a series of rebellions that eventually ended in the war which resulted in the complete overthrow of Spanish dominion in Cuba. The first real rebellion

Revolt of 1823.

in Cuba occurred in 1823 and was organized by a secret association called *The Soles de Bolivar*, being inspired to some degree by the "Great South American Liberator." This revolt was soon nipped in the bud, and all its leaders and participants were punished; but this unfortunate result did not prevent other rebellions in 1826, 1828, 1830, 1848, 1850, 1851, 1855, 1868, 1879 and lastly the successful one with the aid of the United States in 1895.

Law against Secret Societies and Military Commission.

After 1823 secret societies in Cuba were forbidden by law, and those who persisted in their membership in such orders were condemned for high treason and put to death, many innocent men being garroted for that capital offense. A military commission was clothed with the power of investigating and punishing suspected cases of treason, being thus a kind of Holy Inquisition in dealing with political offenses. King Ferdinand VII. of Spain himself suggested this commission, for the purpose of preserving his American dominions from what he considered the horror of ruin with which they were menaced by the spirit of reform, as the spirits of reform and justice for Cuba were regarded as disloyal to Spain.

Revolts of 1826 and 1828.

The Cuban rebellion of 1826 was planned by Cuban refugees in Mexico and Colombia and was led by the famous South American Liberator, General Simon Bolivar; but it ended in utter failure, as it did not receive the expected encouragement from the United States. The rebellion of 1828 was a more serious affair and was organized by the leaders of the revolt of 1826, who formed a secret league called *The Black Eagle*, with headquarters in Mexico and branches in the United States. A considerable army was recruited, but the United States opposed the project, and many of the soldiers in the conspiracy were captured and put to death by the Spaniards.

Slave Revolt of 1844.

Another revolt occurred in 1844, but it was an outbreak of the negro slaves at Matanzas, and not a movement for Cuban independence. A general negro revolt was planned, but it ended in the arrest of thou-

sands of slaves and their torture by the thumbscrew and the rack to force them to testify; and, as a result of the evidence thus obtained, one thousand three hundred and forty-six persons were convicted, seventy-eight of them being executed.

Lopez's Raid of 1848.

In 1848 the noted Narciso Lopez, of Venezuela, headed a revolt in Cuba, having the base of his operations in the United States, where he organized a force of six hundred well-disciplined recruits, who constituted the nucleus of his army in Cuba. He evaded the United States neutrality laws and landed his force in Cuba, where he was joined by many Cubans, both white and black; but his small army was unable to cope with the Spaniards, and he was obliged to make a precipitate flight from the island. Through Lopez's representations and his actions, the United States government, directly after his return from Cuba, offered to buy the island from Spain for one hundred million dollars in cash.

Lopez's Raids of 1849 and 1850.

The adventurous Lopez made another attempt to organize an expedition in the United States for Cuba in 1849, but failed, as the United States government prevented the sailing of his recruits. In 1850 Lopez succeeded in eluding the vigilance of the United States authorities and effected a landing on the Cuban coast at Cardenas with about six hundred men, but he was attacked there by an overwhelming Spanish force and obliged to return to his ships and to take refuge at Key West, where he disbanded his little army.

Lopez's and Crittenden's Raid of 1851.

In 1851 the indomitable Lopez proceeded from New Orleans to Cuba, with Colonel William Logan Crittenden, of Kentucky, at the head of four hundred and fifty men, landing near Havana, where they were attacked by a superior Spanish force. Lopez was garroted, but some of his followers were released, and a detachment of one hundred and fifty men under Crittenden fought until only fifty of their number remained, and as these had exhausted their ammunition they were captured and executed. Colonel William Logan Crittenden was a nephew of the distinguished John Jordan Crittenden, so long a United States Senator from Kentucky, and was a brother of Thomas Theodore Crittenden, afterward Governor of Missouri. He met his death heroically. His hands and the hands of his men were bound tightly with cords, and they remained in this condition eighteen hours, when, on the morning of August 16, 1851, they were taken out and shot in platoons of six at a time, after having been made to kneel with their backs to the firing squad of Spanish soldiers. Crittenden was the last one shot, and when he was ordered to kneel he refused to do so and said scornfully: "An American kneels only to his God and always faces his enemies." He was accordingly shot down with his face toward his executioners.

Revolt of 1855.

In 1855 Cuba was disturbed by another insurrection, which was headed by a Spaniard named Pinto and two associates named Estambes and Aguero, all three of these leaders being captured and executed.

Seizure of the American Steamer Black Warrior.

These frequent revolts in Cuba occasioned constantly-increasing bitterness of feeling between Spain and the United States, and this animosity between the two nations was intensified by the seizure of the American steamer *Black Warrior* in Cuban waters by the Spanish authorities in February, 1854. The *Black Warrior* had been plying regularly between United States ports and Havana as a commercial vessel. Under strict interpretation of Spanish law a steamship reaching a Cuban port was required to show a manifest of her cargo, but the provision had been dispensed with by the Spanish authorities in Cuba in the case of regular liners. Thirty-six times successively did the *Black Warrior* enter and leave the port of Havana without exhibiting a manifest, but calling herself "in ballast," with the full knowledge and at the suggestion of the Spanish authorities because they desired to save themselves unnecessary labor. On the occasion of her seizure the steamer entered the port of Havana with a cargo of cotton from Mobile for New York. As on her previous voyages, the steamer was reported "in ballast"; whereupon the Spanish authorities seized her, confiscated her cargo and took it ashore, after which they imposed a fine upon her twice the value of her cargo. The captain of the steamer refused to pay the fine and protested against the whole proceeding as illegal. Finally he hauled down his flag and relinquished the ship, after which he reported to the United States government that the Spanish authorities had forcibly seized the vessel. In 1859, after five years of negotiation, Spain finally paid an indemnity of three hundred thousand dollars to the United States for the seizure of the vessel.

The United States and Cuba.

It was inevitable that Cuba should attract the interest of the United States from the early part of the nineteenth century because of the proximity of the island to the southern coast of the United States. It was perceived that there would be active commercial intercourse between the United States and this rich island and that a hostile nation's possession of Cuba would be a dangerous menace to the peace and welfare of the United States. The great problem demanding solution was the continuance of the conditions in Cuba and the length of time required before any interference should be undertaken by the United States in the interest of humanity, peace, law and order. The grievances of the Cubans continued, and there was no change in Spanish policy and methods. Outside intervention was only a question of time. The United States would permit no interference by any other foreign power. Thus the sole responsibility of outside intervention

rested with the United States government. From the time that the Spanish colonies of North and South America had cast off the Spanish yoke the great statesmen of the United States had taken the position that the great American Republic could not tolerate the acquisition of Cuba by any other power.

American Offers to Purchase Cuba.

For a long time the United States had been considering the question of purchasing Cuba from Spain; and in 1848 James Buchanan, as Secretary of State, wrote to the American Minister to Spain, offering one hundred million dollars for the island, but Spain declined the offer. Cuba was then wanted by the pro-slavery people of the United States because it was slave territory, in order to add another Slave State to the Union. In the summer of 1854 three United States Ministers in Europe—James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, in Great Britain; James Murray Mason, of Virginia, in France, and Pierre Soulé, of Louisiana, in Spain—met at Ostend, in Belgium; and from that fashionable European watering-place these three American diplomats issued the famous *Ostend Manifesto*, a letter signed by them and addressed to the Secretary of State in President Pierce's Cabinet, urging immediate action for the acquisition of Cuba by the United States, their plan being to offer to purchase the island from Spain for one hundred and twenty million dollars and to seize the island by force if Spain refused to sell it. Their language in this celebrated manifesto was as follows: "Our past history forbids that we should acquire the island of Cuba without the consent of Spain unless justified by the great law of self-preservation. We must, in any event, preserve our own conscious rectitude and our self-respect. While pursuing this course we can afford to disregard the censures of the world, to which we have been so often and so unjustly exposed. After we shall have offered Spain a price for Cuba far beyond its present value, and this shall have been refused, it will then be time to consider the question: 'Does Cuba, in the possession of Spain, seriously endanger our internal peace and the existence of our cherished Union?' Should this question be answered in the affirmative, then, by every law, human and divine, we shall be justified in wresting it from Spain, if we possess the power; and this upon the very same principle that would justify an individual in tearing down the burning house of his neighbor if there were no other means of preventing the flames from destroying his own home. Under such circumstances we ought neither to count the cost nor regard the odds which Spain might enlist against us."

Ostend Manifesto.

President Buchanan's Recommendations.

The United States government did not act upon the recommendation given in the Ostend Manifesto; but a few years afterward, when Mr. Buchanan had become President of the United States, he repeatedly referred to the subject and urged the desirability of the possession of

Senator Benjamin's Speech.

Cuba by the United States, strongly recommending the purchase of the island in all his annual messages to Congress. In 1859 the Hon. Judah Philip Benjamin, of Louisiana, in a speech in the United States Senate, spoke at great length on the grievances of the Cubans under the cruel and oppressive rule of Spain. The Civil War in the United States drew American attention away from Cuba for the time, but after the close of that gigantic internal struggle and upon the opening of the Cuban ten years' revolt of 1868-1878 the affairs of Cuba were again forced upon the attention of the American people.

Cuba's Ten Years' War for Independence, A. D. 1868-1878.

The Revolution of September, 1868, in Spain, which drove Queen Isabella II. from the throne of that kingdom, was the signal for an outbreak in Cuba, which was the beginning of a war for the independence of the island, a struggle which lasted ten years, from 1868 to 1878. On October 10, 1868, Carlos M. de Cespedes, a lawyer of Bayamo, Cuba, with one hundred and twenty-eight poorly-armed followers, unfurled the standard of revolt against the Spanish dominion in Cuba and issued a formal proclamation of his intentions and of the reasons for his action. A week after the issuance of this proclamation the insurgents were reinforced by a number of men sufficient to enable them to capture the town of Bayamo. Ten days later the entire district of Holguin was in rebellion against Spanish authority, and by the end of another month Cespedes had an army of fifteen thousand resolute men, though they were poorly armed and poorly disciplined, his chief subordinate leaders being the Marquis of Santa Lucia, General Quesada, Maximo Gomez, Calixto Garcia, Antonio Maceo and others who became identified with Cuba's final and successful struggle for independence in 1895-1898. The Cuban revolutionists were recognized promptly by most of the South American republics as belligerents; and on April 10, 1869, they organized a regular government with an elected legislature and also promulgated a national constitution. Cespedes was elected President of the newly-proclaimed Cuban Republic.

Revolt of Cespedes.

The Captain-General's Conciliatory Attitude.

The Spanish Captain-General at Havana was alarmed very seriously, and he had good reason to be. At first he endeavored to stem the movement by appealing to the people of Cuba to remain loyal to Spain and by promising them all possible reforms and favors if they would be steadfast in their loyalty. He promised them all the reforms which they demanded, saying that thenceforth Cubans and Spaniards should live together as brothers; that Cuba would be regarded as a province of Spain, and that freedom of the press, the right of public meetings and equal representation in the Spanish Cortes should be granted to them. The only effect of the Captain-General's proclamation was to excite the derision and contempt of the Cuban people and to strengthen

their resolution to liberate the "Queen of the Antilles" from the dominion of Spain forever. When the Captain-General found that smooth words and fair promises had no effect on the Cuban rebels he sent to Spain for a large military force, abolished freedom of the press, proclaimed martial law throughout the island and at the point of the bayonet compelled the citizens of Havana to contribute a sum equivalent to twenty-five million dollars for the use of the Spanish government.

Change in His Policy.

Serious fighting commenced in February, 1869, and lasted several months, during which the insurgents were generally successful. Their first notable victory was at San Cristobal, about sixty-five miles west of Havana. The second occurred at Guanajay, on the coast, near Havana. They almost captured Santiago de Cuba, which was saved only by the prompt arrival of General Valmaseda with Spanish reinforcements. A few weeks afterward the rebels threatened Havana itself. The Cuban insurgents conducted the war in guerrilla style and thus proved very troublesome to the Spanish forces. When they found the Spanish army to be far superior to them they moved quickly from one point to another, thus baffling the pursuing Spaniards and striking severe blows wherever they had the opportunity to do so. The Spanish government dispatched tens of thousands of troops to the island and commenced a most cruel and destructive system of warfare. The Spanish policy was to grant no quarter and to kill all prisoners immediately, even the sick and wounded insurgents in the hospitals being put to death. The Spanish garrisons contrived to retain possession of the cities, large towns and fortified camps; but the greater portion of the open country and the small towns were soon abandoned to the insurgents.

Progress of the Revolt.

In March, 1869, the Cuban insurgent government formally decreed the absolute abolition of slavery in the island, providing that the Cubans must compensate the slaveholders and that the freed colored people might become farmers or join the Cuban army, as they desired. Very many of them entered the army and became excellent soldiers. President Cespedes then sent an address to President Grant, of the United States, stating the object of the insurrection in Cuba and the causes which gave rise to it, while also arguing strongly in favor of the recognition of the Cuban rebels as belligerents and as an independent nation. This address was an eloquent and logical document, and its appeal to the President and people of the United States produced some effect, but the Cuban insurgent government at that time did not exhibit sufficient stability to justify the recognition of belligerency and independence then asked for. Nevertheless, Mexico recognized the Cubans as belligerents; and Peru recognized their independence as a nation, June 13, 1869.

Cuban Abolition of Slavery.

Address of President Cespedes to President Grant.

Bloody Character of the Struggle.

It was war to the knife, and the knife to the hilt. The Cubans usually had the advantage throughout the year 1869. The Spaniards committed many outrages and desolated a very considerable portion of the island. In the fall of that year a Cuban junta was organized in New York, and this junta afterward did very excellent work for the Cuban cause in enlisting American sympathy and in obtaining and sending supplies of arms and ammunition. By the summer of 1870 it was apparent that the Cuban struggle would be one of great duration and bitterness. The Cuban insurgents then had more than fifty thousand men under arms, who were mainly in small bodies, poorly armed and carrying on a system of guerrilla warfare, which was exceedingly effectual in harassing and injuring the Spanish government.

Cuban Reverse.

The first serious Cuban reverse occurred in the spring of 1871, when a large body of insurgents who were operating in the district of Camaguey, in the central portion of the island, surrendered to the Spanish authorities on condition that their lives should be spared. Their commander, General Agramonte, refused to surrender, but organized another insurgent band and continued the struggle two years longer, being finally killed in battle.

Removal and Murder of President Cespedes.

The year 1873 evidently was the bloodiest of the war, fighting being incessant and there being much bloodshed in an innumerable number of small engagements. In the fall of that year President Cespedes was removed from his office by the Cuban Congress, whereupon he retired to private life. Some time later the Spaniards found him living in peace and quiet and taking no part in the struggle, but they put him to death.

President Cisneros.

The Marquis of Santa Lucia was elected President of the Cuban Republic as the successor of Cespedes. In the meantime the Spanish government had confiscated his estates; and he now renounced his title, being known thereafter simply as Senor Cisneros.

Spanish Cruelty.

The Spaniards deliberately endeavored to exterminate the whole Cuban population, making no exception in regard to age or sex, massacring infirm old men, helpless women and infants in the cradle, often slaughtering their victims with the utmost cruelty and with every species of insult and torture. One Spanish military officer wrote as follows concerning an engagement in the fall of 1869: "We captured seventeen, thirteen of whom were shot outright. On dying they shouted: 'Hurrah for free Cuba! Hurrah for independence!' A mulatto said: 'Hurrah for Cespedes!' On the following day we killed a Cuban officer and another man. Among the thirteen that we shot the first day were found three sons and their father. The father witnessed the execution of his sons without even changing color, and when his turn came he said he died for the independence of his country. On coming back we

brought along with us three carts filled with women and children, the families of those we had shot; and they asked us to shoot them, because they would rather die than live among Spaniards."

Cruelties on Both Sides.

The Spaniards committed thousands of acts of similar atrocity throughout the island during this sanguinary ten years' struggle, and the Cubans retaliated in kind whenever they had the opportunity. It was a common practice with them to kill the prisoners they captured, especially the officers, by hanging them by their feet to the branches of trees and kindling fires under their heads. Said a trustworthy observer of the struggle: "It could not be expected that the insurgents on their own side should abstain from taking a fearful revenge. Indeed it would not be easy to ascertain on which side the atrocities first began or are carried to greater lengths. The rule is that all prisoners be shot without discrimination. Nay, the conquerors even grudge their powder and shot, and the victims are usually dispatched with machetes, a kind of long chopping-knife or cutlass peculiar to a cane-growing country and to be almost invariably seen at the side of every combatant as well as in every laborer's hand. Some of the soldiers and volunteers have acquired such skill in the use of this weapon that they cut off a man's head with all the mastery of a professional executioner. These men march in the rear of their detachments; and, upon any suspected person being apprehended, the officer in command, after a brief examination, orders the prisoner to the rear, where he is immediately hacked to pieces by the inexorable *macheteros*. As a rule, also, the bodies of the slain are left unburied on the spot where they fall. The turkey-buzzards, swarming everywhere in the island and whose life is protected by law on account of their usefulness as public scavengers, fatten on the rotting human carcasses; and it is not without a shudder that one sees these foul birds hovering everywhere in the air and poising themselves on their wings above the forests where the remains of their hideous feasts in every stage of decomposition still attract them."

American Aid to the Cubans.

During the entire struggle the Cubans obtained much aid from their friends and sympathizers in the United States, arms and ammunition thus being sent to the insurgents wherever possible. The neutrality laws of the United States permitted this, though the vessels carrying such supplies of war material were in constant danger of being seized by the Spaniards upon reaching the Cuban coast. Some of these vessels were seized thus, but many more contrived to elude the Spaniards and to land their supplies of arms and ammunition on the Cuban shores.

Case of the Virginius.

Late in 1873 the whole civilized world, and the United States particularly, was startled by the capture of the American steamer *Virginius* and the execution of a portion of her crew by the Spanish

military authorities at Santiago de Cuba. The *Virginius* was an English-built, side-wheel steamer, originally called the *Virgin* and distinguished as a daring blockade-runner during the Civil War in the United States. In 1870 the *Virgin* was sold in Washington to an agent of the Cuban Junta, and her name was changed to that of *Virginius*. For three years thenceforth she made many daring and successful voyages to the shores of Cuba, conveying food, clothing, arms and ammunition to the insurgents. On October 23, 1873, the *Virginius* cleared from the United States consulate at Kingston, in the island of Jamaica, as a United States steamer bound for Fort Simon, Costa Rica, with a crew composed of Americans, Cubans and others, among them being Cuban insurgents and enlisted men to join the Cuban army, the commander of the crew being Captain Joseph Fry, a citizen of the United States. The Spanish gunboat *Tornado*—which had been constructed by the same English firm which had built the *Virginius*—discovered the *Virginius* on the last day of October, 1873, as the steamer was nearing the Cuban coast, pursued her for eight hours and finally captured her at ten o'clock that night, taking the steamer and her crew to Santiago de Cuba, in spite of the fact that Captain Fry claimed that his vessel was an American ship with an American crew and that she was flying the American flag. The one hundred and fifty-five men captured were landed on shore, imprisoned, court-martialed and most of them were sentenced to be shot; the entire proceeding being very summary and hasty. Four days later—November 3, 1873—four of the condemned men were shot, one of whom was Brigadier-General Ryan, who claimed to be a Canadian and therefore a British subject. Twelve days later—November 15, 1873—twelve more were shot; and five days later—November 20, 1873—thirty-seven more were shot, these last being the officers and crew of the *Virginius* and some of them being American citizens. The fifty-three victims were shot in the back, in the usual Spanish style, and afterwards their heads were cut off and exhibited on spikes, while their bodies were trampled by horses. It was said that the American flag was not flying from its staff and the United States consul was ordered to keep it in his office. Captain Fry was one of the first ten men shot; and it was said that some of the victims were not killed by the firing, but afterward were shot through their mouths by the Spanish soldiers. General Burriel, the Spanish commander at Santiago de Cuba, would not listen to any protests of the American and British vice-consuls and refused to allow them to use the telegraph to communicate with their governments. It was said that the American vice-consul, Schmidt, wrote a number of communications to General Burriel, but received a reply to only one of them, and that

was that Mr. Schmidt should have known that the previous day was a religious festival day when he and all his officers were engaged in meditation on the divine mysteries and could not consider temporal affairs. Very fortunately, news of these proceedings reached the island of Jamaica; whereupon the British gunboat *Mobe*, commanded by Sir Lambton Lorraine, sailed at once to Santiago de Cuba. The captain landed on shore at Santiago almost before his vessel had anchored and threatened to bombard the city if any more of the *Virginius* crew were shot. The British consul had made the same threat. Thus the lives of the ninety-three condemned men who were still alive were spared, through the energetic action of the British consul at Santiago and the captain of the British gunboat *Mobe*.

Settlement of the Virginius Affair.

These executions of the *Virginius* victims aroused the most intense indignation in the United States, and mass meetings were held in the leading American cities demanding war with Spain. Admiral Polo y Bernabe, the father of the Spanish Minister of the same name at Washington just before the Spanish-American War in 1898, desired to submit the *Virginius* affair to arbitration; but Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State in President Grant's Cabinet, replied that the capture of a vessel bearing the register and papers of an American ship on the high seas in a time of peace was not a subject for arbitration and that the United States must be the judge and the custodian of its own honor. On November 4, 1873, Secretary of State Fish cabled to General Daniel Edgar Sickles, the United States Minister in Spain, as follows: "In case of refusal of satisfactory reparation within twelve days, close your legation and leave Madrid. If Spain cannot redress these outrages the United States will." Finally the affair was adjusted by Spain consenting to surrender the *Virginius* and the survivors of her crew and passengers to an American ship and agreeing that the *Tornado* should salute the United States flag on November 25, 1873. Instead of surrendering the *Virginius* at Santiago de Cuba, as contemplated in the protocol signed at Washington, the Spaniards took the steamer to the obscure harbor of Bahia Honda, west of Havana, and there delivered the vessel to Captain W. D. Whiting, chief of staff of the United States North Atlantic Squadron. The salute to the American flag never occurred, and no indemnity was ever paid by Spain to the United States for the families of the *Virginius* victims, as provided for.

Treaty of Zanjon.

The *Ten Years' War* was ended in 1878 by negotiations conducted by General Martinez Campos, who was sent to Cuba as Captain-General for the express purpose of pacifying the island. He was a humane man, of a character entirely different from the cruel Valmaseda. He induced the insurgent leaders to lay down their arms and abandon the

struggle for independence, partly by bribery and partly by promising reforms in the government of the island; and the conditions of peace were agreed upon at Zanjon, the peace agreement thus being called the *Treaty of Zanjon.*

Results of the Ten Years' War.

The Spanish government repudiated almost all the promises of reform that Campos had made, and as a result Cuba's condition soon became as bad as it had been before the Ten Years' War. That struggle had cost Spain and Cuba enormously in blood and treasure. The official Spanish statements showed that one hundred and forty-five thousand troops were sent from Spain to Cuba. The Cubans lost more than forty-five thousand men killed, most of whom were massacred in cold blood after they had surrendered. About thirteen thousand estates belonging to Cubans were confiscated. The estimated financial cost of the war was about a billion dollars. The Spanish losses in killed in battle and from disease amounted to at least eighty-five thousand. During the war a university professor at Havana kept a careful record of the number of Cubans whom the Spaniards reported as killed, wounded or captured; and at the end of the war the totals exceeded considerably more than the whole population of the island, thus furnishing a fair illustration of the unreliability of Spanish reports.

Spanish Official Corruption in Cuba.

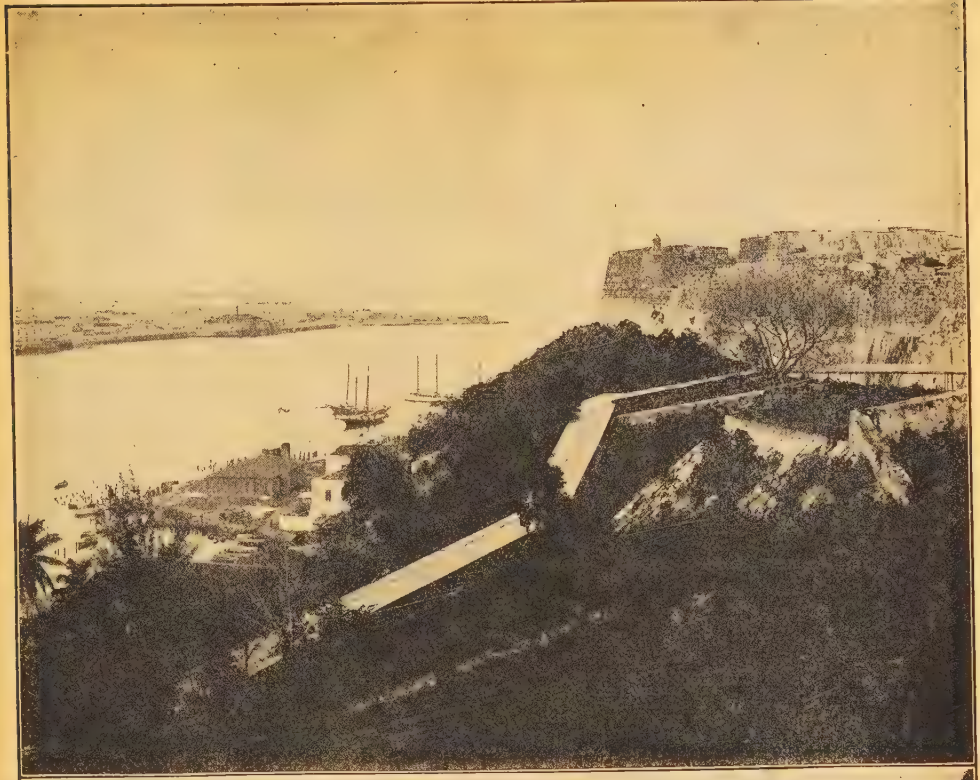
After the Ten Years' War the Spanish misrule in Cuba continued as bad as before and was worse than before in many respects. All the expense of the war was saddled upon Cuba as a public debt. Dishonesty and corruption were more flagrant than before—a fact recognized at Madrid by Spanish statesmen themselves.

Spanish Insincerity.

General Martinez Campos, who had the reputation of being the best Spaniard who was ever sent to Cuba as Captain-General, was wholly sincere when he concluded the Treaty of Zanjon with the Cuban leaders in 1878, and he thought that the Spanish government was sincere in its liberal promises of reforms, which generally were expected in good faith by a majority of the Cuban people, but as years passed away it became evident that the entire program of reform was a delusion and a deception. The few deputies which Cuba was permitted to send to the Spanish Cortes had no influence or standing in that body, and any protests which they made were either ignored or scorned. The Spanish administration in Cuba grew worse constantly, taxes being increased, public works being more neglected, jobbery and corruption being prevalent in all branches of the island's government. Spain's interests were considered first under all circumstances—Cuba's welfare being regarded last.

Cuba's Grievances.

The Treaty of Zanjon, which put an end to the Ten Years' War—as the ten years' struggle for independence in Cuba, from 1868 to 1878, was called—was a compromise which provided mainly that the



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HAVANA, CUBA

Upper: Cabanas, La Punta, and Mouth of Harbor
Lower: Cathedral, where Columbus was Buried

Spaniards should introduce the same reforms in Cuba that they had inaugurated in Porto Rico. These reforms, some of which were instituted apparently afterwards, were a mere sham, failing to redress the grievances of which the Cubans complained. As a matter of fact, the policy which Spain pursued reëstablished, in a different manner, the very wrongs from which the Cubans had suffered previously. Cuba was represented in the Spanish Cortes, in accordance with a royal decree issued June 9, 1878, at the termination of the Ten Years' War. This royal edict provided that Cuba should send one deputy to the Spanish Cortes for every forty thousand inhibitants paying a certain annual tax; but, as the Cubans were so impoverished by the Ten Years' War, and as the elections were conducted in such a manner, in accordance with a royal decree issued August 16, 1878, that few representative Cubans in sympathy with the needs and aspirations of the Cuban people were sent to the Spanish Cortes at any time, the deputies from Cuba, almost without exception, were Spaniards who had interests in the island. The previous burdensome taxation still remained, and in fact was increased, as the revenues of the island were absorbed by the whole expense of the Ten Years' War. In addition to this, the government offices were held by Spaniards, with the exception of the least important ones, which were the only ones filled by Cubans, who could obtain even these only by paying money to high officials in Madrid. As before, Cuba became the resort of young Spaniards who left the mother country to join the militia in Cuba to obtain, by three years' service in that island, immunity from conscriptions and consequent five years' service in the Spanish army. This volunteer army of fifty thousand men consisted of young Spaniards who filled the civil offices which the Cubans claimed the right to hold. These and other grievances which usually caused Spanish colonial disturbances finally caused the revolt in Cuba which began in the early part of 1895 and which eventually ended in the liberation of Cuba through the intervention of the United States.

Cuba's Final Struggle for Independence.

The danger of a new revolt in Cuba warned Spain that she must make some concession to save her dominion in that island, and she accordingly went through the form of granting a more just and liberal autonomous government for the island, preparing and inaugurating a home rule scheme in all apparent earnestness, while being really a huge joke. This home rule bill, as finally published on February 24, 1895, would have riveted the Spanish yoke upon Cuba more firmly than ever. Its diffuseness and elaborateness indicated that much time must have been required to prepare it. Many rumors of this great and generous concession on Spain's part reached Cuba, and many reports that it would soon be put in operation were received likewise. But the Cubans were not deceived by the snare set for them.

Proposed Home Rule for Cuba.

José Marti's Revolt in 1895.

José Marti, the principal organizer of the new revolt, had been in New York city for many years, acquiring knowledge in literary and artistic pursuits. After trying to organize a filibustering expedition to Cuba, which was stopped by the United States authorities at Fernandina, Florida, he went to San Domingo to see Maximo Gomez, who had been one of the Cuban leaders in the Ten Years' War of 1868-1878; and both Marti and Gomez landed in Cuba in May, 1895, and raised the flag of the Cuban Republic at Cubitas, a small town among the mountains of the province of Puerto Principe, near the eastern extremity of the island. There were then nineteen thousand Spanish regular troops and fifty thousand volunteer militia in Cuba. The magnitude of the outbreak was realized only when Marti, Gomez and the other Cuban leaders had landed in the island. When the Spanish authorities had learned that another revolt was fairly under way in Cuba they sent seven thousand more troops to the island, thus raising Spain's available military forces in the island to seventy-six thousand men.

Spanish Forces in Cuba.

Marti's Record.

At the outbreak of the Ten Years' War, in 1868, Marti was only thirteen years of age, but appeared to be regarded as a dangerous person, as he was sent to Spain for plotting against the Spanish authority in Cuba and was confined in an unhealthy prison until his life was in peril, when he was liberated on condition of remaining in Spain during the remainder of his lifetime. While in Spain he attended the University of Saragossa, where he graduated with high honors, after which he went to France, whence he proceeded to the United States, at a time when the Ten Years' War was nearing its close, but he at once joined it. He afterward organized an expedition in Mexico for the inauguration of a new revolt in Cuba, but the enterprise ended in failure; whereupon he proceeded to Central America, and there be became a university professor. He afterward went to New York city; and, after being there some years, he went to San Domingo, where he and Maximo Gomez organized the final and successful Cuban revolt of 1895-1898, losing his life in a skirmish early in the struggle, in the spring of 1895.

Generals Maximo Gomez, Calixto Garcia and Antonio Maceo.

General Maximo Gomez—whom Marti in the meantime had invested with the chief command of the Cuban Army of Liberation—at once organized the scattered revolutionary bands into an army. Gomez's principal assistants were two noted Cuban leaders who, like himself, were veterans of the Ten Years' War—Calixto Garcia and Antonio Maceo. These three Cuban chieftains were perfectly familiar with the peculiar method of guerrilla warfare which had enabled their bands to prolong their resistance to the immensely-superior numbers of the Spanish forces. Early in the summer of 1895 announcement was made

that a provisional government had been organized, composed of the following members: General Bartolomé Maso, President of the Republic of Cuba; General Maximo Gomez, Vice President and Minister of War; General Antonio Maceo, General-in-Chief; Senor Gonzalo Quesada, Secretary of Foreign Relations, and the Marquis of Santa Lucia, Minister of the Interior.

Guerrilla Warfare.

As the Cuban rebels were not in possession of any important seaport town of the island and had no war vessels, their operations were confined to the interior, and wholly to the eastern and central parts of the island in the early part of the struggle. In consequence of the inadequate means of transportation into the interior of the island and insufficient knowledge of the country, the Spanish forces were practically unable to locate and reach the Cuban insurgents so as to force a decisive battle. Desultory skirmishes were frequent, these being magnified into victories by each party for political effect on the outside world. The insurgents declared their purpose of playing a waiting game until the beginning of the hot season in May, when it was expected that yellow fever and other diseases incident to the heated period in the island would carry destruction through the unacclimated ranks of the Spanish army, as had been the case in the Ten Years' War. Accordingly, during the summer, or rainy season, practically a truce prevailed. The prevalence of yellow fever and other diseases, the intense heat, the daily thunderstorms and incessant rains forced the suspension of hostilities to a great extent, though the Cubans suffered less than the Spaniards from these climatic changes. Before the opening of the fall campaign the Spanish army was reinforced very largely, for the purpose of promptly suppressing the revolt. In the meantime the Cubans had been recruiting and drilling, thus being made the more effective for the resumption of hostilities with the Spanish forces in the fall.

The Wet Season.

New Cuban Provisional Government.

On September 19, 1895, a Cuban declaration of independence was promulgated at Anton, in the province of Puerto Principe; and a republican form of government was organized, and a national constitution for the Cuban Republic was proclaimed. The officers of the new Cuban provisional government were the following: President, Salvador Cisneros Betancourt, of Puerto Principe; Vice President, Bartolomé Maso, of Manzanillo; Secretary of War, Carlos Roloff, of Santa Clara; Vice Secretary of War, Mario Menocal, of Matanzas; Secretary of Foreign Relations, Rafael Portuondo y Tamayo, of Santiago de Cuba; Vice Secretary of Foreign Relations, Fermin Valdis Dominguez, of Havana; Secretary of Finance, Joaquin Castillo Duany, of Santiago de Cuba; Secretary of the Interior, Santiago Canizares, of Remedios; Vice Secretary of the Interior, Carlos du Bois, of Baracoa; General-in-

Chief, Maximo Gomez; Lieutenant-General, Antonio Maceo; Major-Generals, José Maceo, Maso, Capote, Serafin, Sanchez and Rodriguez.

Pedigrees of the Officials.

President Salvador Cisneros Betancourt had been Cespedes's successor as President during the Ten Years' War and had been the former Marquis of Santa Lucia. Vice President Maso has been alluded to already. Secretary of War Roloff was born in Poland, but came to Cuba when very young, and likewise fought in the Ten Years' War, after which he became a prominent citizen of Cienfuegos. Menocal belonged to an illustrious family, a member of which had been in the United States service for a long time and had been well known in connection with the Nicaragua Canal project before the Nicaragua route had been abandoned for the Panama route.

Spanish Vigilance and the Allianca Affair.

Spain, as mistress of Cuban waters, immediately adopted measures to prevent the Cuban insurgents from procuring munitions of war and reinforcements from abroad, especially from the United States, where the Cuban Junta had established itself. The Spaniards closely watched all incoming and outgoing vessels, and early in the struggle almost came to a rupture with the United States government during President Cleveland's second administration, in consequence of their firing upon the *Allianca*, an American vessel engaged in the West Indian carrying trade.

American Filibustering Expeditions.

In the United States, particularly in the South and the West, there was much openly-avowed sympathy for the Cuban revolutionists; but the United States government, from the beginning of the Cuban revolt, warned its citizens and others not to fit out filibustering expeditions or engage in acts violating the treaty rights of the United States with Spain. Notwithstanding these warnings and precautions of the United States government, the agents and friends of the Cuban rebels were very active and fitted out and sent several vessels, which effected landings at unfrequented points along the Cuban coast with reinforcements and war material obtained in the United States. In consequence of this aid and because of constant accessions to the insurgent ranks from the interior of the island, the insurgent cause improved gradually and suffered no important military reverse during the year 1895; and, although Spain had been able to relieve her financial distress by means of a large loan and constantly had been sending reinforcements to Cuba, it was apparent that the Cuban cause was gaining headway steadily and that a state of war practically existed. In the United States there was a strong public sentiment in favor of recognizing the belligerency of the Cuban insurgents, and many business men favored a plan for the United States to guarantee bonds to be issued by the Cuban rebels for the purpose of raising money to buy their independence from Spain.

Progress of the Revolt.

In the meantime the Cubans became more aggressive; their operations at first being confined to the eastern and central provinces of Cuba, but afterward being extended to the western extremity of the island and to the vicinity of Havana. The operations of Generals Maximo Gomez and Antonio Maceo afforded a constant series of surprises to the Spaniards, who never were able to force the insurgent Cubans to engage in a pitched battle. Late in August, 1895, the Spaniards under Colonel Canellas attacked and defeated the Cubans under José Maceo halfway between Santiago de Cuba and Guantanamo. Afterward the Spaniards under Captain-General Martinez Campos routed the Cubans under Antonio Maceo with heavy loss at Peralejo, Campos himself having a narrow escape from being made a prisoner. A little later the Cubans took the town of Baire and won a victory at Decanso del Muerto. Gomez then wished to advance westward toward Havana, declaring that he would eat his Christmas dinner between Havana and Matanzas.

Gomez's Order to the Sugar Planters.

Gomez issued an order to the sugar planters in the provinces of Havana, Matanzas and Santa Clara forbidding them to grind cane or to manufacture sugar, in order to deprive the Spanish government of the immense revenue derived from the sugar trade.

Cuban Ravages.

Early in 1896 the Cuban rebels had entered Pinar del Rio, the most western province of Cuba, and had established a field of operations within fifty miles of Havana. Gomez's Cuban force captured several garrisoned towns near the frontiers of the province of Havana, burned villages and destroyed a part of the sugar-cane crop, and afterward also destroyed the tobacco crop; the object of these devastations being to deprive Spain of revenue and to bring pressure to bear upon the United States by the scarcity of Cuban sugar and tobacco. The Cuban forces also tore up railway tracks near Havana and burned cars and bridges. Cuban reinforcements under Maceo were hastening from the eastern provinces of the island to join Gomez's force in the western portion of Cuba, and a Spanish detachment of twelve hundred men was caught between the Cuban forces of Maceo and those of Gomez, but the arrival of Spanish reinforcements cut short the insurgent victory and prevented the junction of the Cuban forces under Gomez with those under Maceo.

Movements of Maceo and Gomez.

General Martinez Campos Superseded by General Valeriano Weyler.

Captain-General Martinez Campos was too honest, conscientious and humane to please the Spanish official ring by adopting the cruel policy or enforcing the cruel methods toward the Cubans they desired. He was therefore recalled from Cuba; and General Valeriano Weyler, who had been one of Captain-General Valmaseda's commanders in the Ten Years' War, was appointed Captain-General of Cuba. It is said that

Campos said at the time that if Weyler ever returned to Cuba the very dead would rise to fight against him. Weyler arrived at Havana, February 10, 1896, on the steamer *Alfonso XIII.*, and was received by the Spaniards there with very great enthusiasm. On landing he made a short speech to the Spanish soldiers at Cuba's capital, in which he said: "You know my record. Well, I intend to live up to it."

His Promise of Speedy Pacification.

Captain-General Weyler promised to effect the pacification of Cuba in a month, telling a delegation of sugar planters who visited him on February 15, 1896, that by March 15th he would have peace and order restored all over the island in order that they might go to work everywhere without fear of being molested. Already twenty per cent. of the sugar crop had been destroyed, but if he would be able to fulfill his promise forty-five million dollars worth of sugar would be saved. At the same time the new Captain-General issued a proclamation in which he specified who were to be subject to trial by court-martial.

His Second Military Proclamation.

Captain-General Weyler also issued a proclamation ordering the inhabitants of the provinces of Santiago and Puerto Principe to appear at the headquarters of the Spanish army and provide themselves with passports, without which they could not go about the island; while all the stores in those provinces were to be closed and their contents were to be delivered to the Spanish military authorities; and all persons refusing to obey these orders were to be arrested and sent to Havana for military trial as traitors. In consequence of these orders, thousands of innocent noncombatants were arrested, and many of them were put to death.

Massacre of Guatao and Spanish Cruelty.

Weyler's policy was put in force speedily. On February 22, 1896, occurred the horrible massacre of Guatao, a few miles from Havana—the first of a series of massacres which astounded the civilized world. A small band of insurgents encountered a large Spanish detachment and fled after a little firing, dispersing and seeking refuge in the woods near Guatao. Enraged at their failure to capture them, the Spanish soldiers proceeded to the village of Guatao and wreaked their vengeance upon it, although the insurgents had not even entered it; massacring all the men, women and children in the village they could find. The first victim was a milkman who was on his daily route. The enraged Spanish troops next visited the cottage in which a man was sick in bed, clubbed the man's wife to death and bayoneted the sick man in his bed. A report of this incident was sent to Captain-General Weyler, praising the soldiers for their bloody deeds and saying: "They have done to-day what Your Excellency did so gloriously thirty years ago." This causeless and hideous massacre was followed by many others as shocking. Captain-General Weyler gave his officers the power of life and death

over all the people who came within their reach. Many of the Spanish commanders believed that the Captain-General would approve of any excess which they might commit. Therefore, they expected no punishment for any summary executions of Cubans who sympathized with the insurgents; but, on the contrary, they looked for commendation and reward for shooting prisoners and for all brutal actions which they might perpetrate on the plea of crushing the Cuban rebellion. In every instance the Spaniards denied the many hideous acts of cruelty of which they were accused, but the charges were substantiated. Thus Spanish troops killed several unarmed and unresisting men in the village of Punta Brava, near Havana; clear evidence of this affair being obtained through the investigations of a newspaper correspondent and his interpreter, both of whom were arrested by the Spaniards to conceal the facts, but they were soon released. There were likewise reports of midnight executions of captured insurgents at the Cabanas fortress, but the Spaniards vigorously denied these rumors and exercised a rigocus censorship to prevent news unfavorable to the Spanish authorities from being sent from Cuba.

The Military Situation and the Opposing Forces.

Captain-General Weyler's cruel policy failed to intimidate the Cuban insurgents, as General Maximo Gomez, who then was seventy years of age, and his dashing cavalry leader, Antonio Maceo, already had made far more headway than they had in the previous Ten Years' War, and as they evidently had inspired their followers with faith in victory over their Spanish foes, whatever the Spanish policy might be or by whom the Spanish forces were led. The Cuban forces were estimated at over forty thousand men, most of them being cavalry and fairly well armed; while the Spanish land forces were estimated at over one hundred thousand men, and the struggle thus far had cost Spain a sum equal to sixty million dollars. The Cuban forces under Gomez and Maceo hovered about the province of Havana, frequently skirmishing with the Spaniards and destroying villages, crops, railroads and bridges. Maceo's force attacked and defeated a Spanish detachment in the province of Pinar del Rio, March 17, 1896; and a few days afterward Gomez's force captured the city of Santa Clara, but evacuated that city after obtaining a considerable quantity of supplies and ammunition. A few days later the Spanish forces captured a strong insurgent camp and hospital in the Santa Clara district.

Progress of the Campaign.

Anti-American Mobs in Spain.

In the meantime resolutions were offered in both Houses of the United States Congress in favor of recognizing the Cuban insurgents as belligerents. These resolutions simply amounted to an expression of opinion; but the words of sympathy which characterized the discussion of these resolutions aroused such popular indignation in Spain that

mobs collected frequently, and in Barcelona a mob attacked the United States consulate, in consequence of which the Spanish government closed the universities in Barcelona, Cadiz and Madrid. In the leading cities of Spain mobs of students and others burned and trampled upon American flags, and violent attacks upon the American consulates were prevented only by the utmost vigilance of the Spanish authorities. In the United States college and university students made counter hostile demonstrations against Spain. These hostile demonstrations in the two countries were deprecated by the orderly and law-abiding elements in both, and the conduct of the American college and university students was denounced by the American press.

Belligerency Resolutions of the United States. Congress.

After considerable discussion, both Houses of the United States Congress finally passed resolutions declaring that, in the opinion of Congress, a condition of war existed between Spain and the government which the revolted people of Cuba had proclaimed and for some time maintained by force of arms, and that the United States should maintain a strict neutrality between the contending powers, according to each the rights of belligerents in the ports and domain of the United States, while at the same time declaring that the President should offer the friendly offices of the United States to the Spanish government for the recognition of the independence of Cuba. This resolution was not binding upon the President, being only an invitation for him to proceed in the case; but President Cleveland's views, and the views of his Secretary of State, as expressed afterward, were to the effect that the time had not yet arrived for the full recognition of Cuban belligerency, and that in the existing temper of the Spanish people there was little chance of the acceptance of a tender of offices in behalf of the Cuban insurgents.

Spain's Attitude.

In the midst of the popular demonstrations of hostility the Spanish Prime Minister, Canovas del Castillo, adopted a conciliatory policy, being evidently desirous of a peaceful settlement of all troubles through amicable diplomacy, although being firm and clear in his official statement of Spain's attitude toward Cuba and in regard to the suggested offers of American mediation. Spain's attitude, as defined by Prime Minister Canovas del Castillo, was that Cuba must be reduced to submission to Spanish authority before reforms would or could be instituted in the island. The Spanish government expressed its regret for the popular demonstrations in Spanish cities against the United States, but made preparations for a possible rupture with the United States government, putting warships and a training squadron in readiness, while many Spanish merchant vessels were armed as privateers. It was stated in Madrid very frequently that the recognition of Cuba by the

GENERAL VALERIANO WEYLER

United States would be followed by a firm protest on the part of all the Great Powers of Europe, and it was evident that the Continental European Powers were in sympathy with Spain.

The Trocha.

To stop the advance of the insurgents to the western extremity of the island and to prevent their invasion of the rich tobacco district of the province of Pinar del Rio, the Spaniards constructed a *Trocha*, or ditch, with a barbed-wire fence on one side of it and a line of block-houses on the other side of it, clear across the island, from north to south, near Havana. This line did not answer its intended purpose, as General Antonio Maceo finally crossed it and invaded the province of Pinar del Rio, thus demonstrating his ability as a warrior possessing daring and dashing qualities. Other Cuban detachments also frequently crossed this supposed impregnable and invulnerable bulwark, thus demonstrating its utter uselessness as a line of defense against incursions by the insurgent detachments into the rich western portions of the island, the rich tobacco district of Pinar del Rio thus being constantly exposed to the destructive raids of the Cuban guerrilla detachments.

Conflicts and Outrages.

In the meantime reinforcements from Spain had been constantly coming to Cuba for Weyler. Meanwhile the Cuban rebels under Maceo sought to capture the fortified town of La Palma from the Spaniards, but were repulsed with heavy loss. On April 14, 1896, Maceo defeated the Spaniards with a loss of four hundred and fifty killed and five hundred wounded, at La Chuza, in the province of Pinar del Rio, not far from the *Trocha;* the Spaniards fleeing to the sea-coast, where finally they were rescued by a warship which fired upon the pursuing Cubans. There were many skirmishes until the end of April, 1896, when the Spaniards under General Munez, while marching to attack the Cubans under General Calixto Garcia in the province of Santiago, were attacked and defeated with the loss of two hundred killed and four hundred wounded. Early in May, 1896, the Spaniards under General Inclon attacked one of Maceo's forts at Carcarajicara and were defeated with great loss. Soon afterward the Cuban insurgents burned the town of Punta Brava, near Havana, and other villages. A little later Maceo made a night attack on the *Trocha,* in which he succeeded in breaking through, thus demonstrating the vulnerability of Captain-General Weyler's fortified line, which was further proved by subsequent events, as the Cuban insurgents frequently passed through this supposed bulwark. While these actions were in progress the Cubans continued wrecking railway trains and bridges by means of dynamite and burning sugar-cane, tobacco and cotton.

Filibustering Expeditions from the United States

In the meantime filibustering expeditions organized by the Cuban Junta in the United States landed men and arms in the island for the insurgents; but the schooner *Competitor*, with a small insurgent band and a cargo of dynamite, cartridges and rifles on board, was captured while attempting to land on the Cuban coast. The captain and five of the crew were tried by a naval court-martial and were sentenced to death. One of the condemned men was an American; two others claimed to be such, and another was an Englishman. The United States government demanded that the accused Americans be tried by a civil tribunal, according to treaty rights; and the Spaniards consented to this, after considerable protest; but the affair threatened a serious rupture between Spain and the United States. The *Laurada*, the *Three Friends*, the *Bermuda* and other filibustering craft succeeded in landing men and war material on the coast of Cuba; but the *City of Richmond* and the *Horsa* were apprehended by the United States authorities; and the commander of the *Horsa*—Captain Viborg, a Dane—was fined and condemned to sixteen months' imprisonment. A considerable number of Americans went to Cuba to fight the Spaniards. The most notable of these men was Frederick Funston, later Commander-in-Chief of the American army.

The Military Situation.

Spain's military situation in Cuba at this time did not seem very promising. At the beginning of the struggle the Spanish army in Cuba numbered seventeen thousand men, but by the summer of 1896 it numbered about one hundred and thirty thousand regulars and sixty-three thousand volunteers, and was increased by the police force and others to more than two hundred thousand men; but forty thousand had died or were in hospitals. The revolted Cubans had about fifty thousand men in the field, though they claimed to have sixty-five thousand. Spain had expended a sum equal to one hundred million dollars, and her financial situation was very embarrassing, although she succeeded in negotiating a loan equal to twenty million dollars. The Cuban cause was sustained mainly by contributions from the Cuban organization in the United States and from voluntary donations.

Progress of the Campaign.

The Cuban rebels were becoming more aggressive gradually, and they made frequent attacks upon the *Trocha*. The Spaniards under General Inclon proceeded to disperse these rebels, but were ambushed by the Cubans under General Antonio Maceo, and were captured and held as hostages to save the lives of insurgents in the power of the Spaniards. There was considerable desultory fighting along the *Trocha* and in the immediate vicinity of Havana; but the most notable victory so far achieved or claimed by either side was that won by the Cubans under General Robi over a Spanish force which was surrounded

and cut to pieces, a valuable convoy being captured, with provisions, ammunition and a sum of money equal to several thousand dollars. On September 29, 1896, the Spaniards made a general attack on the Cuban positions in the Province of Pinar del Rio, dislodging and dispersing the insurgents in several instances. though no decisive action occurred and no important result followed. At length Captain-General Weyler took the field in person, but he accomplished very little in the brief campaigns which he undertook.

Weyler's Cruel Policy and His Reconcentrado Proclamation.

Weyler was a man with a severely-logical disposition and was not to be restrained by any moral scruples or conscientious considerations from the execution of any policy or methods which he had resolved upon. He appeared to reason thus: Without food the Cuban rebels will starve to death and the rebellion will end. The food furnished by the country people is the only food that the rebels have, and the removal of the country people will end the rebellion. Actuated by such impulses and considerations, the Captain-General issued the famous, or infamous, proclamation of October 21, 1896, which drove the country people of Cuba into the already-impoverished towns of the island, thus huddling many thousands of peasants in the towns under the name of reconcentrados, to die of famine and pestilence. The first clause of Weyler's reconcentrado order was as follows: "First. All the inhabitants of the country now outside of the line of fortifications of the towns shall, within the period of eight days, concentrate themselves in the town so occupied by the troops. Any individual who, after the expiration of this period, is found in the uninhabited parts will be considered a rebel and tried as such."

Policy of the United States.

There still was no change in the policy of the United States concerning the struggle in Cuba. In his annual message to Congress early in December, 1896, President Cleveland clearly announced a policy of delay, which probably would have been supported by the American people but for the report that the dashing Cuban leader, General Antonio Maceo, who lost his life in a skirmish, had been betrayed while under protection of a flag of truce and killed treacherously by the Spaniards. This report caused intense popular indignation in the United States, and a resolution was introduced in Congress expressly recognizing the independence of Cuba and offering to Spain the friendly mediation of the United States to put an end to the sanguinary struggle, which led to an argument as to whether the President or Congress had the authority to recognize a new nation.

Maceo's Death.

His Successor, General Rivera.

On Maceo's death General Rivera, who also had been a veteran of the Ten Years' War of 1868-1878, assumed command of the dead leader's force; and early in January, 1897, he had a severe encounter with the Spaniards in which he won a notable victory.

Spain's Dissatisfaction with Captain-General Weyler.

At the beginning of 1897 the Spanish government apparently seemed dissatisfied with Captain-General Weyler's administration in Cuba, as it received authentic accounts of acts of oppression and inhuman conduct on the part of Spanish officers in Cuba toward prisoners and even toward noncombatants, these accounts coming mainly through the efforts of American newspaper correspondents in Cuba. Though these acts of cruelty and oppression may have been in full accordance with Spain's policy in dealing with colonial rebellion, they gave rise to the most intense popular feeling in the United States and induced both the American press and American public sentiment to denounce openly Spanish policy and Spanish methods in Cuba.

Charges of Embezzlement against Weyler.

The Spanish government was influenced still further against Captain-General Weyler and his subordinate officials in Cuba by the direct charges of certain Spanish newspapers to the effect that the funds sent from Spain to prosecute the war in Cuba, especially the funds intended to feed the Spanish soldiers in the field and to care for those in the hospitals, had been embezzled by the Captain-General and his subordinates. The Spanish government was obliged to listen to so serious an accusation, particularly on account of its moral effect in other countries. Though the government promptly suppressed the newspapers which made these grave charges, it at once proceeded to investigate the charges, so as to appease popular clamor, and, if possible, to disprove the charges, which, if true, would surely discredit Spain and her colonial policy in the estimation of the civilized world.

Spain's Many Troubles.

The Spanish government was thus beset with difficulties and appeared disposed to relax somewhat from the haughty attitude which it had maintained thus far. Other causes contributed to this course.

Philippine Rebellion.

The serious rebellion against Spanish authority in the Philippine Island, where the insurgents under their skillful leader, Emilio Aguinaldo, had won many victories over the Spaniards, had taxed the resources of Spain as severely as did the Cuban revolt. The finances of Spain were in a very deplorable condition, and there was great popular discontent in Spain itself, while the attitude of the United States toward Spain was menacing. Since the beginning of the Cuban rebellion American commerce had suffered greatly; and thus, besides the calls of humanity and the general American desire for Cuban success, there were strong commercial reasons for American pressure to put an end to the deplorable struggle in Cuba. Spain had insisted all along that the island must be reduced to submission before any reforms could be adopted or even discussed, while the Cuban leaders had declared that they would listen to nothing but independence.

Menacing Attitude of the United States.

Proposed Spanish Reforms in Cuba.

Meanwhile it appeared that a home rule document had been sent to Captain-General Weyler to be put into force by that august functionary. Weyler was opposed most strenuously to any sort of auton-

omy, or local government, for Cuba; and he found it very easy to allow this home rule document to sleep quietly in his official desk in his palace in Cuba's capital. As a matter of fact, it came too late to be effective, as the time had passed for Spain to try any experiment of this nature, the Cubans remembering too well the recent broken promises. They, therefore, considered this proposal in the light of mockery and would not stop short in their fight for complete national independence. Then the ruling statesmen in Spain contrived a new home rule scheme, which was to give Cuba a real, genuine autonomistic government controlled by a majority of the island's voters. This scheme appeared just and fair; but on close examination a string was found attached to nearly all its most important provisions, one end of this string being in Spain's capital after passing through the hands of the Captain-General in Cuba's seat of government.

Fruitless Home Rule Scheme for Cuba.

Thus, finally, the diplomatic pressure which the United States had exerted all along was brought to bear upon Spain so successfully that in January, 1897, the Spanish government, under Prime Minister Canovas del Castillo, practically agreed upon a plan of home rule and self-government for Cuba, similar to the government of Canada and the other self-governing British colonies, giving the Cubans control of the offices and finances of the island, but leaving the island under the sovereignty of Spain. It was believed very confidently that even the most radical of the Cuban revolutionary leaders would be willing to accept this proposed improvement of their status; but the Cuban leaders, flushed with their victories and their demonstrated ability to continue the struggle and confident of final success, at once declared that they would accept nothing but absolute national independence. General Maximo Gomez and the other Cuban leaders stated that the rebellion was aimed against Spanish rule itself and that they would listen to no reforms to be administered by Spain. When it became evident that Cuba would accept only independence Spain definitely abandoned her reform program.

President McKinley and Cuba.

The announcement on March 6, 1897, that the new administration of President McKinley would send a United States warship to Cuban waters, along with his treatment of the Cuban question in his inaugural address, produced considerable alarm at the Spanish consulates and greatly influenced American markets.

Cuban Government.

At the beginning of 1897 the Cuban revolutionary government was composed of the following officials: President, Salvador Cisneros Betancourt; Vice President, Bartolomé Maso; Secretary of War, Carlos Roloff; Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Rafael Portuondo y Tamayo; Secretary of the Treasury, Servero Pina; Secretary of the Interior, Santiago Canizares.

Change of Spanish Methods in Cuba.

Captain-General Weyler's policy of extermination had the approval of Canovas del Castillo, the Prime Minister of Spain; but the assassination of that Spanish statesman by an Anarchist, August 8, 1897, was followed by a change of methods in Cuba—however not until Cuba's rural population had been well-nigh exterminated, so destructive had been Weyler's reconcentrado policy.

Weyler Superseded as Captain-General by Blanco.

Soon after the assassination of Canovas del Castillo the Conservative Ministry which he had headed was succeeded by a Liberal Ministry in Spain under Senor Sagasta; while Captain-General Valeriano Weyler was recalled from Cuba, and Marshal Blanco became his successor. The new Captain-General was a better and more humane man than his predecessor and was authorized by the Ministry of Senor Sagasta to try a new home rule policy for Cuba, giving the island a liberal autonomist government. Captain-General Blanco was, doubtless, well meaning in his desire for genuine local government for the island; but he encountered two obstacles from the very beginning of his administration—the opposition of the Spanish party, supported by the Volunteers, and the antagonism of the Cuban insurgent leaders, who would accept nothing short of the absolute independence of the island. Between these upper and nether millstones Blanco's conciliatory and home rule policy was destined to be ground into absolute nothingness, however well-intentioned his motives.

Disastrous Effects of Weyler's Policy.

Weyler's reconcentrado policy had carried famine, disease and misery throughout Cuba, causing the death of hundreds of thousands of the rural population of the island and thus arousing the most intense indignation in the United States when the facts were fully revealed and thoroughly substantiated. A Spanish soldier wrote as follows in the *Saturday Review*:

Spanish Soldier's Testimony on Weyler's Cruelties.

"When Don Valeriano Weyler came out to command us he got together the greatest rascals in the country under the name of *Volunteers*, and if the regular soldiers under Weyler were cruel to the country folk the Volunteers were far worse. They perpetrated every crime on the defenseless country folk, and the women and children suffered every outrage at their hands. Weyler believed in killing people wholesale to strike terror into the insurgents, but it did very little good. The insurgents played the same game. They killed all of our men whom they took prisoners. When Gomez broke through the *Trocha* between Jucaro and Moron, a couple of years ago, he shot all of his prisoners. We had been doing the same by Weyler's order, and indeed he forced us to shoot down defenseless noncombatants. It was enough to be discovered to be a distant relation of an insurgent to receive sentence of death. Boys and women were shot; sick and wounded

in Cuban hospitals were bayoneted; and when once or twice a lad in the ranks, fresh from Spain, refused to obey the order to kill he was promptly shot by his own officer. We soldiers, however, generally got into the habit of killing and did not think much of it, but we were never such savages as the Volunteers. Who were the Volunteers? They were the fellows enlisted from the Spaniards of the towns and were ten times as bitter as we soldiers against the Cubans, and the Cubans hated them worse than they hated us. He was certainly a strong man, Weyler, and a great deal harder and crueler than Martinez Campos; but he was just like the others. He filled his pockets while he was in office, and they say he came home with a big fortune."

Attitude of the United States.

The United States government was disposed still to give Senor Sagasta's Liberal Ministry in Spain credit for sincerity in its promises of reform and autonomy for Cuba. But the reports from Consul-General Fitzhugh Lee and the other United States consuls in Cuba, along with the startling reports of American newspaper correspondents, created increased sympathy for the Cuban people. At length the disorders at Havana early in 1898 caused the United States government to send the battleship *Maine* thither for the protection of American lives and property. The destruction of this American battleship in Havana harbor on the night of February 15, 1898, by an explosion which instantly cost the lives of two hundred and sixty-six American sailors, caused the most intense popular indignation in the United States. This American indignation, intensified by the reports of Senator Proctor and others concerning the horrible sufferings of the reconcentrados, finally crystallized into an irresistible popular demand in the United States for war with Spain.

Destruction of the Maine.

American Popular Indignation.

Finally the agitation and excitement in the United States reached such a height that the United States Congress passed a resolution demanding that Spain withdraw her troops from Cuba and leave the island to its inhabitants and authorizing the President to use the land and naval forces to secure Cuba's freedom. The war that followed has already been described in connection with United States history.

Spanish Retirement from Cuba.

After the signing of the peace protocol of August 12th the Spanish troops in Cuba were withdrawn gradually from the island and returned to Spain, and by the close of 1898 the Spanish evacuation of Cuba was complete and already the American army of occupation had arrived. On New Year's Day, 1899, occurred the formal relinquishment of Cuba by Spain to the United States, in trust for the Cuban people. Amid imposing ceremonies at Havana, Captain-General Blanco and the other Spanish officials formally turned over the government of Cuba to the military authorities of the United States in Cuba's

capital and soon departed for Spain. The American flag was hoisted over Morro Castle; and Major-General John Rutter Brooke was appointed Military Governor of Cuba by President McKinley, who appointed Military Governors for each of the six provinces of Cuba, Major-General Fitzhugh Lee being appointed Military Governor of the province of Havana, and Major-General William Ludlow being appointed Military Governor of the city of Havana, while Major-General Leonard Wood was appointed Military Governor of the province of Santiago. General Brooke was soon superseded as Military Governor of the whole island of Cuba by General Wood, whose efficient administration in Santiago had demonstrated his fitness for such a post. Meanwhile the remains of Columbus had been sent from Havana to Spain. Thus Cuba passed quietly under the military authority of the United States, being held in that condition until the Cuban national convention established a permanent republican form of government for the island. On May 20, 1902, the new republican government was inaugurated, with Tomas Estrada Palma as President.

Cuba Becomes Independent.

Palma served through his first term with credit and confidence. In 1905, as the candidate of the Moderate Party, he was again elected, and was inaugurated in May, 1906, but the Liberal Party charged that the election had been illegally won. Neither satisfactory explanation nor redress were obtainable and from that time on insurrectionary spirit gathered force and lawless outbreaks and armed clashes occurred, gradually assuming the proportions of a civil war. Palma several times requested intervention by the United States, but President Roosevelt refused to interfere. Hostilities between the two parties were temporarily suspended, but peace negotiations proved futile and Secretary of War Taft and Assistant-Secretary of State Bacon were sent to arbitrate. Arriving in Havana September 19, 1906, they conferred with the leaders of the two parties but failed to adjust matters, and Palma, together with the vice-president and cabinet, resigned on September 28. Taft, therefore, on the 29th declared Cuba under the authority of the United States and proclaimed himself provisional governor. He retained the treasurer, the heads of all departments of the central government, the commander of the rural guard, the civil governors, and the alcaldes. He called upon the insurgent forces to lay down their arms, and appointed a commission to receive them, which task was effected with few exceptions, quietly and rapidly. On October 9 amnesty was proclaimed to all political offenders. On October 12, 1906, Charles E. Magoon succeeded Taft as provisional governor. On December 3 a decree was issued rendering vacant the seats of those congressmen who had been elected in 1905, thus unseating nearly half of the legislative

Election Disputes and Insurrection.

United States Resumes Control.

Peace Restored.

body. In October and November, 1907, a census was taken in preparation for new elections, and after the representation had been properly apportioned, it was decided to hold the elections in December, 1908. At this election José Miguel Gomez was elected President. On January 28, 1909, the United States once more withdrew from the island.

New Elections Ordered.

The Gomez administration proved to be marked by a very partisan policy and by frequent attempts at revolt, and in 1912 conditions were such that American intervention again seemed imminent. In 1913, a Conservative president, Mario Menocal, who was an engineer and business man, was inaugurated and under him political conditions were quieter. When Menocal sought re-election and the electoral returns were doubtful, Gomez again led a revolt, but the influence of the United States was thrown against him, and when he was captured the movement collapsed.

President Menocal.

In 1917 Cuba followed the United States in declaring war upon Germany and thereby secured a loan from the United States. She took no active part in the war but the unusual demand for sugar brought her great prosperity.

Cuba Enters the War.

In the elections of 1924 General Machado, the Liberal candidate, was elected President over ex-President Menocal, the Conservative candidate.

President Machado.

SECTION X—RECENT LATIN-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

It was the dream of Bolivar, the "Washington of South America," to bring Latin-American countries to coöperate to further their interests and to protect themselves from foreign intervention. A Pan-American Congress, having objects of this character in mind, was held in Panama in 1826. Little was accomplished at this meeting and for more than half a century the ideal languished. Finally, however, Secretary of State James G. Blaine brought about the meeting of a new Pan-American Congress in Washington in 1889. Other conferences met from time to time after that date. Ultimately an International Bureau of American Republics was created with headquarters in Washington, but the name of the organization was subsequently changed to the Pan-American Union. The aim of this Union is to promote friendly intercourse between the various independent American States. The Union publishes a monthly bulletin in both Spanish and English.

Pan-American Congresses.

Pan-American Union.

At the Fifth Pan-American Congress, held at Santiago, Chile, in 1923, a continental treaty was proposed providing for the peaceful settlement of all disputes that may arise between American states. Such a dispute is to be submitted to a committee of investigation, the

Proposed Peace Treaty.

report to be made within a year and the interested parties must make no further preparations for war until the report is received.

Chile and Argentina.

Many of the Latin American wars have resulted from disputes regarding boundaries. Such a dispute long existed between Chile and Argentina, and repeatedly an outbreak of hostilities seemed imminent. Finally in 1901, British diplomatic pressure at Buenos Aires and Santiago prevented a severance of relations between the two nations and brought about the peaceful solution of the boundary dispute. The two nations agreed to submit their disputes to arbitration and to limit their armaments. At the top of the pass between Chile and Argentina a statue, the famous "Christ of the Andes," was erected to symbolize the good will existing between the two countries.

Railroad Over the Andes.

In the spring of 1910 a railroad through the Andes connecting Valparaiso on the Pacific coast and Buenos Aires on the Atlantic coast was completed. The engineering difficulties had been tremendous. Five miles of tunnels at the highest altitude of any in the world were required. The opening of the railway still further improved the relations between the two countries and tended to divert attention from political to economic channels.

Panama Canal.

The opening of the Panama Canal somewhat later helped to bring the United States into closer commercial relations with the Latin-American countries, especially with those on the Pacific coast. The outbreak of the World War delayed the full realization of the benefits expected from the Canal, but there can be no question that this water way will play an increasingly important part in facilitating the movement of the commerce of the world. It is equally certain that the next century will witness tremendous development in South America. Argentina has already passed the United States as the greatest exporter of beef and meat fats and holds a high rank in the production of Indian corn and other cereals. Brazil, with an area as great as that of the United States, has vast undeveloped natural resources. Such countries as Colombia, Bolivia, Peru and Chile contain wonderful mineral deposits. For many centuries veins of precious metals have been worked in these countries but the vast deposits of the baser metals such as copper and iron have scarcely been touched.

Future Greatness of South America.

Latin-America and the World War.

Following the lead of the United States, thirteen of the Latin-American States severed relations with the Central Powers in the Great War, and eight of them, Brazil, Cuba, Haiti, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua and Panama declared war. Peru and Uruguay seized the German ships in their harbors and adopted a friendly attitude toward the Allies. None of these states sent troops to the fighting front, but Brazil aided the Allies to patrol the Atlantic Ocean. When

the League of Nations was created at Versailles, Brazil was one of the nine powers given representation in the Council of the League. Nearly all of the Latin-American countries ultimately joined the League.

Castro.

In the last quarter of a century the South American countries have continued to be the scene of an occasional revolution and of wars between each other, but some of them, especially Chile, Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil, have made considerable progress. At the close of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, Venezuela was ruled for a considerable period by a mongrel dictator named Castro, whose disregard of the rights of foreigners involved his country in repeated controversies. Late in 1908, Castro found it expedient to go to Europe, leaving Vice-President Gomez in charge. Gomez thereupon seized control for himself. Castro made repeated efforts to regain power but failed.

Revolts in 1924.

In recent years the Latin American countries have shown an increasing tendency towards development by social evolution rather than by revolution. Yet the year 1924 witnessed uprisings in Brazil, Bolivia, Chile, Cuba, Honduras, Mexico, Peru and Venezuela. In Chile, for example, a bloodless revolution resulted in the driving from power of President Alessandri. He was the champion of the common people against the oligarchy of about a hundred families that has generally managed to control the government. At an election on October 24, 1924, Emilano Figueroa-Lorraine was elected President.

CHAPTER XLV.

BRITISH AND DUTCH IN SOUTH AFRICA.

SECTION I.—CAPE COLONY UNDER HOLLAND AND GREAT BRITAIN (SINCE A. D. 1652).

Portuguese Discovery of South Africa.

In 1486—six years before Columbus discovered America—Bartholomew Dias, a Portuguese navigator, while on a voyage in search of a new sea-passage to India, discovered the southern point of Africa and named it the Cape of Storms, but the name of this headland was soon changed to that of Good Hope, because there was now good hope that a new ocean route to India would soon be found. In 1497—eleven years after this discovery and five years after the discovery of America—Vasco da Gama, another Portuguese navigator, doubled the Cape of Good Hope and sailed along the south-eastern coast of Africa and passed the beautiful land which he named Natal, because he first saw it on Christmas day, the natal day of the Founder of Christianity. Vasco da Gama and his crews landed at Delagoa Bay and traded with the natives, after which they sailed on and touched the coast at Quilimane, and then continued their voyage to India. After landing in India, Vasco da Gama founded Calicut, the first European settlement in the East Indies, and from which the word calico was derived. The Portuguese were then the greatest maritime and commercial people in the world, and they established colonies and trading posts along the western and eastern coasts of Africa and the southern coasts of Asia, their most prominent colonies being Goa, in India, and Ormuz, in Persia.

The Dutch Republic and Its Colonies.

For sixty years—from 1580 to 1640—Portugal was a province of Spain; and during that period the Dutch in the Netherlands were engaged in their Eighty Years' War of Independence against Spain, caused by the tyranny and cruelty of Philip II., whose reign of forty-two years (1556–1598) was the grave of Spain's greatness. The Dutch finally achieved their independence and in the meantime conquered from Spain many of the Portuguese colonies which had come under the Spanish dominion when Portugal was annexed to Spain in 1580. The Dutch Republic, as Holland was then called, succeeded

Portugal as the leading maritime and commercial power of the world, and the Dutch became the great carriers of Europe in the trade with the East Indies, and their navy ruled the seas, Dutch colonies being established in the East and West Indies and in Guiana in South America, New Netherlands in North America and the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa. The capital of their possessions in the East Indies was Batavia, in the island of Java, which was founded in 1619. The Dutch still retain Guiana in South America and their possessions in the East Indies, though they have lost many of their other possessions by British conquest. The Dutch East India Company had immense fleets of war and merchant ships.

The Dutch in South Africa.

The Dutch colony at the Cape of Good Hope was founded in 1652 by one hundred and fifty settlers from Holland, under Jan Van Riebeek. In 1658 negro slavery was introduced into this colony, and the introduction of this great wrong was the first and main cause of all the trouble which has since occurred between the Dutch and English in South Africa, just as the introduction of the same great wrong into the English colonies in North America by this same Dutch race in 1620—in which year a Dutch trading vessel sold the first slaves in what is now the United States to the English planters at Jamestown, Virginia—was the great cause of sectional animosity and bloody civil war in the United States.

Dutch and French Colonists.

A few years later many prominent colonists from Holland joined the Dutch colony already planted at the Cape of Good Hope, and Dutch East India Company sent many young women to the colony from the orphan asylums at Amsterdam and Rotterdam to become wives of the Dutch planters already there. The Revocation of the Edict of Nates by France's great king, Louis XIV., in 1685, and the great persecutions of the Huguenots, or French Protestants, which immediately followed and which caused half a million Huguenots to flee from their native land and to seek homes in England, Holland and Germany, introduced a new foreign element into the Dutch colony at the Cape of Good Hope, several hundred of the Huguenot refugees from France settling among the Dutch colonists there. Among the descendants of these French Protestant settlers in South Africa was General Joubert, the late Vice President of the Transvaal Republic and the commander-in-chief of its military forces. The Dutch colonists of South Africa were not a free community, and they frequently rebelled against the arbitrary rule of Holland.

British Conquest of the Dutch Republic.

The great French Revolution, which broke out in 1789 and which in 1793 had caused Great Britain, Holland, Spain, Portugal, Austria, Prussia, the German Empire and the Italian states to form a coalition against the new French Republic, was the cause of the loss of many of

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THE COUNTRY OF THE BOERS

Upper: Looking into the Orange Free State

Holland's colonies. In 1795 the French armies conquered Holland and erected that country into the Batavian Republic, in alliance with France, the result of which was war between Great Britain and Holland and the conquest of many of the Dutch colonies in various parts of the world by the British.

British Conquest of the Dutch Colony in South Africa.

In 1795 a British fleet and army under Admiral Elphinstone and General Craig conquered the Dutch colony at the Cape of Good Hope. By the Peace of Amiens between Great Britain and France in 1802, Great Britain agreed to restore the Cape Colony to the Batavian Republic, as Holland was then called; but Great Britain refused to evacuate the Cape of Good Hope, on the ground that Napoleon Bonaparte, then First Consul of the French Republic, did not comply with the terms of his part of the treaty. Although the Cape Colony was afterward recovered by Holland, the British finally conquered it in 1806, being confirmed in its possession by a treaty between Great Britain and Holland in 1814, Great Britain paying Holland six million pounds sterling (about thirty million dollars) for Cape Colony and all the Dutch claims in South Africa, which extended as far north as twenty-five degrees of south latitude, and also the Dutch colonies of Demerara, Berbice and Essequibo, which now constitute the colony of British Guiana. The African domain thus acquired by Great Britain from Holland by purchase and conquest embraced the territory of the two Boer republics which recently made war on the British Empire. Since that time Great Britain has been the paramount power in South Africa.

Political Rights.

As we have before remarked, the Dutch population of Cape Colony had not enjoyed political rights under Holland's government, and after they came under British rule the civil and political institutions under which they lived were far more liberal than those under which they had lived before, and the Dutch colonists of South Africa always have had the same civil, political and religious rights as the British colonists. In accordance with the democratic spirit of the nineteenth century, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the British colonies of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and other parts of the world where the British population rule have become democratic and self-governing, the suffrage being universal, and all classes and nationalities of white men and civilized men having equal civil, political and religious rights, while the natives have equal civil and religious rights. In fact, the British colonies of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and other parts of the world are practically republics, or self-governing democracies, having their own Parliaments and Ministries for their own legislation and government, the Imperial Parliament at Westminister only legislating to establish the colonial

governments, and the Imperial Government only appointing the Viceroys and Governors of the various British colonies, while the Imperial Parliament does not tax them or make any laws for them. Only in British dependencies like India and other quarters of the globe where there are few Englishmen or where the mass of the natives are not educated in democracy is there no self-rule, but the natives have the same civil rights as Englishmen.

British Abolition of Slavery.

The first serious trouble between the British and the Boers, or Dutch farmers, of Cape Colony, arose in consequence of the abolition of slavery in the British colonies by act of the British Parliament in 1833—the act for which the immortal William Wilberforce had labored for a lifetime and which he saw accomplished but a few months before his death, the same year; and which made Great Britain the first nation in the world to abolish that detestable institution, which she did thirty years before Holland, Russia and the United States abolished slavery within their respective jurisdictions.

Dutch Opposition to Abolition.

The British colonial authorities in every portion of the British Empire at once proceeded to put the abolition act in force. The English in Cape Colony said it was their duty as Christians to free every slave they had. The Cape Colony Dutch protested, and sullenly acquiesced after being paid for their slaves. The slaveholders in Cape Colony were these Boers, or Dutch farmers. They complained that the payment they received for the emancipation of their slaves was made in depreciated paper at a large discount, and that they were financially cheated in the transaction. Their dissatisfaction was heightened by the dislocation of industry caused by the compulsory sale of their slave property at a price below the market value, and also by the philanthropic principle of equality involved in the abolition of slavery. They looked upon the blacks as an inferior race, and some of them even argued that negroes are not human beings and have no souls.

Great Trek of 1836–37.

In consequence of their dissatisfaction with the abolition of slavery, about eight thousand Dutch farmers, or Boers, from Cape Colony, went on what is called the "Great Trek of 1836–'37," migrating from the settled portions of Cape Colony northward into the back country of South Africa, then an interior wilderness but little known to the outside world. There the migrating Boers thought they would be free from British rule and that they could hold slaves and do as they pleased generally. But they were warned by the British authorities that, though they could settle where they pleased, if they settled anywhere south of twenty-five degrees south latitude and outside of the Portuguese possessions they would still be British subjects, as Great Britain claimed that, according to international law, her sphere of influence extended over all South Africa as far north as twenty-five degrees south latitude, ex-

cept the Portuguese territories. Great Britain claimed the interior of South Africa hers in consideration of the large money payment which she had made to Holland therefor at the time when she acquired Cape Colony by conquest, cession and purchase.

"Day of Weeping" and "Dingaan's Day."

The emigrant Dutch farmers first proceeded north beyond the Orange river, and some of them explored the country as far as Delagoa Bay with incredible difficulty. The greater portion of them settled themselves in the uplands of the Orange and Vaal rivers, being involved in bloody conflicts with the Matabele. Others crossed the Drakensberg mountains into the present Natal, where the Zulus under Dingaan exercised a savage tyranny of force. After bloody massacres of Boers by Zulus and of Zulus by Boers, among which were the famous "Day of Weeping" and the Dutch reprisal known as "Dingaan's Day," this portion of the emigrant Boers settled in Natal, where they founded the short-lived little Dutch Republic of Natalia, on the site of the present city of Pietermaritzburg, now the capital of Natal. Great Britain refused to recognize the Republic of Natalia, and the Boer leaders there were informed that they would not be allowed to set up an independent government on what was British territory.

Republic of Natalia.

British Colony of Natal.

There was already a British settlement upon the Natal coast. The native blacks of Natal were under British protection, and the aggressions of the Boers upon the natives led to conflicts between the Boers and British troops. The Boers were at first successful over the British, but finally were defeated, and direct British sovereignty was extended over Natal in 1843, which then was declared a British colony "for the peace, protection and salutary control of all classes of men settled at and surrounding this important portion of South Africa." The frontiers of Natal were established afterward, and in proclaiming them the British authorities stated that Her Majesty Queen Victoria maintained "her rightful and sovereign authority over any of her subjects residing or being beyond the limits of that district." The Boers relinquished the Republic of Natalia, and most of these Natal Boers retired across the mountains to join their fellow Boers on the plains of the recent Orange Free State. The few Boers who remained in Natal were the ancestors of the present Dutch inhabitants of that British colony.

Napier Treaties.

In the same year, 1843, a series of treaties, known as the "Napier Treaties," established a chain of negro states under British protection, extending from what is now Pondoland, on the frontiers of Natal, across the mountains and along the course of the Orange river to the region around the present city of Kimberly. The only one of these protected native states still existing in its original form is Basutoland. Thus the Boers, who all the time were within the sphere of British in-

fluence, were isolated from the British colonies on the coast by a barrier in the form of a chain of negro states under British protection.

Orange River Sovereignty.

In consequence of Kaffir wars upon the frontier of Cape Colony, Sir Harry Smith, the next Governor of that colony, adopted a policy of controlling the natives and extending direct British sovereignty over the new Boer settlements. The treaties between the British and the blacks were modified in 1847; and on February 3, 1848, a proclamation was issued annexing to Cape Colony the region between the Orange and Vaal rivers under the name of the Orange River Sovereignty.

Harrismith and Ladysmith.

The present town of Harrismith, in the Orange River Free State, was named in honor of Governor Sir Harry Smith; and Ladysmith, in Natal, which bore such a conspicuous part in the war of 1899, was named in honor of his wife.

Boer Revolt and Battle of Boomplatz.

By the time just alluded to, 1848, the friction between the emigrant Dutch farmers and the British authorities had become well-nigh irreconcilable. A party of the emigrant Dutch farmers had elected Andries Pretorius to be their commandant, and took up arms to establish an independent republic for themselves. The British defeated the Boers in the battle of Boomplatz, August 29, 1848. That portion of the Boer population which was opposed to British rule then migrated northward across the Vaal river, under the leadership of Pretorius, after whom the present city of Pretoria, the capital of the Transvaal, was named. These Boers, in their new homes beyond the Vaal, were warned that they still were within the sphere of British influence, and that, though they were free to settle there, if they did settle there they were still British subjects.

Boer Trek to the Transvaal.

Orange River Settlement.

Those emigrant Dutch farmers who remained in the region between the Orange and Vaal rivers, with the addition of other Dutch emigrants from Cape Colony, were the ancestors of the present Dutch population of the Orange River Free State. These Dutch inhabitants, like those of Natal, were disposed to live quietly under British rule, all the irreconcilable Boers having migrated to the region north of the Vaal river.

Hostility and Isolation of the Transvaal Boers.

The Boers beyond the Vaal were as bitterly hostile to their fellow-countrymen who remained in Cape Colony, in Natal and in the Orange river district as they were to the British authorities. As a result of that state of feeling, there was very little intercourse between the Boers north and those south of the Vaal. The Dutch north of the Vaal, or the Transvaal Boers, have been to a great degree differentiated from the remaining Dutch population of South Africa from the beginning; and the history of the Transvaal forms a separate chapter as it were. The turbulent and lawless nature of the Transvaal population characterized the new settlement for a long time, and

the Transvaal Boers were continually at war with the native blacks, with their fellow-countrymen in the Orange river district or among themselves.

Sand River Convention and Transvaal Republic.

The constant wars which the British were obliged to wage to subdue the native black tribes, such as the Hottentots, the Tembus, the Kosas, the Basutos, the Kaffirs, the Zulus, the Bechuanas, the Swazis, the Matabele and others, had been very expensive and had made the whole policy of enlarging the British dominion unpopular in Great Britain, where the "Little Englanders" were making their power and influence felt at that time. This state of public feeling in Great Britain caused Sir Harry Smith, the Governor of Cape Colony, to grant the request of the Transvaal Boers, who asked for independence and for a treaty of friendship with Great Britain, so that their old differences and animosities might be forgotten. Accordingly, in January, 1852, the British and Transvaal commissioners met on the banks of the Sand River, within the northern limits of the Orange river district; and the negotiations ended with the signing of the famous Sand River Convention, January 17, 1852. The principal terms of this treaty were that Great Britain agreed to acknowledge the independence of the Boers north of the Vaal, although they were within the sphere of British influence, on condition that they would prohibit slavery within their borders, while traders and missionaries were to be allowed to prosecute their business on both sides of the Vaal river. This was the founding of the first Transvaal Republic, and was a free gift on the part of Great Britain, as she generously gave the Transvaal Boers their independence without charging them any money for the territory which she thus gave them and for which she had paid millions of dollars to Holland.

Bloemfontein Convention and Orange Free State.

The same cause which led to the recognition of the Transvaal Republic—the opposition of public sentiment in Great Britain to any further extension of the British Empire—also led to the relinquishment of British sovereignty over the territory between the Vaal and Orange rivers, although within the sphere of British influence. This was done on the initiative of the British government, and in the face of strong opposition from many of the Dutch inhabitants of that region, as expressed through an assembly of delegates at Bloemfontein. Many of the Dutch inhabitants declared their intention of nailing the British flag half-mast and of appealing to arms against independence and in favor of the continuance of British rule until the British Parliament reconsidered the question. But in spite of this strong expression of Dutch sentiment in favor of remaining under British rule, a royal proclamation renounced British dominion and sovereignty over the

Boers occupying the territory between the Orange and Vaal rivers, January 30, 1854.

Conditions of Independence.

Thus the Transvaal Republic and the Orange Free State were brought into existence by the free action of Great Britain, which voluntarily granted the independence of these two little Dutch republics within the recognized sphere of British influence in South Africa. These two little communities did not win their independence by force of arms, but as an act of grace by the free gift of Great Britain, and that was their only charter of existence. But their independence was granted to them upon the conditions that they should prohibit negro slavery and give equal rights to all white men throughout their respective territories. The Orange Free State faithfully observed the conditions upon which its independence was established, and lived upon terms of peace and friendship with Great Britain up to the recent war, while many Englishmen held important offices in the republic, and many of the towns within the republic's limits were thoroughly English, such as Harrismith and others.

SECTION II.—THE FIRST TRANSVAAL REPUBLIC (A. D. 1852-1877).

Negro Slavery in the Transvaal.

As has been remarked, the Orange Free State observed the terms of the treaty establishing its independence. The Transvaal Republic, however, evaded the provision for the prohibition of slavery by practically reëstablishing the system of slaveholding under the name "apprentices" from the very first. These "apprentices" were negroes whom the Boers took prisoners in their constant wars with the various negro tribes around them. These "apprentices" were legally bound to work without pay and were prohibited from changing their masters without permission. This system became law by the Apprentices' Act of 1856.

Dutch and German Testimony.

A clergyman of the Dutch Reformed Church, in a book published at Utrecht, in Holland, in 1869, described the Transvaals "apprentice" system as being "slavery in the fullest sense of the word." A German missionary who had been invited by President Burgers, of the Transvaal, to report in 1875, thus spoke of the "apprentice" system: "And if I am now asked to say conscientiously whether such slavery has existed since 1852 and been recognized and permitted by the government, I must answer in the affirmative."

Dr. Livingstone's Testimony.

The testimony of Dr. David Livingstone, the celebrated Scotch missionary and African explorer, on this point is well known and often alluded to, and is as follows: "The Boers steal domestic servants from

the more hostile tribes in the most cowardly, cold-blooded way imaginable. * * * When the tribe to be attacked is reached, the natives on foot are forced in front of the horseman to form, as they say, a 'shield.' The Boers then coolly fire over their heads till the devoted people flee, and leave cattle, wives and children to the captors. * * * This was done in nine cases during my residence, and on no occasion was a drop of Boer's blood shed. * * * It is difficult for a person to conceive that any body of men possessing the common attributes of humanity should, with one accord, set out on such an expedition. * * * It was long before I could give credit to the tales of bloodshed told by native witnesses; * * * but when I found the Boers themselves * * * glorying in the bloody scenes in which they had been themselves the actors I was compelled to admit the validity of the testimony and try to account for the cruel anomaly."

Boer Boasts.

The Boers themselves often boasted of their massacres of negroes during their slave raids, often claiming to have killed a thousand negroes while they themselves did not lose a man.

Boer Hostility to Missionaries.

The Sand River Convention guaranteed the rights of missionaries and traders in the Transvaal. But the Boers attacked and plundered Dr. Livingstone's mission station, and he escaped with his life only by a fortunate accident. They broke up five other mission stations in the same way. They hated the missionaries for preaching the doctrine of human equality and denouncing the wrong of slavery. The missionaries were constant witnesses of the capture of negro children by Boer raiders, and they angered the Boers by their protests against these detestable outrages.

Boer Hostility to Foreigners.

The Boers fined traders for publishing descriptions of trade routes. They passed a law to prevent Englishmen and Germans from owning land in the Transvaal. For twelve years after the signing of the Sand River Convention the Boer leaders declared it to be their policy to shut themselves out from all relations with the outside world and to isolate themselves from all intercourse with the civilized nations. For a long time they opposed the introduction of railways because railways are not mentioned in the Bible.

Boer Characteristics.

The Boers lived in very primitive, simple style, as their fathers, grandfathers and great-grandfathers had lived before them, and opposed such amusements as balls and theaters as very sinful. They had great contempt for wealth as represented by gold, silver, diamonds, etc., but great fondness for wealth as represented by their immense farms of thousands of acres each and by their herds of horses, cattle, swine and sheep. Their sparse population and their extensive country often made a Boer's nearest neighbor ten miles distant from

his home. They were very proud of their ancestry and of the history of their race in its European home. They were very religious and had great reverence for the warlike portions of the Old Testament, and in justification of their treatment of the heathen blacks around them they cited as precedents the treatment of the ancient heathen nations of Palestine by Jehovah's chosen race, the Hebrews. Having no schools, few Boers could read or write.

The Transvaal's Civil and Foreign Wars.

Anarchy distracted the Transvaal for the first eight years of its independence, 1852-1860. During this period the Transvaal Boers carried on wars against the Orange Free State, as well as engaging in civil wars among themselves and in slave-raiding wars with the negro tribes around them; and Paul Krüger commanded a Transvaal force sent against the Orange Free State.

Renewed Civil War and Anarchy.

In 1860 the four Boer republics of the Transvaal agreed to unite under one President; but civil war soon again broke out, which lasted until 1864, when the Transvaal was finally reunited under Marthinus Wessels Pretorius as President, Paul Krüger becoming the Commandant-General. Thus closed the first twelve years of Transvaal independence, 1852-1864—a period of anarchy, civil wars and wars with the Orange Free State. The *Vierkleur*, or four-colored Transvaal flag, is a reminiscence of the period during which the four petty republics of the dismembered Transvaal existed.

Wars with Negro Tribes.

When the Boers entered the Transvaal they drove the Matabele northward and seized the country, and the smaller negro tribes ventured from their hiding places in the hills and caves, apparently submitting to the emigrant Dutch farmers. But during the twelve years of anarchy, civil wars and wars with the Orange Free State, from 1852 to 1864, the black tribes, encouraged by these quarrels of the Boers among themselves and aroused to desperation by the cruel treatment which the Boers had inflicted upon them, gave the Boers very much trouble and took a bloody revenge for the enslavement and massacre of their people by the slave-raiding Boers.

The Transvaal's Difficulties.

Thus far in the history of the Transvaal there was no development of civilization in the Republic. Lack of revenue had prevented the creation of the ordinary machinery of life. The salaries of officials were usually not paid. There were few roads, no bridges, no telegraphs, no public buildings, no schools in the country. Commerce was conducted by means of barter; and taxes were not collected, as the Boers would not pay taxes while their leaders quarreled among themselves, and the authorities were unable to enforce payment.

British Arbitration.

In 1871 President Pretorius, unable to overcome his troubles, agreed to submit the western Transvaal frontier question to British arbitra-

tion, and accepted the award made by Governor Keate, of Natal, giving the native negro tribes independence of Transvaal rule and also possession of the disputed territory, and deciding against the Transvaal's claim to an important district in the vicinity of the diamond fields. The Transvaalers were so dissatisfied with this award that President Pretorius resigned, and thus ended his troublous administration.

Enlightened Administration of President Burgers.

President Burgers, the successor of President Pretorius, was a far more intellectual and cultured man. He sought to remedy the existing misfortunes of his country by the introduction of a new order of things. He visited Europe and succeeded in raising part of a loan authorized by the Volksraad for the construction of a railway. He also engaged European instructors for the purpose of introducing a system of public education into the Transvaal.

Desperate Straits of the Transvaal.

The Transvaal Republic now became involved in another war with the powerful Kaffirs, under the leadership of Sikukuni, a warlike chief. The local system of commandos—men commandeered to fight in the public interest—now proved to be ineffectual. President Burgers himself led an expedition against Sikukuni. As nothing could make the President's troops keep the field, it was resolved to substitute a system of paid military forces. To defray the expenses of this new military system, heavy war taxes were imposed upon the Transvaal population; but the people refused to pay these taxes, and the Republic broke down under the strain. The Transvaal government was unable to pay the interest on the public debt and could not defray the government expenses. The one-pound notes (almost equal in value to five dollars of United States money) depreciated to the value of one shilling of British money (about twenty-five cents of United States money).

Threatened Extinction of the Transvaal.

With an empty treasury, with no army, with victorious neighboring negro tribes invading its territory and threatening to overwhelm and exterminate its people, the Transvaal Republic was now in its dying throes, on the verge of total extinction, its black foes preparing to crush it from all sides. Sikukuni and other negro chiefs had crossed the frontiers on the north-east, north and west. The Matabele, who had been driven from their former homes by the Boers, were ready to take revenge for being robbed of their lands. The Zulus, under Cetywayo, were ready to invade the Transvaal from the south.

The Boers Seek British Protection.

The only two alternatives before the Republic were total annihilation by the native negro tribes, whose people the Boers had wronged and carried into slavery, or annexation to British South Africa for the sake of obtaining British protection to save the Transvaal Boers from extirpation by the triumphant negroes. In this desperate ex-

tremity an influential portion of the Transvaal people, under the leadership of the principal officials, sought the powerful protection of Great Britain.

British Annexation of the Transvaal.

On the invitation of the ruling factions in the Transvaal and on a petition of a third of the male population of the Republic, negotiations were opened with the British authorities for the annexation of the Transvaal to British South Africa, in return for British protection against the conquering arms of the black invaders of the Boer territory. In his speeches President Burgers himself favored annexation.

Burgers's Official Protest.

Although accepting the inevitable and acting in full accord with Sir Theophilus Shepstone, the Governor of Cape Colony, President Burgers regretted at heart the loss of his country's independence. To appease the Irreconcilables, whose opposition he feared, he published an "official protest" against annexation, to which Sir Theophilus Shepstone consented for appearance sake and to prevent armed opposition on the part of the Irreconcilables, though the British would have been ready to put down such minority opposition by force had it been attempted.

Act of Annexation.

The Act of Annexation was officially proclaimed on April 12, 1877, and immediately was put in operation peacefully; Sir Theophilus Shepstone being supported at Pretoria, the Transvaal capital, by the presence of twenty-five policemen. Soon afterward the principal Transvaal officials, Paul Krüger among them, accepted office under the British government; the only Boer official refusing British favors being Petrus Jacobus Joubert, the late Vice-President of the Transvaal Republic and Commandant-General of its military forces. President Burgers retired to Cape Colony.

Boer Responsibility for Annexation.

Thus, after an independent existence of twenty-five years (1852-1877), the first Transvaal Republic was extinguished by annexation to British South Africa. Its unfortunate end was the fault of its own people, being the result of its helpless situation in consequence of its defenseless condition against powerful native negro tribes whom its people had wronged, and in consequence of its bankrupt treasury, caused by years of civil war and anarchy and by wars with its kindred neighbor, the Orange Free State, and with the powerful neighboring native black tribes.

Unfortunate Result for Great Britain.

This action of Great Britain in coming to the rescue of the Transvaal Boers to save them from extermination by the negro tribes whose people they had enslaved and massacred was the greatest and most unfortunate of all the mistakes which she ever had made in South Africa, as it involved her in bloody wars with the Zulus, the Kaffirs and other negro tribes under the leadership of Cetywayo and Sikukuni,

which cost her ten million pounds sterling (about fifty million dollars) and many precious British lives, besides the two wars which she since has waged against the Boers themselves, which also cost her heavily in blood and treasure, for all of which she received no thanks, as we shall soon see. Thus, politically and in a military point of view, Great Britain's rescue of the Boers was a great blunder, of which she since has sadly reaped the fruits.

SECTION III.—THE TRANSVAAL UNDER BRITISH RULE (A. D. 1877-1881).

War with the Zulus.

In consequence of protecting the Transvaal Boers against extermination by the Zulus under Cetywayo, the British became involved in a bloody war with that warlike and powerful negro nation which lasted several years, ending in 1879, in the conquest of the Zulus and the capture of Cetywayo, the war costing the British eight million pounds sterling (about forty million dollars in United States money)—a war altogether brought about in the first place by Boer aggressions on the Zulus.

Boers Saved from Extermination by British Annexation.

The British also broke the power of the Kaffirs under Sikukuni, thus saving the Boers from annihilation by another powerful negro tribe, whom they likewise had wronged; and by the close of 1879 all the dangers which had menaced the existence of the Transvaal Boers had been removed in consequence of the annexation of the Transvaal to British South Africa, thus restoring order, peace, prosperity and abundant revenue to the country.

Boers Tired of British Rule.

The happy turn in the affairs of the Transvaal caused a great change in the sentiment of the Transvaal Boers. They now had reaped all the benefits and profited by all the advantages of annexation. Great Britain had crushed their black foes at her own expense, so they had no further use for Great Britain. They gladly had accepted favors in the time of their distress; and, having been put on their feet again through British aid and protection, they coolly resolved to throw Great Britain overboard.

Boer Petition for Independence.

Having willingly sacrificed their independence to obtain all the benefits and advantages of annexation, and having now obtained these benefits and advantages, the Boers again longed for the independence which they had given up so readily a few years before. The very annexationists among the Boers in 1877 became the independents in 1880. They accordingly prepared a monster petition with six thousand five hundred signatures, asking for the restoration of their independence, and sent it to England.

Mr. Gladstone's Speech.

In the meantime affairs in Great Britain were taking a favorable turn for the Boers. In his Midlothian campaign, in November, 1879, Mr. Gladstone had condemned the annexation of the Transvaal in the strongest terms and had announced his intention to restore Transvaal independence if he came into power. The Boers got hold of his speech and circulated copies of it among their people, who accepted it as an invitation to revolt.

Boer Disappointment.

After the dissolution of the British Parliament, in March, 1880, and the elections in Great Britain, which returned the Liberal party, under Mr. Gladstone, to power, the Boers were chagrined to find that Mr. Gladstone had changed front on the Transvaal question and that he now announced that the Transvaal must remain British territory. They accordingly resolved to appeal to arms to recover their independence at once and made preparations for the struggle.

Transvaal Revolt.

The rupture began when the Boers resorted to their old expedient toward their own governments when their public servants were unpopular—the refusal to pay taxes. The determination of the British Administrator of the Transvaal, Sir Owen Lanyon, to enforce payment of taxes by the seizure of the goods of a recalcitrant farmer led to open defiance and brought matters to a crisis. The Boers held a great public meeting at Paardekraal, in which Paul Krüger, Marthinus Wessels Pretorius and Petrus Jacobus Joubert were elected a triumvirate to conduct public affairs; and the independence of the Transvaal was declared on December 16, 1880. The Boers offered to indemnify Great Britain for her expenditure in behalf of the Transvaal if their independence was restored.

British-Boer War of 1880-81.

War ensued. The Boers attacked two hundred and fifty British troops at Middelburg, December 23, 1880, killing one hundred and twenty and taking the remainder prisoners. The Boers were repulsed at Potchefstroom, January 7, 1881. Sir Owen Lanyon, the British Administrator in the Transvaal, was summoned to surrender Pretoria; and the Boers closely beseiged Potchefstroom. Early in January, 1881, the Boers invaded Natal. On January 26, 1881, a British force of one thousand men, under General Sir George Pomeroy Colley, was repulsed in an attack upon the strong position of five thousand Boers, under General Joubert, at Laing's Nek; the British losing one hundred and eighty-five killed, wounded and missing. On February 8, 1881, the British under General Colley again were defeated by the Boers under Joubert behind rock cover, on the Ingogo River; the British losing one hundred and fifty killed and wounded. On Sunday, February 27, 1881, General Colley's force of about six hundred and fifty men was defeated by a superior force of Boers in the battle of Majuba Hill,

Battles of Laing's Nek, Ingogo River and Majuba Hill.

six thousand feet above sea-level and three thousand feet above camp-level. General Colley was killed, and he lost about two hundred and fifty officers and men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, the survivors fleeing headlong from the scene of action. The Boers, who fought under cover behind rocks and crags, lost about one hundred and thirty in killed and wounded.

Transvaal Independence under British Suzerainty.

The Boer victory at Majuba Hill was followed by an armistice and a treaty of peace, in March, 1881, by which Great Britain, in accordance with Mr. Gladstone's first announced Transvaal policy, acknowledged the independence of the Transvaal, under the suzerainty of the British crown. The Transvaal Boers were to have local self-government; but the British government was to control the foreign relations of the restored Republic, and was granted the right to march troops across the Transvaal at any time, while a British Resident Agent was to be established at Pretoria. All munitions of war captured on either side during the war were to be restored. White men of all nationalities were to have equal rights with the Boers in the Transvaal to reside, travel and carry on business in the country and were not to be subject to any special taxation. Slavery of the blacks was to be prohibited, and their interests were safeguarded by other clauses. The treaty also provided that Great Britain should receive compensation for her heavy expenditure on account of the Boers in the wars with the Zulus, the Kaffirs and other native African tribes—a sum equal to about ten million pounds sterling (about fifty million dollars in United States money). The acceptance of these terms by the Boers ended the war. In August, 1881, a Royal Commission on the part of Great Britain concluded a definite treaty with the Transvaal Republic, on the basis of the preliminary treaty.

SECTION IV.—THE SECOND TRANSVAAL REPUBLIC (A. D. 1881-1899).

Founding of the Second Transvaal Republic.

Thus was founded the second Transvaal Republic, officially called the South African Republic. The reason why Great Britain retained control of the foreign relations of the Republic was to prevent the Transvaal from making treaties or alliances with foreign powers to the prejudice or disadvantage of Great Britain, and to guard against the danger to the whole white population of South Africa involved in wars between the Boers and the native blacks. The provisions of the treaty of 1881 providing for equal rights for whites and freedom for blacks were the same as those of the Sand River Convention of 1852, when

the first Transvaal Republic was acknowledged as an independent state by Great Britain. During the four years that the Transvaal was under British rule (1877-1881) equality of political rights existed in the Transvaal. While the negotiations for the definitive treaty of peace, in August, 1881, were in progress, Paul Krüger, on behalf of the Transvaal triumvirate, assured the British commissioners that the same political equality for all white men should be maintained under the restored Republic as had existed under the British régime.

President Paul Kruger.

In 1882, the second year of the second Transvaal Republic, Stephanus Johannes Paulus Krüger was elected President of the Transvaal, or South African Republic. In 1883 he was confirmed in the office for the term of five years, and he was reëlected in 1888, 1893, and 1898. So thoroughly was he master in all the affairs of his little state that it is scarcely too much to say that the history of the second Transvaal Republic was the history of President Paul Krüger.

His Characteristics.

President Krüger had been a prominent man in the history of his country for half a century. He took a prominent part in the civil wars of the Transvaal and the wars against the Orange Free State, from 1852 to 1864, and was the head of the Dopper faction; the Doppers being the strictest section of the Dutch Reformed Church. He was among the annexationists of 1877 and was a leader of the independents of 1880-1881. By his masterful powers he made everything bend to his will. He often preached in the great church at Pretoria, and in his sermons he told his people that God was and always had been on their side and would enable them to overcome their enemies in battle. His intense piety would not permit him to accept an invitation to the Queen's ball during his visit to London in 1884, such things being too sinful in his estimation. In Paris he was shocked at the ladies' modes of dress. He read few newspapers. Once he was reported to have said: "The Bible is one of the few books I have time to read." It must be acknowledged, however, that the small selection of other books that he read was good—such as *Pilgrim's Progress*, Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, and histories of the Prince of Orange and of the Thirty Years' War. His manners were those of a simple farmer. He was said to have frequently received visitors in his shirt-sleeves; to have appeared in public without collar or necktie, and not to have been wasteful of water at his toilet. To his people he was reverently and affectionately known as "Oom Paul"; that is, "Uncle Paul," implying that he was "everybody's uncle." During his visit to London in 1884 he was so poor that he could not pay his hotel bill, but after the discovery of the Rand gold mines he was said to have become worth twenty-five million dollars.

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ZULUS

Left: A War Dance
Right: A Rush in Battle

President Kruger's Autocratic Rule.

We have alluded to President Krüger's absolute and despotic rule. All political power was in his hands and that of a council of seven. These men practically exercised the legislative and judicial power of the state as well as the executive power. They ignored the laws and orders of the Volksraad, or legislative body, and the decisions of the Supreme Court of the land. In short, the Transvaal was a republic only in name, and was in reality a seventeenth century Dutch and French settlement—a theocratic or religious oligarchy masquerading as a republic—with only the descendants of Protestant Dutchmen and Frenchman having any political rights. Jews and Catholics were disfranchised, and only members of the Dutch Reformed Church could hold office. The naturalization laws were so illiberal that it required long residence and ten years' military service in the Transvaal armies before an alien or foreigner could become a citizen of the Republic, although he was drafted into the army and subject to a poll tax. The black man was denied all civil as well as political rights and was practically in a state of slavery, the Boers looking upon the negro as being no human being and having no soul. Negroes were not allowed to walk on the sidewalks of streets or to enter a Boer church.

General Traits of the Boers.

The Boers are pious and bigoted and very attentive to their church duties. They resemble the English Puritans and the Scotch Covenanters of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in their aversion to frivolous amusements, which they consider sinful. They are primitive and mediaeval in their habits and beliefs and unprogressive in their character.

Their Jealousy of Foreigners.

They regarded foreigners with jealously and suspicion and the English with intense animosity, ingrained into them by the history and traditions of a century. They liked to be left alone with their country and to live a pastoral life on their immense farms of thousands of acres and tend their cattle and sheep, and have contempt for the wealth represented by gold and diamonds. They loved their national independence and were so intensely patriotic that they were ready to shed their last drop of blood to maintain their separate national existence.

Their Unprogressiveness.

Their dwellings and other buildings were very simple and primitive, as were also their farm machinery and implements. In short, they had great veneration for the methods and ideas of their fathers, grandfathers and great-grandfathers, and did not readily take to new-fangled, modern notions. Their fondness for hunting made them good marksmen from childhood.

Corrupt Dutch Language.

The Dutch language of South Africa is not the pure Dutch of Holland, but a corrupt Dutch produced by the mingling of the Huguenot French element with the Dutch population of South Africa. This

corrupt Dutch was the only language allowed to be taught in the Boer schools.

Boer Dissatisfaction with British Suzerainty.

The conditions of the convention of 1881, by which the Transvaal became an independent but not a sovereign state, were irksome and distasteful to President Krüger from the beginning; and his efforts were directed to getting rid of British suzerainty and control of the foreign relations of his country, which he desired to have wholly independent. As President Krüger now desired to cultivate foreign relations, the suzerainty and foreign-relations provisions of the treaty of 1881 became particularly inconvenient.

Great Britain's Refusal to Release Her Suzerainty.

In 1883 the Transvaal asked permission to send a deputation to London to revise the convention of 1881 and secure release from such conditions of the treaty as it considered irksome. The British authorities granted the request; and in November, 1883, President Krüger and two other Transvaal delegates arrived in England. They first expressed a desire that the Transvaal be recognized as a wholly independent sovereign state, to have the right to negotiate treaties with foreign powers of its own accord and to be free of British interference in relation to the native blacks. Lord Derby informed them that this could not be done; and Great Britain retained her right to veto the Transvaal's foreign treaties, but granted the Boers modifications in some minor details of the treaty of 1881.

London Convention of 1884.

These negotiations ended in the signing of the London Convention of 1884, on February 27th of that year, exactly three years after the Boer victory of Majuba Hill. This treaty reaffirmed the conditions of the convention of 1881 regarding the rights of aliens in the Transvaal, the rights of blacks, the prohibition of slavery or "apprenticeship," freedom of religion and the most-favored-nation treatment for British goods. Several articles of the convention distinctly gave Great Britain the right to interfere in Transvaal affairs if the terms of the treaty were violated by the Boers.

Misunderstanding on Both Sides.

There arose a misunderstanding on both sides concerning the suzerainty question in the London Convention of 1884, the Boers claiming that as the word suzerainty was not mentioned in the treaty it practically was renounced there, but the British claimed that as it was not renounced formally it still existed.

His Invitation to Foreigners.

Mr. Krüger himself published in the English newspapers a cordial invitation and promise of welcome and protection to all Englishmen who might wish to settle in the Transvaal. After leaving England he visited Holland and Germany and also invited Hollanders and Germans to settle in his country. Thus opened up a new era in Transvaal history.

The Transvaal's Desperate Straits.

After President Krüger returned from his European visit, near the close of 1884, he was in very serious straits for money, and troubles with the native blacks were rife, thus making the old difficulties of the Transvaal as acute as ever. As usual, when the authorities of the Republic quarrelled among themselves, the country Boers refused to pay taxes; and by the close of 1885 the Transvaal was again on the verge of bankruptcy. In its desperate straits the Transvaal Republic was again in danger of being obliged to sacrifice its independence through its internal troubles and the faults of its own people, as it was believed that the Transvaalers again would be obliged to ask for annexation to British South Africa in consequence of the Republic's helpless condition.

Discovery of the Rand Gold Mines.

The threatened death of the second Transvaal Republic was averted by an unexpected circumstance—the discovery of the Witwatersrand gold mines in 1886. This event was both fortunate and unfortunate for the Republic—fortunate because it furnished the resources to put the Republic on its feet and save it from immediate extinction; but unfortunate because it introduced new elements and new issues into the Transvaal which brought on a collision for which generations of race hatred had prepared the way.

The Uitlanders.

The future of the Transvaal was changed entirely by the discovery of the Rand gold mines; and, in accordance with President Krüger's published invitations in England, Holland and Germany in 1884, foreigners began pouring into the Transvaal by thousands, mostly Englishmen, but also Irishmen, Scotchmen, Welshmen, Frenchmen, Dutchmen, Belgians, Germans, Danes, Swedes, Norwegians, Americans and others. This was wholly a mining population. British and other foreign capital and enterprise at once produced a complete transformation in the material condition of the Transvaal and put an end to its financial straits. These foreign capitalists bought mining concessions from the Transvaal government, which gave them the right to the mines and furnished the Transvaal with vast financial resources.

Johannesburg.

So rapid had been the increase in the foreign population of the Transvaal in ten years (1886-1896) that the mining city of Johannesburg sprang up as if by magic, having grown in six years (1890-1896) from nothing to a city of over a hundred thousand inhabitants, one-half of whom were whites and the other half blacks. The white population of the city consisted almost exclusively of foreigners, called Uitlanders, or Outlanders; there being only about a thousand Boers in the city. By the close of 1895 foreigners were flocking into the Transvaal at the rate of a thousand per week.

British and Boers in the Transvaal.

By 1899 the entire Uitlander population of the Transvaal had grown to more than a hundred thousand, the majority of whom were British, the Germans being said to number about twenty thousand and the Americans about ten thousand. The Transvaal Boers numbered less than eighty thousand; and the native blacks, Kaffirs and other tribes, were almost eight hundred thousand. Thus two distinct white populations existed in the Transvaal since 1886.

Sudden Wealth of the Transvaal.

The Rand gold mines converted the Transvaal from a very poor to a very rich country, gave its government an immense revenue and made President Krüger's individual wealth about twenty-five million dollars. He afterwards sold one of his farms for one hundred thousand pounds (half a million dollars) in gold. His friends and neighbors sold farms at even greater prices, receiving many millions of dollars from foreign settlers. The taxes wrung from the Uitlanders were spent in arming the Transvaal and in paying exorbitant salaries to the Transvaal officials.

Wealth of the Krüger Family.

President Krüger himself received a salary equal to thirty-five thousand dollars a year; while on repeated occasions he had received sums equal to fifteen thousand and twenty-five thousand dollars paid out in taxes for his direct and exclusive benefit, as seen in the Transvaal public records. It is believed that he received much more than was recorded. His son-in-law and private secretary possessed a single house costing a sum equal to two hundred and fifty-nine thousand dollars and rolled in wealth besides.

Boer Corruption and Venality.

The official records in a Transvaal law suit, arising from a quarrel between two sets of Boer plunderers, showed that many Boer officials, President Krüger's son-in-law among them, received bribes from a Boer railroad company, the amount of each bribe being specified in a bill of particulars filed in open court. Not one of the accused officials ever denied receiving these bribes. The whole Transvaal government was corrupt from top to bottom, and no business could be done with the Republic's officials without bribing the President's son-in-law and hangers-on.

President Krüger's Opposition to Railroads.

In order to compel the foreign miners to hire his private ox-teams at enormous prices, President Krüger for a long time resisted the introduction of railroads. When finally he did permit railways to be built he granted the privilege exclusively to persons who would agree to give his relatives a big share of the profits. He granted monopolies on several indispensable articles of mining supplies, the result of which was to double the price at which the same articles could be obtained otherwise.

Uitlander Enterprise.

Thus the unprecedented development of wealth in the Transvaal wrought a complete change in the conditions of the country. This result was produced almost entirely by the Uitlanders, or foreigners, most of them British subjects. The Boers themselves had little part in the development of the mining industry, nor did they allow the Uitlanders any share in the government.

Uitlander Grievances.

As before remarked, the Uitlanders supplied all the industrial energy which developed the country, while the Boers reserved to themselves all the rights of government and all the emoluments of official position. The Uitlanders complained that they were deprived of political rights; were taxed without being represented; were deprived of the privilege of naturalization through illiberal naturalization laws; were subjected to mob rule; were denied justice in the Transvaal courts; were nevertheless compelled to pay nine-tenths of all the taxes; were compelled to perform military service and to pay poll taxes while not being given the rights of citizenship and not being allowed to vote. Of the twenty million dollars in taxes levied annually in the Transvaal, the Uitlanders paid eighteen millions, or nine-tenths. The taxes amounted to about eighty dollars a head yearly.

New Illiberal Naturalization Laws.

When foreigners, at President Krüger's published invitations in England, Holland and Germany, in 1884, first settled in the Transvaal the naturalization laws were very liberal, a residence of only two years being required for full citizenship. After the foreigners had accepted his invitation by coming into the Transvaal he repealed all naturalization laws absolutely. Under pressure he afterwards restored them, but extended the time for naturalization to five years and afterwards to fourteen years.

Uitlanders without Political Rights.

These were fourteen years of suspense to the foreign applicant for Transvaal citizenship, during which he was a citizen of no country, being required to renounce for that time all claims to protection both from the government of his native country and from the Transvaal government, without any rights which a Boer was bound to respect.

Forced Military Service.

During these fourteen years he was subject to forced service in the Transvaal army on twelve hours' notice, for which service he would receive no pay and be compelled to provide his own food and clothing. He was also subject to a poll tax during this long period of non-citizenship of any country, although he could not vote.

Hard Conditions.

At the end of these fourteen years he would not be allowed to vote, unless his humble petition was approved by two-thirds of his Boer neighbors, by the military commander of the district and finally by His Excellency the President of the Republic himself. Even then he could not vote unless he were forty years of age.

Boer Dutch Schools.

Although two-thirds of the white inhabitants of the Transvaal spoke the English language, the Uitlanders were compelled to have their children educated in the corrupt Dutch language taught in the Boer schools and were forbidden to have them taught in their own English mother tongue.

President Krüger and the Germans.

In 1895 various annoyances were inflicted upon these foreigners, in order to make their unwelcome presence in the Transvaal territory as unpleasant and irksome to them as possible. By a press law, passed for the avowed purpose of crushing the Uitlanders, all newspapers were placed at the mercy of President Krüger, who could suppress them at his pleasure. By another law, passed with the same object in view, all meetings of more than seven persons in the open air were absolutely prohibited, while all other meetings could be dissolved in an instant, at the discretion of any policeman. Another law was passed absolutely prohibiting any foreigner from presenting a petition for a redress of grievances.

His Reply to a Uitlander Deputation.

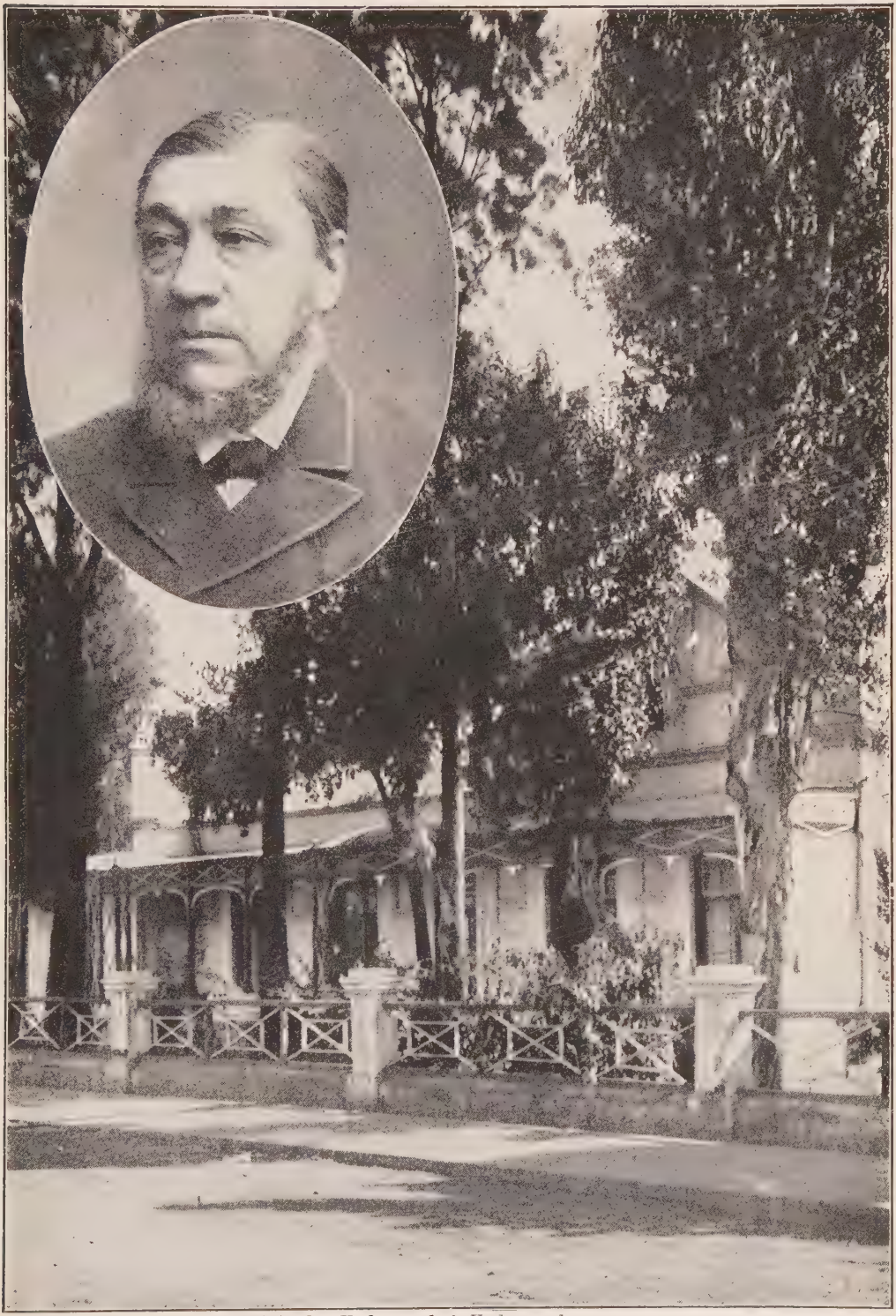
As early as 1892 President Krüger replied to an influential Uitlander deputation that had waited upon him and petitioned for a redress of grievances: "Go back and tell your people that I shall never give them anything; I shall never change my policy; and now let the storm burst." To Mr. Campbell, the spokesman of the deputation, who protested against a certain measure, the President replied: "Protest! protest! What is the good of protesting? You have not got the guns! I have."

His Rejection of a Uitlander Petition.

When the Transvaal Volksraad confirmed President Krüger's attitude in 1895, by absolutely rejecting a Uitlander petition for a redress of grievances bearing thirty-five thousand signatures, and giving the Uitlanders to understand that if they wanted the franchise they would have to fight for it, the relations between the Transvaal government and the oppressed Uitlanders had become so strained that the choice lay between redress and revolution; but the criminal folly of the Jameson raid upset the reformers' plans.

Transvaal Emissaries and Secret Service.

The conventions of 1881 and 1884 stood in the way of any Transvaal treaty with foreign powers inimical to Great Britain, but it was believed that Transvaal emissaries were secretly at work on the Continent of Europe and that an extensive secret service was maintained by the Transvaal. Dr. Leyds was active in his secret work at Berlin and Lisbon, to win for the Transvaal the friendship and support of Germany and Portugal, the two Continental European powers with large possessions in South Africa.



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PRESIDENT KRUGER, AND HIS HOUSE AT PRETORIA

The Transvaal Seeks a Seaport.

Transvaal orders for military equipments were placed with Continental European firms. The Transvaal government made fruitless efforts to acquire Delagoa Bay from Portugal, in order to give the South African Republic a seaport of its own; its inland situation placing it at a great disadvantage in an international point of view.

Boer-German Schemes.

Rumors were current that a Dutch South African rising, backed by foreign support and having for its object the establishment of an independent United States of South Africa, was contemplated. As early as 1892 it was reported that a detailed scheme, bearing the German consul's name, had been drawn up in Pretoria for the landing of German troops at Delagoa Bay. It was known that the reorganization of the Transvaal forces was being placed in German hands. The Transvaal gave secret advantages to German firms, in defiance of the terms of the London Convention of 1884, thus causing great annoyance in commercial circles.

Uitlander Alarm.

The immense supplies of arms and ammunition which were known to be pouring into the Transvaal, as well as the construction of forts at Johannesburg and Pretoria, caused great uneasiness to the British authorities and to the Uitlanders in the Transvaal. These growing suspicions were confirmed by a speech of President Krüger at a banquet in honor of the German Emperor's birthday, early in 1895 when he eulogized the Germans in the Transvaal and condemned British subjects, making use of the following words on this occasion:

President Krüger's Pro-German Speech.

"Therefore I shall ever promote the interests of Germany, though it be but with the resources of a child, such as my land is considered. This is now being trodden upon by one great power, and the natural consequence is that it seeks protection from another. The time has come to knit ties of the closest friendship between Germany and the South African Republic, ties such as are natural between father and child."

Scheme of the Afrikander Bond.

About the same time the formula of "South Africa British or Lower German" began to be commonly used in German colonial circles on the Continent of Europe. The secret scheming for the overthrow of British power in South Africa, and the establishment in its stead of a great Dutch republic to be known as the United States of South Africa, was said to be the work of an organization known as the Afrikander Bond, instigated by the Boer leaders.

Mutual Accusations.

While the Boers were accusing the British of aiming to deprive the Transvaal of its independence, the British were accusing the Boers of endeavoring to deprive Great Britain of her South African dominions, or, at least, of trying to make the Transvaal Republic the paramount power in South Africa instead of Great Britain.

The Transvaal's Military Establishment.

The most important result of the discovery of the Rand gold mines was the fact that it placed in the hands of a naturally-warlike people the means to convert themselves into a fully-armed military power, organized and equipped on modern principles. The Transvaal was always able to find men for this purpose; but, as modern military efficiency is largely a matter of expense, it was only by the industry of the Uitlanders that the difficulty presented by the enormous expense of carrying out the Transvaal scheme for a large military establishment was overcome.

Six Great Boer Filibustering Raids.

Besides his desire to throw off British suzerainty, President Krüger desired to enlarge the Transvaal territory in all directions, although his people already had more land than they could occupy. The treaty of 1881 clearly defined the boundaries of the Transvaal; but during the fourteen years beginning with 1881 and ending with 1895 there were six Boer lawless, filibustering raids into the neighboring native negro states under British protection— raids similar to the raid of five hundred British filibusters under Dr. Jameson into the Transvaal at the close of 1895. These six Boer raids were thus in violation of the treaties of 1881 and 1884. Although the treaty of 1881 forbade negro slavery, the Transvaal Boers, in a war with Mapoch, a negro chief on the northern Transvaal frontier, seized about eight thousand blacks and held them as "apprentices."

Crisis at Johannesburg.

Late in 1895 and early in 1896 the Uitlander agitation for reform had reached such a crisis that a revolutionary rising was threatened at Johannesburg. The leaders of the Uitlander reform movement were British, with one exception, John Hays Hammond, an American mining engineer, when sent to South Africa from California.

Dr. Jameson's Raid into the Transvaal.

To aid the threatened Uitlander rising at Johannesburg, Dr. Jameson led a force of five hundred British colonial raiders across the border into the Transvaal; but the raiders were defeated at Doornkop with heavy loss by Transvaal troops and forced to surrender. Dr. Jameson was handed over to the British authorities for punishment, and afterward was tried and convicted in London for a violation of the Foreign Enlistment Act and was given a term of imprisonment.

Strained British-German Relations.

In consequence of this foolish raid the diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Germany became very strained. The emperor William II. of Germany sent a telegram to President Krüger congratulating him upon the defeat of the raiders, thus giving currency to rumors of a secret understanding between Germany and the Transvaal and making the British more suspicious of President Krüger's good faith toward Great Britain. The press of Great Britain and that of Germany both assumed a warlike tone, and a rupture of the

peaceful relations between these two Great Powers was threatened; but the good sense of both prevailed, and within a week peaceful relations were restored between them.

Accusations against Chamberlain and Rhodes.

The Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, the British Colonial Secretary, and Mr. Cecil John Rhodes, the Prime Minister of Cape Colony, the "Uncrowned King of South Africa," were accused loudly by the Boers and by their sympathizers everywhere of not only complicity in the plot for the Jameson raid, but of being the schemers and originators of the whole thing. No accusation whatever was made against Sir Hercules Robinson, the Governor of Cape Colony and British High Commissioner for South Africa. Messrs. Chamberlain and Rhodes both denied the serious charges against them. Mr. Rhodes was accused by persons in England of aiming to establish an English republic in South Africa, independent of Great Britain, which he also denied strongly.

Boer Rejection of the Uitlander Petition.

The crisis at Johannesburg at the close of 1895, which had incited the Jameson raid, was brought about by the failure of a petition for a redress of grievances, signed by thirty-five thousand Uitlanders and presented to the Transvaal Volksraad, which rejected the petition with insult and ridicule, President Krüger speaking against the petition several times, and one member saying: "The Raad has frequently heard that if the franchise were not extended there would be trouble. I would say: 'Come on and fight! Come on! Come on and have it out; and the sooner the better!'"

Uitlander Manifesto.

Hitherto the capitalists of Johannesburg, with the usual timidity of moneyed interests, held aloof from the reform movement; but now they took part in that movement, thus making revolution a necessity. The day after Christmas, 1895, the demands of the Uitlanders were stated in a manifesto issued by the Transvaal National Union, the reform organization, and were as follows: The establishment of a true republic; a constitution framed by the representatives of the whole people, to be safeguarded against hasty alteration; an equitable franchise law; and the independence of the courts of justice.

Uitlander Plot.

As they had petitioned and remonstrated in vain for years, many of the Uitlanders, most of whom were British and Americans, plotted to secure redress by force of arms. They had collected arms and ammunition, but never made use of them and never committed any overt act, owing to a misunderstanding in connection with the Jameson raiders, who took the field in their cause before they were ready and thus defeated the plans of the reform party at Johannesburg.

Punishment of the Uitlander Leaders.

The plot being discovered before the conspirators carried it out, sixty of them, among whom were six Americans, were arrested, imprisoned in a filthy jail, and informed that if they did not plead guilty

they all would be hanged, but that if they did plead guilty they would be let off with fines. As President Krüger had no judge willing to do his bidding, he imported an unscrupulous one named Gregorowiski, who announced that he had come expressly to make it hot for the Uitlanders. After all the prisoners had pleaded guilty the promise made to them was violated; and Judge Gregorowiski informed the four leaders, among whom was the American, John Hays Hammond, that he would not sentence them under the statute law, which prescribes too mild a punishment, but that he would sentence them under the unwritten law of the Transvaal, which prescribed death for such an offense. Therefore the four leaders were condemned to death, and all the others were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment and heavy fines.

Conditional Pardons.

Even the Dutch settlers were horrified at this harsh sentence, and hundreds of them poured into Pretoria to remonstrate against it; whereupon President Krüger relented, but announced that his religious scruples forbade that he should commute the death to fines, as that "would be the price of blood," saying that "reverence for my dear Lord forbids that I should be less scrupulous than the priests of Jerusalem." Finally the prisoners were pardoned on agreeing to "subscribe for charities" sums varying from twenty-five thousand to a hundred thousand dollars each for leading men and not less than ten thousand for anybody. All the accused Americans made heavy contributions to "charity," Mr. John Hays Hammond himself paying a hundred thousand dollars. Thus altogether a million dollars were paid over to Paul Krüger for "charity," but the "charities" never turned up.

Transvaal Army Reorganization.

Thenceforth President Krüger increased his orders for arms in Europe, ordering a quantity sufficient to arm the whole Dutch population of South Africa, both in and out of the Transvaal, twice over; and the erection of forts was pressed hurriedly. The drill and reorganization of the Transvaal military forces were carried forward under the charge of qualified European instructors. The military alliance between the Transvaal Republic and the Orange Free State was strengthened, and political propaganda in the British colonies of South Africa became more active.

Situation of the Uitlanders.

The criminal folly of the Jameson raid, in their interest, was made the occasion for additional persecutions and oppressions of the Uitlanders; and every effort at reform which they attempted was sternly repressed and treated as treason by the Transvaal government, thus only aggravating the evils of which they complained, while the jealousy and suspicion with which the Boers looked upon them were intensified continually.

Their Denial of Civil Rights.

Besides being denied political rights, the Uitlanders were also practically denied civil rights. For instance, if a Boer would spit into a Uitlander's face in the streets, and the Uitlander would resent by striking the Boer, the Uitlander would be arrested for assault and be fined and imprisoned by a Boer magistrate. If, instead of taking the law into his own hands, the Uitlander had the Boer who had spit in his face arrested, the Boer would swear that he had been assaulted, and in that case also the Uitlander would be fined and imprisoned by the Boer magistrate, and the Boer would escape in any case.

No Legal Redress for Uitlanders.

Whenever the Uitlanders held public meetings to consider their grievances and to petition for redress the Boers came in large numbers and disturbed the meetings by loud noises, such as talking, cheering and stamping of feet, so that not a word of the speakers or anything else could be heard or understood, and the Uitlanders had no legal protection or redress, as the Boer police protected and encouraged the mob.

Forced Military Service of the Uitlanders.

British subjects and American citizens who were mere residents of the Transvaal and who did not intend to apply for Transvaal citizenship were forced to serve in the Transvaal army. An American who complained on the ground that he was no Transvaal citizen and did not wish to become one was told that that made no difference so long as he resided in the country; and the Transvaal government paid no attention to the protest of the United States consul, who then advised the man to leave the country, which he did.

President Krüger's Quarrel with Chief Justice Kotze.

After his reëlection to a fourth term of five years, February 3, 1898, President Krüger forgot his promises of conciliation toward Great Britain and the Uitlanders; and one of his first acts was a quarrel with Chief Justice Kotze, of the Transvaal High Court, concerning the executive and judicial powers. By an arbitrary use of his power, in the case of one Brown, an American mine owner, President Krüger confiscated two million dollars of American capital invested in gold mines at Johannesburg; and when the American investors appealed to Chief Justice Kotze against the arbitrary act of the Transvaal President, and the Chief Justice decided against the legality of the President's act, the President removed Kotze and appointed a Chief Justice who would decide according to the wishes of Paul Krüger. When Judge Kotze threatened to appeal to Great Britain as the paramount power President Krüger refused to recognize British suzerainty, and considerable correspondence followed between the Transvaal President and British Colonial Secretary Chamberlain.

Intolerable Situation of the Uitlanders.

The situation at Johannesburg was very threatening, as the grievances of the Uitlanders were more serious than ever before and taxation was exceedingly burdensome. The Transvaal had a little war

with the negro tribe of Mpetu, which cost about two hundred thousand dollars, but which the Transvaal government made the pretext for the imposition of a war tax of two million dollars, or ten times the actual cost, and which the Uitlanders had to pay. There were heavy taxes on mining profits and mining leases; and the Uitlanders were compelled to pay a large poll tax, although they did not have the right to vote. The inhabitants of Johannesburg were denied the right of public assemblage and were obliged to sue out a permit from the Boer police to hold a meeting.

Uitlander Petition to Sir Alfred Milner.

On March 24, 1899, a petition signed by twenty-one thousand six hundred and eighty-four British subjects in the Transvaal was handed to Mr. Conyngham Greene, the British Agent at Pretoria, to be transmitted to Sir Alfred Milner, Governor of Cape Colony and British High Commissioner for South Africa, "for such action as His Excellency might think necessary." Sir Alfred Milner forwarded the petition to Colonial Secretary Chamberlain in London.

Contents of This Petition.

This petition cited the constant violation of President Krüger's promises concerning reforms; the total lack of protection against mob violence; the law authorizing the Transvaal President to expel British subjects at his will without appeal to the High Court; the total disfranchisement of the entire Uitlander population of Johannesburg, who were ruled by a thousand Boers of the city—in short, the intolerable condition of the Uitlanders, who implored the British government to secure for them the ordinary rights of citizens.

Demands of the French Press.

The Paris *Temps, Journal des Debats, Gazette, Coloniale* and other French newspapers voiced the dissatisfaction of the financial interests of Continental Europe with the condition of affairs in the Transvaal Republic, and called upon the British government to obtain "justice for French investors in the Transvaal," or to relinquish the claim of suzerainty and permit foreign powers to protect their own subjects in their rights; and the French stockholders in the Rand gold mines prepared a memorial to the British government, about the middle of May, calling for "protection for foreign capital in the Transvaal." Under such pressure Mr. Chamberlain could not delay action much longer.

Alleged British Military Plot.

On May 16, 1899, seven alleged ex-officers of the British army were arrested at Johannesburg on a charge of high treason and were taken to Pretoria, where they were remanded for trial. Affidavits were presented to the court, alleging that two thousand men had been enrolled for military service and were to be supplied with arms in Natal, after which they were to be taken back to the Rand, and, at a signal, were to seize and hold the fort at Johannesburg for twenty-four hours, awaiting the arrival of British troops. The trial of the accused per-

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THE KIMBERLEY DIAMOND MINES

Upper: Sorting the Diamonds

sons failed to show any relation between this obscure plot and any department of the British home or colonial government.

Bloemfontein Conference and Sir Alfred Milner's Franchise Proposals.

At the suggestion of President Steyn, of the Orange Free State, a conference was held at Bloemfontein, the capital of that republic, between President Krüger and Sir Alfred Milner, the Governor of Cape Colony and British High Commissioner for South Africa, for the settlement of the franchise question. The conference lasted from May 31 to June 5, 1899, and ended in a disagreement, as was anticipated. Sir Alfred Milner proposed that the franchise be granted to every white man who had been five years in the Transvaal and was prepared to take the oath to obey the laws, to undertake all the obligations of citizenship, to defend the independence of the country and to renounce his citizenship of his native country, and who owned property and was of good character. President Krüger replied that if he granted Sir Alfred Milner's request the Transvaal would be controlled by foreigners and all power taken from the Boers, and made franchise proposals of his own, which were passed by the Transvaal Volksraad before the British authorities had any time to examine them.

President Krüger's Franchise Proposals.

These proposals required a seven years' residence in the Transvaal for aliens to obtain the franchise, the applicant being required to signify his intention in writing to the Field Cornet, the Landdrost and the State Secretary. Two years later he might be naturalized, without receiving full citizenship rights, provided he produced a certificate, signed by the Field Cornet, the Landdrost and the Commandant of the district, stating that he never had violated any of the laws of the Republic. If these officials were not well enough informed as to the private life of the applicant then a sworn statement to the same effect, signed by two-thirds of his Boer neighbors, would be required. The certificate then would have to be handed to the State Attorney, who would return it with a legal opinion to the State Secretary. If the legal opinion were favorable the applicant might be granted the franchise; if unfavorable the matter was to be referred to the Executive Council.

Further Proposals and Counter Proposals.

Sir Alfred Milner and the Uitlanders regarded this complicated scheme as impracticable, and Mr. Chamberlain proposed another meeting of British and Transvaal delegates to discuss President Krüger's proposed plan. The Transvaal government proposed a new franchise law giving a five years' retrospective franchise on condition that the British government would agree not in future to interfere in the Transvaal's internal affairs; not to insist further on its claims of suzerainty, and to agree to arbitration in controversies between Great Britain and the Transvaal Republic.

Strained Relations.

Negotiations continued all the summer and early fall of 1899; and in September the relations between Great Britain and the Transvaal became strained, as Great Britain would not relinquish her suzerainty claims, which President Krüger was determined to get rid of. New franchise proposals and counter proposals were made constantly by both parties; but the suzerainty question and the British paramountcy in South Africa gradually became the real issue, all British imperialists recognizing that the British Empire itself was at stake, but Great Britain disclaiming any intention of annexing the Transvaal.

Military Preparations on Both Sides.

In the meantime military preparations were continued by both parties with great urgency and under the greatest excitement. Uitlanders fled in consternation from Johannesburg, more than fifteen hundred having gone on September 9th. On October 7th armed Boers who had been assembling on the border between the Transvaal and Natal were preparing for a sudden invasion, but were reported as returning home because of scarcity of forage and supplies. The British feared that the Boers suddenly might declare war and attack and ravage the defenseless towns in the British colonies. In pursuance of a British order-in-council, a royal proclamation was issued for the summoning of Parliament and the mobilization of the reserves. All haste was made for gathering and transporting a large British military force to South Africa, and twenty-five thousand troops were ordered immediately to their colors, while General Sir Redvers Henry Buller was appointed to the chief command of the British forces in South Africa.

SECTION V.—THE GREAT BRITISH-BOER WAR (A. D. 1899-1902).

Boer Ultimatum and Invasion of British Territory.

On October 9th the Transvaal government presented an ultimatum to Mr. Conyngham Greene, the British Agent at Pretoria, demanding that all points of mutual difference be regulated by arbitration or any other amicable course which may be agreed upon; that the British troops on the frontiers of the Republic be withdrawn instantly, and that all reinforcements which had arrived in South Africa since June 1, 1899, or which were on the way thither be recalled at once; stating that if these demands were not complied with before 5 P. M. on October 11th the Transvaal government would regard the action of the British government as a formal declaration of war. In reply to the Transvaal ultimatum the British government stated that the peremptory demands of the government of the South African Republic were such as it was impossible to discuss. Mr. Conyngham Greene, the British Agent, left

Pretoria on the day set for the expiration of the time fixed by the ultimatum and started for Cape Town. On the same day—October 11, 1899—President Steyn, of the Orange Free State, issued a proclamation to his people, denouncing the British government and calling on them to "stand up as one man against the oppressor and violator of right." On the same day both the Transvaal and Orange Free State forces invaded British territory, crossing their frontiers on both the east and the west, thus beginning an aggressive campaign.

Effect Abroad.

This act of President Krüger was regarded in Great Britain, and in Europe and America generally, by his sympathizers and his opponents, as a false step, liable to unite all parties in Great Britain against him; and it had that effect very largely, as he practically told Great Britain to back down or fight. His declaration that "if the Republics must belong to England the cost will stagger humanity" was borne out by subsequent events. Lord Salisbury and his Cabinet generally had been anxious to avoid a war, and the Boer ultimatum was a great disappointment to them. The press and people of Continental Europe generally were almost unanimously in sympathy with the Boers and in condemnation of what they called the British selfish greed for gold and land. In the United States public sentiment was divided; some being favorable to Great Britain's general course as just, wise and necessary, and others denouncing it as unjust and impolitic. It has been charged that the Emperor William II. of Germany secretly urged both parties on to the war, by urging Chamberlain to make demands on Krüger and then urging the Transvaal President to reject the British Colonial Secretary's demands.

Boer Strength.

Though it seemed to be generally conceded that the little Boer commonwealth finally would have to succumb to the colossal British Empire, still it was expected that the Boers could offer able and stubborn resistance to British forces numbering sixty thousand men; the number which a British army officer, Lord Cecil Douglas Compton, said would be required to subdue them and bring them to terms. This British officer, who was a captain of lancers, said of the Boers that "they are magnificent fighters"—a fact very well known. Their great passion for hunting has made them expert marksmen, and they are born rough riders and possess unsurpassed courage and tenacity. The same British officer said: "Individually they are as good military stuff as the world possesses." They were fully armed, and some experts pronounced them the best soldiers in the world. The Boers were thoroughly convinced of the justice of their cause, and were willing to die to a man at the order of Paul Krüger.

Boer Invasion of Natal.

In the east the Transvaal and the Orange Free State Boers under General Joubert, the Transvaal Vice President, invaded Natal. The inferior British forces fell back as the Boers advanced, and the invaders at once occupied Newcastle after its evacuation by its British garrison. The British and Boer forces first came into collision near Acton Homes, about sixteen miles from Ladysmith, on October 18th.

Boer Invasion of Cape Colony.

In the west the Boers of the two Republics under General Cronje invaded the northern part of Cape Colony and destroyed the railway at different points, thus severing communication between Mafeking, Vryburg and Rhodesia on the one hand and Cape Colony on the other. Both Kimberley and Mafeking were isolated and closely besieged by the invaders, Cecil John Rhodes being among the besieged in Kimberley. The garrison of Mafeking was commanded by Colonel Baden-Powell. There was some skirmishing north of Mafeking. General Cronje bombarded Mafeking on October 16th and at other times thereafter. On October 12th a British armored train conveying two 7-pounder guns from Cape Town was attacked and captured by Boer artillery about four miles south of Mafeking.

Sieges of Kimberley and Mafeking

Native Animosity to the Boers.

Four native tribes in South Africa—the Basutos, the Swazis, the Zulus and the Kaffirs—who had suffered wrongs and oppression from the slaveholding and slave-trading Boers, felt a deep-rooted animosity toward the two Republics and were ready to take advantage of the Anglo-Boer war to rise against the Boers, but were dissuaded therefrom by the British civil and military authorities, who feared that a native rising would kindle a general race conflagration in South Africa, in which the black natives would be arrayed against the white settlers.

British Call to Arms.

Prime Minister Schreiner, of Cape Colony, issued a circular to the field cornets, requesting them to soothe the race feeling and prove themselves and their people loyal subjects of Queen Victoria. In the meantime Great Britain was hurrying troops to South Africa from England and British India; while Canada, Australia, New Zealand and other British colonies were showing their loyalty to the Mother Country by offering their contingents to uphold the flag of the British Empire and what they regarded as the cause of civilization, progress and equal rights in South Africa; and General Sir Redvers Henry Buller was on his way to the Cape to assume the chief command of all the British forces in the field against the Boers.

War and Anti-war Feeling in Greater Britain.

The British government was sustained by public sentiment at home and in all the colonies of the Empire. Sir John Lubbock said in a speech that in the diplomatic negotiations Colonial Secretary Chamberlain had combined the meekness of Moses with the patience of Job. On October 12th The Rt. Hon. Herbert Henry Asquith, later Prime Min-

ister, in an address to his constituents at Newburg, said that, as British subjects and patriots, they must stand together with an unbroken front and see that the conflict was prosecuted with promptitude and energy. The opposition in Parliament to the British government's policy came from some of the Liberals and Irish Home Rulers—Sir William Vernon Harcourt, Lloyd George, and Mr. Labouchere among the Liberals, and John Redmond, John Dillon, Michael Davitt and other Irish leaders; Mr. Davitt going so far as to resign his seat in the House of Commons as a protest against the British policy. Sir Edward Grey, M. P., in a speech at Glasgow on October 25th, said that, after a careful study of the Blue Books and of the whole negotiations between the British and the Transvaal governments, he held that Great Britain was in the right; that the attitude and aims of the governments of the two Boer Republics had made war inevitable, though doubtless mistakes had been committed by the British government in the course of the negotiations.

Battle of Glencoe.

The first serious engagement of the war occurred at Glencoe and Dundee, in Natal, October 20th, resulting in success to the British arms, though at heavy loss in killed and wounded. A Boer force advanced from the direction of Newcastle, took up a strong position on Smith Hill, in front of Glencoe and Dundee, and opened an artillery fire on the British camp at Glencoe early on the morning of the 20th. The British artillery replied and soon silenced the Boer cannon, which was served badly and did no harm to the British. The King's Royal Rifles and the Royal Irish Fusiliers formed opposite the Boer position, advanced against it under cover of the fire of the British batteries and carried the Boer position after severe fighting, driving the Boers in headlong flight down Smith Hill and capturing their cannon. The British lost forty-three killed and one hundred and eighty-one wounded; among whom was General Sir William Penn Symons, who was mortally wounded, being shot through the stomach and dying several days afterward. A squadron of the Eighteenth Hussars who pursued the Boers in their flight after the battle of Glencoe were made prisoners by the retreating Boers.

Battle of Elandslaagte.

Notwithstanding their repulse at Glencoe, the Boers persevered in an attempt to cut off Glencoe and Dundee from Ladysmith; and the next day, October 21st, was fought the severe battle of Elandslaagte. On the 20th a Boer commando descended from Biggarsberg and seized Elandslaagte, midway between Dundee and Ladysmith, and cut off communication between the two places. On the 21st General Sir George Stuart White, leaving Major-General Hunter with a sufficient force at Ladysmith, sent a detachment to attack the Boers at Elandslaagte. General White himself accompanied the detachment, which was under

the immediate command of General French. The conflict began in earnest about 3:30 P. M., and after a protracted artillery duel the British infantry assailed and carried the Boer position, the Boers falling back after making a stubborn resistance. The British loss was again very heavy.

Battle of Reitfontein.

On October 23d General White moved out with a strong force to cover the movement of the British column under General Yule which was falling back on Ladysmith, the Boers having taken up a strong position on the main road from Dundee to Ladysmith. The next day General White found the Boers in a strong position at Reitfontein, west of the road and about seven miles from Ladysmith. General White defeated the Boers at Reitfontein, thus preventing them from attacking General Yule's column. He then concentrated the British forces at Ladysmith, where, with about nine thousand men, he was then closely besieged by about thirteen thousand Boers under General Joubert, being in a perilous position, his communications with the outside world being cut off in every direction by the Boers, who for some time bombarded the town daily, the British making a vigorous defense by means of naval guns.

Siege of Ladysmith.

Kimberley and Mafeking.

In Northern Cape Colony operations were also in progress. The Boers were repulsed near Mafeking in the meantime; while Kimberley was closely besieged by Boers under General Cronje, who proclaimed the annexation of that part of Cape Colony to the Orange Free State.

British Disaster at Nicholson's Nek.

While the Boer force under General Joubert was investing Ladysmith, some of the Boer commandos were cutting communications between Ladysmith and Pietermaritzburg, the capital of Natal. On October 28th a captive balloon was raised over the beleaguered town, thus enabling General White to locate the besiegers' works. On the night of the 29th General White sent out Colonel Carlton, with a mountain battery and some of the Royal Irish Fusileers and some troops of the Gloucester Regiment, to march up Bell's Spruit and seize Nicholson's Nek for the purpose of turning the Boers' right flank. When this British detachment was at Farquher's Farm, two miles from its objective point, two boulders were rolled down a hill and some rifle shots were fired, thus causing the mules hitched to the ammunition wagons and to the heavy batteries to stampede, with practically the entire artillery equipment and ammunition. The infantry battalions fixed bayonets and seized a hill, which they defended until 3 P. M. Their ammunition then became exhausted, and they were surrounded by the enemy and forced to surrender. The British loss were forty-two killed and one hundred and fifty wounded; the Boer loss thirty-three killed

and sixty wounded. General Yule's column evacuated Dundee and joined General White at Ladysmith.

Canadian and Australian Contingents.

General Sir Redvers Henry Buller arrived at Cape Town on October 31st. The departure of the Canadian contingent from Quebec was the occasion for a great popular demonstration of Canadian loyalty to the British Empire; and stirring speeches were made by Lord Minto, the Viceroy of Canada, and Sir Wilfred Laurier, the Canadian Prime Minister. The contingents from Victoria and Tasmania embarked at Melbourne for South Africa on October 28th, amid great popular enthusiasm. The troops were addressed by Lord Brassey before they started. On the same day the first portion of the New South Wales contingent sailed from Sydney. The Queensland contingent also sailed. The Emperor William II. of Germany, who was Colonel-in-Chief of the Royal Dragoons, sent to the Lieutenant-Colonel the following telegram: "Bid my farewell to the regiment. May you all return safe and well."

Bombardment and Investment of Ladysmith.

The Boers pressed the siege of Ladysmith with vigor and bombarded the city daily. The British garrison repulsed the besieging Boers in a number of brilliant sorties. After the evacuation of Colenso by the British, on November 4th, the Boers held possession of the Colenso and Durban Railroad and the bridge over the Tugela River, thus cutting off White's retreat from Ladysmith. White was surrounded and could communicate with General Buller at Durban only by means of carrier pigeons. The Boers were strengthened constantly by the arrival of fresh reinforcements and were straining every nerve to capture the town and garrison.

Boer Repulses.

Armored Train Ambushed.

On November 16th an armored train from Colenso was ambushed and derailed by the Boers, and one hundred and fifty British troops were missing. On the same day Lieutenant Winston Churchill, son of the late distinguished Lord Randolph Churchill, was taken prisoner by the Boers.

British Reinforcements.

The Boers now had over fifty thousand troops in the field. Transports were constantly sailing from various British ports with troops for the seat of war, and by the middle of November forty thousand had arrived in South Africa and over ten thousand had landed at Durban. In the meantime the Boers overran Natal and threatened many important points. The British advance was impeded by the lack of cavalry, and the Boers were fortifying many strong positions. Large Boer forces were investing Estcourt and other places and menacing Pietermaritzburg, the capital of Natal.

On November 22d and 23d, General Lord Methuen with 7,000 British troops, won a victory over 5,000 Boers. On the 25th, he

achieved another success at Graspan, and on the 28th still another at the Modder River. The last was a considerable battle in which several hundred were killed or wounded. Lord Methuen's object was the relief of Kimberly, but he was delayed at the Modder River in order to rebuild the bridge that had been destroyed by the Boers.

Another British army under General Gatacre moved northward from Cape Colony to invade the Orange Free State, while a third army under General Sir Redvers Henry Buller attempted to raise the siege of Ladysmith. On December 10th, General Gatacre's force, in an attempt to surprise the Boers near Stormberg Junction by a night attack, was ambushed, defeated and utterly routed. The British loss was about 700 in killed, wounded and missing.

British Defeated at Stormberg Junction.

The next day, December 11th, the British army under General Lord Methuen, numbering about 12,000 men, and designed for the relief of Kimberly, the seat of the great diamond mines and where Cecil Rhodes was penned up by the besieging Boers, met with a serious reverse at Magersfontein, near the scene of Lord Methuen's victory on the Modder River on November 28th. This army left its camp on Sunday evening, marching in a north-easterly direction to attack the most easterly portion of the Boer position, held by General Cronje. Before daybreak on Monday morning, December 11th, at Magersfontein, two hundred yards from what the British supposed was the Boer position, and while still marching in close order, a heavy fire from both flanks was poured upon the British van, consisting of the Highland Brigade. The British had marched into another bloody Boer ambush and were forced to fall back with a loss of nine hundred and sixty-three men; General Wauchope, commander of the Highland Brigade, being killed.

Disaster at Magersfontein.

Finally, on Friday, December 15, 1899, the largest British relieving force, that under General Sir Redvers Henry Buller, the British commander-in-chief in South Africa, numbering twenty-three thousand men, advancing to the relief of Ladysmith, was severely repulsed in an attempt to force a passage over the Tugela River, at Colenso, being driven back with the loss of eleven hundred and sixty-seven men after desperate fighting. In his retreat from his position General Buller was obliged to abandon eleven heavy cannon. Thus the effort for the relief of Ladysmith failed, and General Buller was obliged to remain inactive until he had recuperated his great losses. This third great British reverse within a week was the climax of this series of disasters.

General Buller's Defeat at Colenso.

The three great British reverses just mentioned greatly elated and encouraged the Boers and caused great gloom in London; but the spirit of the British nation did not sink under these disasters, and the patriotic war feeling of the English people manifested itself in this

British Resolution and Patriotism.

crisis. Nowhere was there visible any disposition to relinquish the struggle, but instead there was a determination to make every sacrifice to uphold the dignity and prestige of the British Empire and to bring the war to a successful conclusion.

Lords Wolseley, Roberts and Kitchener.

The British Ministry decided upon heroic measures to recover lost prestige in South Africa and to stamp out every vestige of rebellion among the Dutch population of Cape Colony. The three greatest British generals of the time were Lords Wolseley, Roberts and Kitchener, all of them being Irishmen. Lord Wolseley was the British commander-in-chief. Lord Roberts had been the British commander-in-chief in India for a score of years. Lord Kitchener had acquired fame in the last few years by overthrowing the Khalifa and restoring peace in the Egyptian Soudan, which had been convulsed for a score of years by the wars caused by the Mahdi, the Khalifa and their followers.

British Preparations.

It was now determined to send Lords Roberts and Kitchener to South Africa, Roberts to be commander-in-chief, and Kitchener to be his chief of staff. Just after his appointment Lord Roberts received the sad news that his only son had died of wounds received in the battle of Colenso. There already were eighty thousand British troops in South Africa, and fifty thousand more were to be sent from England, India, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and other British colonies. These fifty thousand new troops and twenty thousand then on the way to South Africa would give Field-Marshal Lord Roberts one hundred and fifty thousand men.

British Seizure of German Vessels.

The British cruiser *Magicienne* seized the German liner *Bundesrath* north of Delagoa Bay, on the charge of having on board three officers and twenty privates who were intending to serve in the Boer army. There were persistent rumors at Lorenzo Marques and Durban that artillery and ammunition for the Boers were being smuggled constantly through Lorenzo Marques. This seizure threatened serious diplomatic complications between Great Britain and Germany, and there was great indignation in the latter country. Two other German vessels, the *Herzog* and the *General*, were seized soon afterwards on similar charges. The seized vessels were released by the British authorities after an official investigation. American goods on board the *Beatrice*, the *Mashona* and the *Maria* were also seized by the British authorities at Lorenzo Marques, on the charge of being contraband to be used by the Boer army; but these goods also were released after an official investigation.

Great Boer Repulse at Ladysmith.

On January 6, 1900, the Boers under General Joubert made a desperate effort to carry Ladysmith by storm. The conflict raged fiercely for seventeen hours; and the Boers repeatedly captured strong points, and the British as often recaptured them and finally repulsed the Boers.

The British loss in killed and wounded was over eight hundred men, and the Boer loss is said to have been over two thousand, the lyddite shells fired by the British producing terrible havoc in the Boer ranks. But General White's situation at Ladysmith was still critical, owing to disease and scarcity of supplies among his troops. The relief expected from General Buller had not yet materialized; and Buller's reported attack on Colenso, on the advance toward Ladysmith, was simply a demonstration. General Buller finally got one of his divisions across the Tugela River at Potgieter's Drift, and this division at once occupied strong positions opposite the Boers' extreme right flank.

Lords Roberts and Kitchener arrived at Cape Town on January 10, 1900. Heavy British reinforcements were pouring into South Africa. The immediate tasks before the new commanders were to relieve Ladysmith, Kimberley and Mafeking, all of which continued to be under close siege.

Spion Kop.

In the second half of January, General Buller renewed his efforts to reach Ladysmith. On the night of January 23rd, General Warren captured Spion Kop, a rocky precipitous height that was supposed to command the Boer entrenchments. But the Boers concentrated such a heavy rifle and artillery fire upon Spion Kop that after great losses the survivors of the British garrison evacuated the place. Part of the British forces recrossed to the south bank of the Tugela, though General Lyttleton's brigade remained on the left bank. Thus General Buller's second effort for the relief of Ladysmith ended in complete failure after a week's fighting. The British losses were nearly 2,000, including 150 prisoners.

The British Parliament.

The British Parliament reassembled on January 30th. The speech from the throne declared that the war must continue until the British arms were triumphant and that Her Majesty was gratified over the response to the call for resistance against the invaders of British territory. In the House of Lords, Lords Salisbury, Kimberley and Rosebery made speeches; Lord Rosebery criticising the Ministry's attitude on the question of the war and the want of adequate preparation to meet the immense armaments of the Boers. In the House of Commons the Opposition apparently were united in pressing an amendment to the speech from the throne in relation to the South African war.

Colonial Secretary Chamberlain's Speech.

Spirited debates continued in the British Parliament for a full week; and the Irish National leaders and Mr. James Bryce, the Scotch Liberal leader, made speeches against the war, which they denounced as unjust on the part of Great Britain. Colonial Secretary Chamberlain made a speech on February 5th, calling the war just and righteous on the part of Great Britain, and predicting that there will be "no

second Majuba," but saying that it is premature to talk of terms of settlement. Among other things he said: "Never again shall the Boers erect in the heart of Africa a citadel whence to propagate disaffection and race animosity. Never again shall they be able to endanger the paramountcy of Great Britain. Never again shall they be able to treat an Englishman as though he belonged to an inferior race."

A Vote of Confidence.

The debate was followed by a vote of the House of Commons in approval of the Ministry's policy, the vote standing three hundred and fifty-two against and one hundred and thirty-nine for the Liberal amendment to the address from the throne; the Irish members having left the House in a body before the vote was taken, some of the Liberals refusing to vote and others voting to sustain the government.

War Feeling in England.

Public opinion in England was strongly on the side of the government, as exemplified in the York city election, in which the Liberal majority of eleven in the preceding election was changed to a Unionist majority of fourteen hundred and thirty. There was no question that the war, with all its British disasters and humiliations, had the unexpected effect of unifying and consolidating the British Empire to a degree never attained before. This was clearly expressed by Dr. Arthur Conan Doyle at the Author's Club in London on January 22d, when he said: "I would build a monument to President Krüger of the size of St. Paul's Cathedral, putting him under it; and I would write across it: 'To the Memory of the Man who Federated the British Empire.'"

Foreigners in the Boer Service.

It was stated that almost ten thousand trained European soldiers, including about three hundred officers, were then fighting in the Boer service. These foreigners included Frenchmen, Germans, Dutchmen, Belgians, Irishmen, and men of other nationalities. A German military officer in the Boer army stated in regard to the military situation at Ladysmith: "Owing to the strength of our position, on a circle of heights, like Sedan, we cannot be brushed aside except by a relief column outnumbering us two to one." A British military expert expressed the opinion that the British would need ten men to each one of the Boers in order to end the war victoriously for the British cause, on account of the strength of the Boer positions in consequence of the nature of the country, which favors the kind of warfare the Boers carried on, their quick movements, their continual fighting under cover behind rocks and their adequate preparation, the work of years.

Views on the Military Situation.

Early in February, General Buller again crossed the Tugela River, but after bitter fighting was forced to retreat across the stream, and thus his third attempt to relieve beleaguered Ladysmith ended in utter failure.

Divided American Sympathy.

In the United States popular sympathy was divided, the pro-Boer sympathizers becoming more and more demonstrative in their expressions of sympathy and more and more abusive of Great Britain. The classes which sympathized with the Boers were mainly the Irish, German and Dutch elements of the American population. The press was very much divided in its sympathies, many prominent newspapers being on the Boer side, while some were non-committal and others were outspoken in their sympathies with Great Britain. There were many pro-Boer meetings in the large cities, while the pro-British sympathizers did not hold meetings. The sympathy for the Boers was on the ground that the Boers were fighting for their homes and the preservation of their independence against the conscienceless greed and aggression of a great world-wide empire. The sympathy for the British was based on the ground that the Transvaal was no real republic, but a theocratic despotism, and that Great Britain's triumph would be in the interest of real liberty, civilization and justice. A number of prominent Americans openly expressed their sympathy with the British, such as Whitelaw Reid, Senator Chauncey Mitchell Depew, Ex-Secretary of War Alger, General Wesley Merritt, and Captain Mahan, of the United States navy. In general the sympathizers with the Boers were also sympathizers with the Filipinos in their struggle for independence against the United States government, prominent among whom were Senators Hoar, Mason, Allen, Pettigrew and others.

Demonstrative Pro-Boer Sympathizers.

American Volunteers for Both Sides.

At the beginning of the South African war there were three kinds of petitions sent to President McKinley, some in favor of mediation, others asking the President to interfere in favor of the Boers, and still others asking him to intervene on the British side; but the President positively declined to interfere on any side, taking the ground that it was a question that did not concern us. It was said that there were Americans desiring to volunteer on each side. A United States army officer was said to be trying to raise a filibustering expedition to aid the Boers, while American and Cuban soldiers in Cuba were said to be ready to take the field on the British side, carrying a banner with the motto: "We fight for civilization." The British consul in Chicago said that he had so many applications from Americans who desired to volunteer on the British side that he could not answer them. The British consul in New York city stated that over five thousand Americans applied to him to serve in the British army in South Africa. A number of Irish Americans actually served in the Boer army.

Johannesburg's Greatness.

In the meantime there were rumors of threatened foreign intervention in the South African war. Russia, France and Germany were represented as being hostile to Great Britain's policy toward the Boers;

but Germany became Great Britain's friend in the settlement of the Samoan question early in November, 1899, in which Great Britain made concessions to Germany in South Africa and retired from the Samoan Islands altogether in exchange for compensation elsewhere. But Russia and France still were exceedingly jealous of Great Britain.

Olive Schreiner.

The published statements of Olive Schreiner in the American press had a great influence upon American opinion on the war. This gifted female author charged the responsibility for the war upon the greedy British capitalists whom she represented as being desirous of bringing the Transvaal under the British dominion in order to have the Rand gold mines in British territory. While expressing her uncompromising sympathy with the Boer cause, she professed dearly to love Old England.

Her Literary Fame.

Olive Schreiner was the daughter of a German peddler named Schreiner who, a generation before, settled in South Africa, with his wife, to make his permanent home in that quarter of the globe, and who gave a good education to his children, who all were talented and who all had made their mark in life. The father of the family had now been dead for some years, but the mother was still living. Olive devoted herself to literature and became a famous novelist. She acquired a world-wide literary reputation by her *Story of An African Farm*, in which she graphically depicted the life of a typical Boer family and the story of their wrongs and sufferings, and which she had written in an humble Boer farm cottage, furnished in the most primitive style, having the bare ground for a floor and a large store-box for her table. After acquiring fame as a writer she married Cron Wright, a young Englishman in South Africa, who, in deference to her literary reputation, generously consented to allow her to retain her maiden name, himself assuming her family name, so that he called himself Cron-Wright-Schreiner, writing his full assumed name with two hyphens, while she still went by the name of Olive Schreiner, instead of by the name of Mrs. Cron Wright.

W. P. Schreiner.

Her brother, W. P. Schreiner, became a friend of Cecil John Rhodes, was elected to the Cape Colony Parliament, and had been the Prime Minister of Cape Colony for the last few years, under the Governorship of Sir Alfred Milner, then British High Commissioner for South Africa; being the representative of the Dutch population of Cape Colony, whose representatives constituted a majority of the Colonial Parliament. He was believed to be a sympathizer with the Boers at heart, as was his distinguished sister, but he had all along openly professed loyalty to Great Britain.

Lord Roberts Prepares to Invade the Orange Free State.

Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, the new commander-in-chief of the British forces in South Africa, and his chief of staff, Major-General Lord Kitchener, left for the front early in February; their purpose being to direct the movements against the Boers for the relief of Kimberley and the invasion of the Orange Free State from the northern frontier of Cape Colony; the objective point being Bloemfontein, the Free State capital, from which point the movement was to be directed toward the invasion of the Transvaal and the occupation of its capital, Pretoria.

His Advance Toward Kimberley.

The first object of the British invasion of the Orange Free State was the relief of Kimberley. Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, commanding in person an army of thirty-seven thousand British troops, was conducting the advance. General French with a large force of cavalry and horse artillery succeeded in forcing his way to Kimberley, the relief of which occasioned great joy in Great Britain. The inhabitants had been on short rations for some time and were living in cellars and caves in order to escape the enemy's shells. During the siege, an engineer named Labram had made a gun, called "Long Cecil," after Cecil Rhodes, throwing a thirty-pound shell. Labram was killed four days before the place was relieved.

Cronje's Army Captured.

The Boer army under General Cronje retreated toward Bloemfontein, but the British forces pursued and surrounded Cronje's force near Paardeberg. The British bombarded the Boer camp and defeated a relief force. Finally on December 27th, since resistance was hopeless, Cronje's forces, amounting to about 4,000, surrendered unconditionally. Several foreign officers in the Boer service were captured with Cronje. Among them were Field Cornet Frus, a Scandinavian; Major Albrecht, a famous German artillery officer; and Major von Dewitz, a distinguished German engineer. As the surrender occurred on the 19th anniversary of the British defeat of Majuba Hill, Great Britain went wild with joy.

Ladysmith Relieved.

Meanwhile General Buller was making a fourth attempt to relieve Ladysmith. After repeated battles the British finally, on February 27th, the day of General Cronje's surrender, captured Pieter's Hill, the main Boer position before Ladysmith. On the night of the next day Lord Dundonald, at the head of the Natal Carbineers, and a composite regiment, entered the beleaguered city. The losses of the garrison during the siege in killed, wounded and dead of disease numbered about 1200.

Lord Roberts's Occupation of Bloemfontein.

General Roberts's army now invaded the Orange Free State. On the night of March 12th the British under General French occupied two hills close to the railway at Bloemfontein after considerable opposition. The next day, March 13th, Lord Roberts took possession of Bloemfon-

TREKKERS FORDING A STREAM

tein, and the British flag was hoisted over the President's mansion in the capital of the Orange Free State, the building having been vacated the previous night by President Steyn. Mr. Fraser, a Scotchman and a member of Mr. Steyn's Cabinet, and other Free State officials met Lord Roberts two miles from the town and gave him the keys of the public offices.

Boer Peace Overtures.

Presidents Krüger and Steyn now made overtures for peace with Great Britain on condition that their Republics should be recognized as independent sovereign states and that amnesty should be granted to the rebels of Cape Colony and Natal. Lord Salisbury replied, refusing the request of the Boer Presidents and recounting the circumstances which led to the war, the Boer ultimatum, the invasion of the British South African colonies and the consequent expenditure of British blood and treasure in the contest, which he said was provoked to dismember the British Empire and to drive the British out of South Africa.

British Progress on the Southern Frontier.

On the southern frontier British forces advanced from Dordrecht and Colesberg and General Gatacre occupied Stormberg on March 5th. Railway communication between Colesberg and Cape Town was reopened. General Brabant's advance from Dordrecht against Labuschagne on March 4th and 5th was completely successful, the British troops carrying a hill commanding the Boer position and the Boers suffering severely and fleeing toward Aliwal North. The British under General Clements occupied Norval's Pont, on the south side of the Orange River, on March 8th; the Boers having previously blown up the bridge and retired to the north bank of the river. On Sunday, March 11th, the British force under General Gatacre was within a mile of Bethulie railway bridge, which had been partly destroyed by the Boers, who fled to the opposite bank of the river there also. On the same day, March 11th, the British force under General Brabant occupied Aliwal North after some sharp fighting, in which the British lost about twenty men killed and wounded. Barkly East was also reoccupied by the British.

Collapse of the Dutch Revolt in Cape Colony.

The rebel movement among the Dutch population in the northern and eastern portions of Cape Colony practically collapsed after the withdrawal of the Orange Free State commands. The revolt in some of the western districts of Cape Colony continued, but Lord Kitchener was making arrangements that resulted in the suppression of the revolt. Many of the Dutch politicians of the Afrikander Bund in Cape Colony were making overtures in favor of "conciliation," by which they meant the preservation of the independence of the two Boer Republics.

Boer Disappointment.

The Boers were bitterly disappointed with Prime Minister Schreiner, of Cape Colony, and Mr. Hofmeyr, the leader of the Afrikander Bund,

whom they accused of treachery to the Boer cause, saying that they had expected a hundred thousand Dutch colonists from Cape Colony to join them.

General Hunter's Invasion of the Transvaal.

On May 14th the Imperial Yeomanry occupied Ladybrand. The British force under General Hunter entered the Transvaal from the south-west on May 15th and occupied Christiania the next day, the Boers having retired to Klerksdorp. General Lord Methuen entered Hoopstad without opposition on May 17th, and General Ian Hamilton occupied Lindley on the same day. The British made important captures. Generals Du Prey and Daniels and forty men surrendered. The Boers blew up a bridge over the Rhenoster River, thirty-seven miles north of Kroonstad, to obstruct the progress of the invaders.

British Captures.

Operations of Lords Roberts and Methuen and General Hunter.

Lord Roberts, General Lord Methuen and General Hunter were all coöperating for the invasion of the Transvaal from three different points, Roberts from Kroonstad, Methuen from Hoopstad, and Hunter having also crossed the Vaal and occupied Christiania. General Hunter was pushing up the railway with supplies for the Mafeking garrison and was arranging a hospital train to convey the sick and wounded to Kimberley. General Lord Methuen left Hoopstad to coöperate with General Hunter's force. On May 20th a British convoy on its way to Lindley was attacked by the Boers and obliged to halt. Over three hundred and fifty Boers surrendered to the British officer at Boshof unconditionally. Three companies of Yeomanry sent by General Kelly-Kenny repaired the telegraph line and cleared the country between Boshof and Bloemfontein. General Chris Botha was appointed assistant to his brother, General Louis Botha, the Boer commander-in-chief; and he revived the fighting spirit of many Boers.

Gold Mines Threatened.

It was now stated that the Transvaal government had decided to blow up the Johannesburg gold mines, and that when General Louis Botha heard of this he hastened to Pretoria and protested strenuously against such action, threatening to use his own army to protect the mines in case the attempt was made to destroy them, thus compelling President Krüger to give up the scheme.

British Move Toward Pretoria.

Early in May, having brought up large forces about Bloemfontein, Lord Roberts set out to invade the Transvaal. The Boer forces were too weak to give battle but fought delaying actions. On May 12th, the British captured Kroonstad, which the Free Staters had been using as their temporary capital. The Transvaalers said they would no longer fight in the Orange Free State and fled to the Vaal River. The Free Staters accused the Transvaalers of having used them and then deserted them. Many of the Free Staters went to their homes and hundreds remained in Kroonstad to surrender. President Steyn went to Heilbron, which he proclaimed to be the new capital.

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LORD ROBERTS' ADVANCE ON PRETORIA

Taking Heavy Naval Guns Across the Vet River

Formal Annexation of the Orange Free State.

On May 28th Lord Roberts announced to his troops the annexation of the Orange Free State, which thenceforth was to be known as the Orange River Colony. On the same day Major-General George Tindal Pretyman, at Bloemfontein, amid salutes and cheers and the singing of "*God Save the Queen*," formally proclaimed that the Orange Free State was annexed to the British dominions under the title of the Orange River Colony, while Lord Acheson unfurled the royal standard and the bands played "*God Save the Queen*," after the reading of the royal proclamation, the multitude singing the British national anthem while the band was playing it, the ceremony closing with loud cheers for the queen, Lord Roberts and the British army, and a salute of twenty-one cannon.

General Buller's Operations in Natal.

In Natal, General Buller advanced on the Helpmakaar Road on May 12th. By the next day the Boers had abandoned their strong positions and retired to the Nek in front of Helpmakaar, which in turn they evacuated that night, leaving a rear-guard of about one thousand men, whom the British drove back the next day. On May 15th General Buller occupied Dundee and Glencoe without opposition. At some of the collieries he found the machinery destroyed. The Boer retreat through Dundee was an utter rout. The Boers also evacuated Biggarsberg. General Buller was in close pursuit of seven thousand retreating Boers, and the Second Division entered Dannhauser on May 17th, on which day Buller also occupied Newcastle. The Fifth Division was between Glencoe and Elandslaagte, and the Fourth Division at Sunday River Drift. On May 19th General Clery moved to the Ingogo River and Lord Dundonald advanced to Laing's Nek, the latter almost overtaking the retreating Boer column and capturing a few prisoners and a few wagons. General Buller's advance was retarded by the destruction of the railway by the retreating Boers.

British Invasion of the Transvaal from Natal.

On May 21st the British crossed the Buffalo River, and severe fighting occurred at Botha's Nek on the same day. General Hildyard reached Newcastle on May 26th, after which he invaded the Transvaal and occupied Utrecht on May 30th. The movements of Generals Hildyard and Lyttleton compelled the Boers to evacuate Dornberg and to retreat northward. On May 29th General Clery bombarded Laing's Nek, which the Boers evacuated the next day, retreating before their assailants.

Operations of Generals Hunter and Barton.

On the western frontier General Hunter crossed the Vaal River at Windsorton on May 3d without opposition. General Barton's brigade had a severe engagement with the Boers two miles north of Rooidam on May 5th, the Boer position being about four miles long and held strongly, but ridge after ridge being captured by the British after

brilliant and heroic fighting. After thus defeating the Boers, General Hunter joined the British force near Warrenton, and the Boers were driven from their position at Fourteen Streams.

Colonel Baden-Powell's Defense of Mafeking.

Colonel Baden-Powell was still gallantly holding out at Mafeking against the besieging Boers. About twelve hundred and eighty refugees from Mafeking had reached Plumer's camp. The Boers regularly patrolled the vicinity of Mafeking, but did not appear to be aggressive. On May 7th Colonel Baden-Powell reported that all was well at Mafeking, that the garrison was cheerful, that the fever was abating and that the food supply would last until June 10th.

Vain Attempts to Relieve Mafeking.

All this time Mafeking on the western border of the Transvaal had been closely besieged by the Boers. The garrison under Colonel Baden-Powell was holding out heroically though in desperate straits for food. On one occasion a British patrol lost five men in an attempt to capture 26 cattle. A British column under Colonel Plumer was sent to relieve the place. After repeated skirmishes, Plumer reached the vicinity of Mafeking but was driven back with heavy losses.

Relief of Mafeking.

After a heroic and desperate defense of seven months by the valiant Colonel Baden-Powell's gallant little garrison, Mafeking was finally relieved on the morning of May 17th by a British flying column from the south under Colonel Bryan T. Mahon, which had been joined by Colonel Plumer's force from the north on May 15th at Jamaisda.

Colonels Mahon's and Plumer's Advance.

In his march for the relief of Mafeking, Colonel Mahon had some severe fighting with the Boers who opposed his advance. On May 12th he fought the Boers from Maritsani Siding, losing five killed, twenty-four wounded and two missing; but the Boer loss was heavier. On May 16th—the day after he was joined by Colonel Plumer's force—he fought fifteen hundred Boers nine miles from Mafeking, driving them from a strong position after five hours' fighting. On the morning of this fight a detachment of Canadian artillery came up by forced marches and rendered efficient aid. The British loss was about thirty, and the Boer loss was greater.

Last Boer Assault on the Town.

On May 12th—five days before the relief of Mafeking—the Boers made their last desperate attempt to carry the beleaguered town by assault. Before daybreak, while the Boer main force under General Snyman made a feint on the east side of the town, a storming party of seven hundred Boers under Commandant Eloff, President Krüger's grandson, crept up stealthily by the bed of the Molopo River and made a desperate and unexpected assault upon the town; but Eloff's force got divided, and after a day's fighting two parties of the Boer assailants were repulsed and surrendered soon after nightfall, while the third party was driven off. The Boers lost ten killed, nineteen

wounded and one hundred and eighteen prisoners, among whom were Commandant Eloff, Count de Bremont, a Frenchman, and Count von Weiss, a German. The British lost six killed and eleven wounded.

Colonel Baden-Powell's Successful Sally.

As soon as Colonel Mahon's relieving force arrived at Mafeking, on May 17th, it was joined by the garrison under Colonel Baden-Powell; and the combined British forces marched out, attacked the Boer laager, shelled the Boers out and almost captured General Snyman, killing five Boers and wounding fifteen and capturing a cannon, a flag and a large amount of ammunition, stores, etc. This great victory of Colonels Mahon and Baden-Powell raised the siege of Mafeking, and Colonel Mahon's flying column entered the town before daybreak the next morning, May 18th.

Rejoicing Throughout the British Empire.

England and the whole British Empire went wild with joy at the news of the relief of Mafeking and of Colonel Baden-Powell's long and heroic defense against immense odds and his final brilliant repulse and capture of a Boer storming party. The enthusiastic popular rejoicings in London were absolutely unparalleled, entirely eclipsing the extravagant rejoicings which followed the reliefs of Kimberley and Ladysmith and Cronje's surrender. Lord Roberts, General Buller and the other heroes of the war were entirely forgotten amid these public rejoicings; and Robert Stephenson Smyth Baden-Powell, although only a colonel, was the favorite popular idol and was justly regarded as the real hero of the war, as his talents and genius prolonged a defense which many another would have given up months before. With a handful of men he held out against great odds for seven months in an outpost on a South African prairie. Even the pro-Boer sympathizers outside of South Africa admired his genius, heroism and worthy qualities. Queen Victoria rewarded him with the appointment of major-general.

Invasion of the Transvaal.

On May 24th, Lord Roberts' army crossed the Vaal River and began to invade the Transvaal. The Boer forces, now commanded by General Louis Botha, General Joubert having died late in March, did what they could to resist the invasion, but in vain. Johannesburg was soon at the mercy of the British. President Krüger fled to a place on the railroad to Delagoa Bay, east of Pretoria, where he had his capital in a railway car. On May 31st the British entered Johannesburg, the "Golden Reef City." The gold mines were found to be uninjured.

Lord Roberts' Occupation of Pretoria.

Lord Roberts pushed on to Pretoria, the Transvaal capital, thirty-five miles north from Johannesburg. On June 4th the Boers resisted his approach at Six Miles Spruit, but after twelve hours' marching and fighting they were driven back, and the British bivouacked near the southern forts of Pretoria. General Botha did not defend Pre-

toria, and Lord Roberts and his troops took possession of the Transvaal capital on June 5th. A few of the British prisoners had been removed, but most of them, to the number of 3,000, were released. The British occupation of Pretoria passed off most satisfactorily, and the British flag was hoisted over the government offices. The British troops met with a more enthusiastic reception than Lord Roberts had anticipated. The news of the occupation of the Transvaal capital caused much rejoicing in London, and the streets of the British capital and metropolis were filled with enthusiastic multitudes. Lorenzo Marques was now said to be full of foreign mercenaries, who were deserting the sinking Boer cause; but thousands of Boers under General Botha took an oath to fight to the bitter end.

Buller Enters the Transvaal.

Meanwhile the Boer forces had been driven from Natal and in June General Buller began an invasion into the Transvaal from the southeast. In Cape Colony there had been numerous engagements with rebellious colonists. On June 11th, 1,500 Boers surrendered to General Brabant in the Ficksburg district of the Orange River Colony.

Guerilla Warfare.

By the middle of June, 1900, the conflict had degenerated into guerrilla warfare. The Boer armies broke up into numerous small bands and for the next two years the war bulletins were mainly accounts of skirmishes and raids. For this kind of warfare the Boers were particularly well fitted. They knew the country, were good riders, were accustomed to life in the open, and were able perpetually to harass their less skilful opponents.

British Weariness.

The British people grew tired of the war and lost interest in the struggle; the continuance of the contest in its guerrilla character being a source of great disappointment to the British tax-paying public, who had hoped for the restoration of peace and order in South Africa upon the British occupation of Johannesburg and Pretoria and the general collapse of the organized resistance of the Boers.

Loss of Interest in the Struggle.

The change in the character of the struggle from a conflict of great organized armies to a petty guerrilla warfare of numerous small bands of Boer raiders was followed by a loss of public interest in the struggle throughout the civilized world; the people of Europe and America, who had viewed the brilliant military operations of the large opposing armies with absorbing interest, paid little attention to the innumerable raids of small Boer guerrilla bands and the petty conflicts between them and the British troops, though the pro-Boer sympathy throughout the world had not abated.

Boers Hide Munitions.

Some of the Boer troops crossed the border into Portugese East Africa. They destroyed many of their guns and threw others into rivers or ponds. At various places in the Transvaal the British were

able to capture artillery and war munitions but the Boers succeeded in hiding considerable supplies, especially rifle cartridges, sufficient to last them for a long time.

Krüger in Europe.

President Krüger, because of his age, was unable to endure the hardships of guerrilla warfare and took refuge in Portugese territory. From there he sailed to Europe and landed at Marseilles on November 22nd, being received with loud acclaim by the multitude. In reply to an address of welcome, he said that the war waged against his people was a war of barbarians, but that the Boers never would surrender. He arrived at Paris on November 24th and was again welcomed by an immense concourse of people. He was conveyed in a state carriage to the Elysée, where he had a brief interview with President Loubet, who returned the visit a little later. Two days later Mr. Krüger visited the grounds and buildings of the Paris Exposition. The next day he visited Prime Minister Waldeck-Rousseau. At the Hotel de Ville he was addressed by the President of the Paris Municipality and the Seine Departmental Council, and in reply he reiterated his demand for arbitration. On the 28th he visited an exhibition of the various projects for the monument to the late Colonel De Villebois-Mareuil. One of his adherents said that Mr Krüger hoped to obtain arbitration by appealing to popular opinion in Belgium, Holland, Germany, Hungary and Russia. Both Chambers of the French National Assembly passed resolutions of sympathy with the Boer cause.

Krüger's Failure and Death.

In December President Krüger went to The Hague where he received an enthusiastic welcome. He was granted an audience by the young Queen and had an interview with the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and of Finance. He sought earnestly to obtain aid from European countries. In all these efforts he failed. When peace was finally made he lowered the Transvaal flag that had been floating in front of his house in Brussels. For many months he suffered from ill health and finally he died of pneumonia and supervening heart weakness, at Clarens, Switzerland, July 14, 1904, at the age of 79 years.

A Long and Bitter Contest.

The British hope that the Boers would sue for terms after the capture of Pretoria proved vain. With a courage and skill perhaps never equalled in history the Burghers persisted in their battle against hopeless odds. Too weak to meet the British armies in pitched battles, they harassed their enemies, cutting off detachments and surprising incautious forces. For two years they set at defiance the whole British Empire, and certainly made good Krüger's statement that the price of their conquest would "stagger humanity." In that time literally hundreds of engagements took place. The Boers were better horsemen and better shots than their antagonists and knew the country infinitely

better. When attacked by forces they could not hope to defeat, they would flee, often scattering like a flock of partridges, to re-assemble when pursuit had ceased.

Cape Colony Boers.

The Transvaal, the Free State and part of Cape Colony constituted the field of operations. A large part of the Dutch population of the Colony were in either secret or active sympathy with the Boer cause. Though able to march practically at will anywhere they desired, the British found that no sooner had they left a seemingly conquered district than it was again full of raiders.

Famous Boer Leaders.

Several Boer leaders won world-wide fame by their exploits. Chief among them were Botha, Christian DeWet and Delarey. DeWet was especially active, carrying out repeated invasions of Cape Colony. British generals sent home scores of dispatches chronicling alleged victories over these and other leaders, but for the most part "victory" meant merely that the wily Boers had retreated before superior forces.

Transvaal Annexed.

Repeated efforts were made to secure peace, but the Boers persisted in insisting upon their independence. This the British were determined not to concede. As already stated, they had annexed the Orange Free State, and on September 3, 1900, Lord Roberts issued a proclamation, under Queen's Warrant of 1900, annexing the Transvaal also.

Brilliant Boer Exploits.

From among the many Boer exploits in this period, only a few can be selected. In December, 1900, General Delarey defeated General Clemens's forces at Nootgedacht, killing or capturing nearly 600. In September, 1901, General Botha ambushed three companies of British mounted infantry at Scheepers Nek and practically destroyed the whole detachment.

Delarey's Victories.

Perhaps the most brilliant exploits of the whole war were performed by Delarey near the end of the conflict. On February 25, 1902, he attacked a British force under Lieutenant-Colonel Anderson in the southwestern Transvaal, one hundred and twenty-five miles from Pretoria. The Boer assault was planned very skilfully and with careful preparation in every particular. Anderson's troops numbered from twelve hundred to seventeen hundred. Six Boer commandants participated in the conflict. The Boers began the struggle by opening a heavy rifle fire from the dense bushy growth, but were driven off; whereupon the convoy resumed its march, and the Boers made a more determined attack on the British left flank, stampeding the mules hitched to a number of wagons. This Boer attack also was repulsed. Soon after the British rear-guard was assailed by a large number of Boers, while another Boer detachment charged the center of the British convoy, again stampeding hundreds of mules in all directions. The stampede of the mules threw the British escort into confusion, in the

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COMMANDERS IN BOER WAR

Left: Generals Botha De Wet and De La Réy
Right: Lord Roberts

midst of which the Boers charged repeatedly, riding down the scattered British troops in a two hours' conflict. The Boer losses were thirty killed and twenty-eight wounded. The British loss in killed, wounded and prisoners was six hundred and thirty-two; the prisoners being released soon afterward. Five British cannon were captured.

Lord Methuen Defeated.

General Delarey's Boer force of fifteen hundred men won a still more decisive victory over Lord Methuen's force halfway between Klerksdorp and Mafeking, on March 7, 1902. With nine hundred mounted troops, three hundred infantry, four cannon and a pom-pom, Lord Methuen was marching to effect a junction with Colonel Grenfell and his force of thirteen hundred mounted men near the western frontier of the Transvaal. Methuen's column was moving in two bands, one with the ox wagons starting from Twe-Bosch at three o'clock in the morning, and the other with the mule wagons starting an hour later. Just before dawn the British rear-guard was attacked by the Boers from behind and on both flanks. The flank attacks were resisted for a time, but the rear-guard had given way before it could be reinforced. The mules had been startled into a stampede, and all efforts to check them were of no avail so that the mule wagons were mingled unmanageably with the mounted yeomanry and with native boys galloping wildly while leading horses, these mule wagons being rushed among and through the lines of ox wagons and their guards, thus throwing the whole British force into inextricable confusion. When the mounted yeomanry, mainly South African raw recruits, were driven in with Delarey's Boer troops galloping alongside the wagons, the British regulars were unable to distinguish their own men from the enemy, as most of the Boer soldiers wore British khaki uniforms. Major Paris, with forty men, was surrounded by the Boers, but held his ground until ten o'clock in the morning. Sections of two batteries of British artillery, with three hundred of the Northumberland Fusiliers and Lancashires, bravely protected the wagons. Lord Methuen and Major Paris were captured, with all the British cannon and baggage, Lord Methuen was wounded seriously in one thigh, but he recovered very rapidly. The British loss was forty-one killed, seventy-seven wounded and about two hundred prisoners, the latter soon being released.

Lord Methuen Captured.

Delarey's Chivalry.

General Delarey added to his renown for remarkably brilliant and dashing exploits a fame for magnanimity, courtesy and diplomacy in his generous care and speedy release of Lord Methuen. It was said that many of the Boers bitterly opposed the British general's release, and the British themselves were surprised at the release. The anti-British utterances of pro-Boer sympathizers in Europe and America, echoed loudly by a large body of British Liberals, with almost fierce

demands for the withdrawal of the British government from a war which they denounced as hopeless as well as unjust, along with the Boer defiance, which had grown more sullen as the Boer strength waned—all these had prepared the English people to expect anything but kindness and magnanimity from a victorious Boer general. However, Lord Roberts testified in the House of Lords that Delarey's previous conduct in the war gave assurance of great care and kindness for the wounded British general.

Atrocities by Both Sides.

On both sides there was much talk of atrocities and the British frequently accused the Boers of violating the rules of war in one way or another. Beyond question there were some brutal deeds done on both sides, but considering the bitterness of the conflict, perhaps fewer than might have been expected.

Block Houses and Barbed Wire Barriers.

The war was of so unusual a character that the British made use of unusual expedients. Lord Kitchener, who was now in command, Lord Roberts having returned to England, built an elaborate system of block houses connected by thousands of miles heavy barriers of barbed wire. These barbed wire barriers hampered the Boers considerably and aided the British to round up the Boer commandos in some districts. The Boers, however, soon became adepts in cutting through the barriers. On some occasions when it was necessary to break through hastily they would stampede herds of cattle through the wire.

Concentration Camps.

The block houses and wire barriers both constituted a system similar to that used by the Spaniards in Cuba against the insurgents. The British also made use of another Spanish plan. They collected many thousands of the Boer population into refugee camps, where they were guarded, sheltered and fed by the British. These were practically concentration camps, though they were unlike the concentration camps of the Spaniards in Cuba, where the reconcentrados were left to starve, and were more like the concentration camps of the Americans in the Philippines, where the Filipino refugees were guarded, sheltered and fed by the American military forces. These British concentration camps in South Africa and the American concentration camps in the Philippines frequently were denounced as "Weylerism in South Africa" and "Weylerism in the Philippines"; but these comparisons with Weyler's methods in Cuba were wholly incorrect, as the British and the Americans did not starve the inmates of their refugee camps as did the Spaniards in their concentration camps in Cuba. The Boer soldiers, thus being relieved of the care of their families, seemed to be enabled to prolong their guerrilla warfare for an indefinite period. In the meantime large numbers of Boers, tired of the useless guerrilla war, gradually laid down their arms and returned to their farms, and

A RECONNAISSANCE UNDER DIFFICULTIES DURING THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—GENERAL FRENCH'S FORCE IN THE COLESBURG DISTRICT

From the Drawing by R. Caton Woodville

some even coöperated with the British in restoring order by taking the field against their kinsmen and their former companions in arms, thus being looked upon as traitors by the irreconcilable Boers who seemed determined to keep up the struggle with the British.

British Losses.

Up to January 1, 1902, the British losses in killed in battle or dead of disease exceeded 19,000, while 64,000 had been invalided home. Many thousand British had been captured but most had been released, as the Boers had no way of caring for them. On September 1, 1901, the British held 36,000 Boer soldiers as prisoners. Many of these had been sent to other British colonies such as Ceylon and St. Helena. The cost of the war up to that time had been nearly three-quarters of a billion dollars.

Obstacles to Peace.

After fighting perhaps the most brilliant fight against odds in all history, Boer leaders began to perceive the hopelessness of further resistance to the inevitable. Both parties had long been weary of the conflict, but the great obstacle to peace had been the obstinacy of the irreconcilable Boers under the leadership of ex-President Steyn and the redoubtable General DeWet, as well as the question of the treatment of the Cape Colony rebels whom the British regarded as traitors, but whom the Boers of the two former republics were anxious to save from punishment for their assistance to their kinsmen.

Peace Concluded.

Finally on May 31, 1902, after protracted negotiations, a document ending the war was signed by representatives of both the belligerents. This document was mainly the work of Lord Milner and two of the Boer commissioners, General Jan C. Smuts and Judge Hertzog. By the terms of the agreement the Boers accepted British sovereignty, while the British government granted them three million pounds sterling (fifteen million dollars) to restore their destroyed buildings and restock their farms; exempted them from taxation for thirty years; allowed them all civil and political rights; permitted the Dutch language to be taught in the Boer schools, and brought back to their homes at British expense all the Boer prisoners in St. Helena, Ceylon, and other places.

Transvaal and Orange River Colony Given Local Self-Government.

The good impression created upon the Boers by these generous terms was heightened a few years later when the Liberal Party in Great Britain came to power. Many of the leaders of this party had been out of sympathy with the war and some, including Lloyd George, openly opposed it. The new British government soon extended to the Transvaal and to the Orange River Colony the right of local self-government. This concession touched the hearts of some of the Boer leaders. In a speech at Pretoria, General Louis Botha said, "I believe

there is a God in heaven yet," and he solemnly declared that the British people would never have reason to regret their magnanimity. This pledge he made good in glorious fashion when the Great War came. Botha became the first Premier of the Transvaal.

Union of South Africa.

In 1910 Cape Colony, Natal, the Transvaal, and Orange River Colony were united into one Dominion with a government similar to that of Canada. Sir Herbert Gladstone, son of the "Great Commoner," became the first Governor General, and General Botha, who had been active in bringing about the confederation of these colonies, was made the first Premier of the Union of South Africa.

South Africa in the Great War.

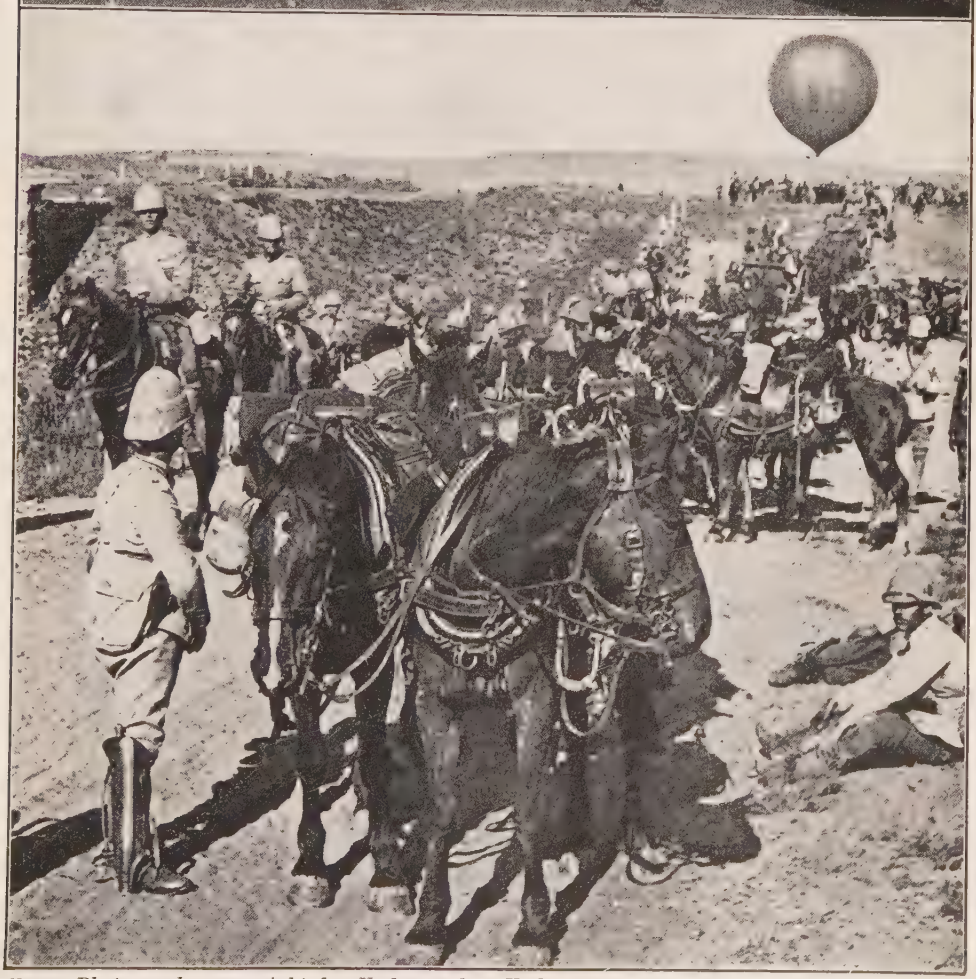
When the World War came some of the extreme Nationalists started a rebellion but it was speedily put down through the energetic action of General Botha. Forces from South Africa under Botha and General Smuts conquered German Southeast Africa. South African troops also aided in the conquest of German East Africa, and the commander of all the British forces in that region in the last years of the war was General Smuts.

Smuts and Botha.

Both Botha and Smuts played an active part in the making of the peace treaty at Versailles, Smuts had much to do with the formation of the League of Nations. Soon after their return to South Africa, Botha died, August 27, 1919. He was a truly great man, and strange as it might seem, had come to be one of the most influential figures in the Empire. Only thirteen years after he laid down his arms in the Boer fight against the Empire, he received a resolution of thanks from the British House of Commons. In moving the resolution Premier Asquith called upon the House "to testify to the admiration of the whole Empire for its gratitude to the illustrious General who had rendered such an inestimable service to the Empire which he entered by adoption and of which he has become one of the most honored and cherished sons."

Smuts Premier.

Botha was succeeded as Premier by General Smuts. The Nationalists who desired a republic and complete freedom continued active. Hertzog, the main leader of the party, in 1919 visited London and Paris to advocate the right of the Boers to "self-determination," but failed in his mission. In the election of 1920, the Nationalists won the largest number of seats of any single party, obtaining forty-five out of a total of one hundred thirty-four. The political situation was so intolerable that Smuts again appealed to the people, and another election was held in February, 1921. Through his efforts the Unionist Party joined the South African Party, with the result that the enlarged South African Party won a substantial majority in the House of Assembly.



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SCENES IN BOER WAR

Upper: Cannon Made at Mafeking During the Siege
Lower: Balloon Reconnaissance near Johannesburg

Great Strike.

In 1922 a strike on the Rand developed into a Communist uprising that for a time terrorized Johannesburg. The revolt was suppressed only after much bloodshed.

Rhodesia.

In 1923 Rhodesia, which had not become a part of the Union of South Africa, was given self-government. Rhodesia was founded by a chartered company of the sort that once played so large a part in building up the British Empire. It was called the British South African Company, and in large measure it was the creation of Cecil Rhodes, the great South African Empire builder.

Hertzog Premier.

In June, 1924, the South African party was beaten by a coalition of Nationalists and Laborites. Smuts resigned as Premier and a coalition cabinet was formed under the leadership of Hertzog.

Race Problem.

The future of South Africa is rendered somewhat uncertain by the race problem. In British South Africa there were in 1921 about 1,600,000 whites and over 8,500,000 negroes and Asiatics. In the Union of South Africa alone the proportion of whites to natives was somewhat higher, being 3 whites to 12 natives. The Asiatics in South Africa are mainly coolies brought over to work in the mines. The bringing in of these people was bitterly opposed by those patriotically interested in the future of the country. Under such circumstances there can be no doubt that complete coöperation of Boer and Britain and the ultimate blending of these two white races is imperatively needed.

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